

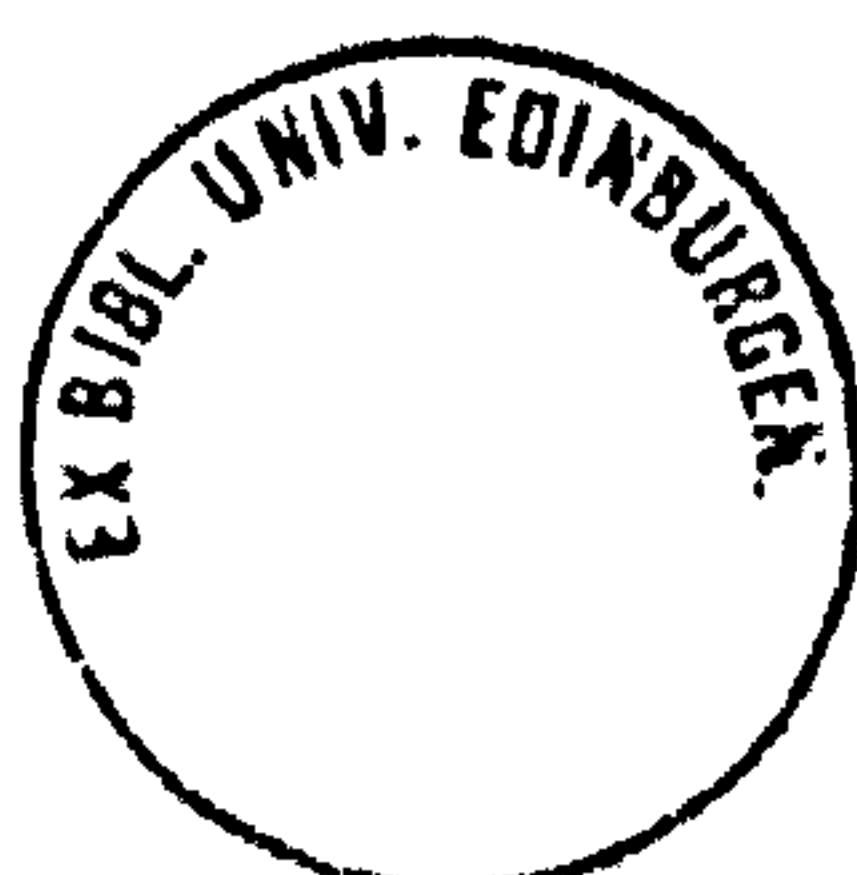
PIETY AND HERESY IN MEDIEVAL ORVIETO:  
*The Religious Life of the Laity, c. 1150 - 1350.*

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## *The Religious Life of the Laity, c. 1150 - 1350.*

	<u>Page</u>
Abstract of Thesis	3
Acknowledgements	4
List of Abbreviations	5
.....	
<u>INTRODUCTION</u>	6
.....	
<u>PRIMARY SOURCES</u>	
1. <u>Orvietan Archives</u>	
a) Archivio Vescovile	13
b) Archivio del Capitolo del Duomo	14
c) Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo	16
d) Archivio di Stato	
e) Archivio Notarile	22
f) Archive of the Servite Convent, Orvieto	
g) Other Archives	23
2. <u>Codex V.E. 528 of the National Library, Rome</u>	29
3. <u>Published Sources</u>	31
.....	
<u>A. HERESY</u>	
1. <u>Heresy in Orvieto</u>	37
a) Origins and development	38
b) Cathar lifestyle and beliefs	45
2. <u>People associated with heresy in Orvieto</u>	57
a) 'Noble' and 'Popular'	59
b) Trades and professions	76
c) Wealth of Orvietan heretics	102
d) Summary: wealth, occupation and social status	118
3. <u>Leadership: 'perfecti' and 'credentes'</u>	151
a) Itinerant preachers	
b) Local 'consolati'	157
c) Levels of commitment	162
4. <u>Inquisition and Aftermath</u>	176
a) Inquisition in Orvieto, 1268/9	
b) Effectiveness of the Inquisition	180
c) Aftermath	182
TABLES	200
DOCUMENTS	233
.....	



	<u>Page</u>
<u>B. LAY PIETY</u>	
1. <u>Lay Piety and the Confraternal Movement</u>	262
2. <u>Orvietan confraternities</u>	268
a) Church affiliation	270
b) Cathedral confraternities	279
c) <i>Disciplinati</i> and sacred drama	288
d) Hospital oversight	306
e) Funerals	311
f) Third Orders	319
3. <u>Composition and membership</u>	
a) Wealth, occupation and social status	340
b) Family and regional ties	346
c) Women	349
d) Priests and religious	352
4. <u>Leadership and discipline</u>	357
5. <u>The Franciscan confraternity and the plague of 1348</u>	
a) Sources	366
b) Chronology	369
c) Impact of the Plague	379
d) The confraternity in 1350	392
TABLES	401
DOCUMENTS	426
.....	
<u>CONCLUSION: PIETY AND HERESY</u>	451
.....	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	470
.....	
<u>APPENDIX</u>	485
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## ABSTRACT OF THESIS

Piety and heresy were, for the medieval Inquisitor and a great many of his contemporaries, at opposite ends of the religious spectrum, with nothing in common but the mutual suspicion and hatred of orthodox and deviant alike. With benefit of hindsight, however, many points of contact can be seen between the two, and the object of this thesis will be to examine aspects of both piety and heresy within the general context of the religious life of lay people in one medieval Italian community. In the relevant period (from roughly the mid-twelfth to the mid-fourteenth centuries), Orvieto was a flourishing independent commune of medium size. It was located just within the northern boundary of the Papal States, and came into conflict with the papacy on numerous occasions, generally over the extent of its territorial rights in the *contado*.

The foundation documents for this study are, on the one hand, an Inquisition Process of 1268/9, recording the trials of some eighty-eight local men and women who had been involved with the Cathar sect prior to that date, and, on the other hand, a codex containing a variety of material relating to the lay confraternities associated with the Franciscan Order in Orvieto from 1313 onwards. The two documents are too far apart in date for there to be any possibility of finding personal links between individual heretics and confraternity members. In a more general way, however, the thesis will examine the sort of people attracted to the Cathar movement, and those who joined lay confraternities or gave them financial support. An attempt will be made to analyse the nature of the attraction of both heresy and confraternity membership for lay people in Orvieto, and, from this, to determine whether similar people were, in fact, attracted to both for similar sorts of reason.

The emphasis throughout will be on people rather than politics, although the political background, and in particular the ongoing conflict between guelfs and ghibellines, is, of course, relevant insofar as it affected the lives of ordinary Orvietan citizens. Some people, for example, may have become involved in heresy for a mixture of political and religious reasons. Nonetheless, Catharism was a religious movement first and foremost, and it is primarily its religious appeal which is under consideration here. The essence of the thesis is that the key difference between orthodox and heretical expressions of piety lay not so much in theological content, lifestyle or forms of worship, as in the fact that the Church authorities gave approval to the one and not to the other. The Cathar faith was more than just a deviant form of Christianity, but most ordinary people would have been unaware of the finer points of theology, and would have seen the "perfect" as holy men and women like many others whose cult was tolerated, if not actively encouraged by the Church. The important fact is that there was a market at this time for religious associations which offered lay people the chance to explore new forms of worship in the company of like-minded people. The proliferation of lay confraternities in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is evidence of the Church's recognition of this fact, and of its determination that such associations, if they had to exist, should be officially sanctioned and supervised, so that there was no danger of heresy taking hold once more.

The terminal date of 1350 is not a rigid one, and some late fourteenth century documentation has been taken into account. However, there was a genuine turning-point in every aspect of Orvietan life around the middle of the century, because of the plague which swept through the town in the summer of 1348. The long-term effects of this disaster are outwith the scope of this thesis to consider, but its immediate impact will be examined in some detail, particularly in relation to the Franciscan confraternity, whose membership soared at precisely the time when the plague was at its worst. Religious reaction to one specific catastrophe will serve as a case-study of the broader relationship between spirituality and the everyday lives of medieval lay people, which this thesis sets out to investigate.

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The people of Orvieto were collectively responsible for the warm welcome given to a stranger in their midst, and for very happy memories of three long study visits spent there. Thanks are due in particular to the following people: Dott<sup>a</sup> Lucia Tammaro Conti, now retired from her post as librarian in the *Biblioteca Comunale 'L. Funi'*, but still actively involved in local history; Dott<sup>a</sup> Marilena Rossi Caponeri, and her staff in the Orvietan sub-section of the *Archivio di Stato*; Don Luigi Farnese, of the *Archivio Vescovile*; Mons. Rosatelli, of the *Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo*; Dott. Lucio Riccetti, a local historian; and Prof. Franco Moretti, a school teacher and active member of the *Istituto Storico Artistico Orvietano*. Most of these people gave personal hospitality as well as professional advice.

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The author hereby acknowledges her gratitude to all of those who, in the words of the Franciscan Inquisitors (speaking of those who had aided and abetted the Cathar *perfecti* and *perfectae* in thirteenth century Orvieto) "received her in their homes by day and night", "gave her food, drink and other necessities", and "on many occasions gave her help, subsidy and favour".



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

### 1. ARCHIVES

A. di S.	<i>Archivio di Stato, Orvieto.</i>
A.S.C.	<i>Archivio Storico Comunale</i> (major part of A. di S.)
Arch. Cap.	<i>Archivio del Capitolo del Duomo, Orvieto.</i>
Arch. Duomo	<i>Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo, Orvieto.</i>
Arch. Not.	<i>Archivio Notarile</i> (part of A. di S., nn. inv. 1-40))
Arch. Vesc.	<i>Archivio Vescovile, Orvieto.</i>
Fond. Dip.	<i>Fondo Diplomatico</i> (part of A.S.C.)
Fond. Giud.	<i>Fondo Giudiziario</i> (part of A.S.C.)

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### 2. DOCUMENTS

Cod. A/B/C	Codices A, B & C of Arch. Vesc.
Cod. Tit. A	<u>Codice Titolario A</u> , (A. di S., <i>Istrumentari</i> , 865)
Cod. Tit. B	<u>Codice Titolario B</u> , (A. di S., <i>Istrumentari</i> , 869)
Cod. 'de Bust.'	<u>Codice de Bustolis</u> , (A. di S., <i>Istrumentari</i> , 871)
Cod. di S. Cost.	<u>Codice di S. Costanzo</u> , in Arch. Cap.
Cod. V.E. 528	Codex V.E. 528 of the <i>Biblioteca Nazionale</i> , Rome.
Lib. Don.	<u>Liber Donationum I</u> In A. di S. (A.S.C.)
Lib. Inq.	<u>Liber Inquisitionis Heretice Pravitatis</u> , 1268-9. In A. di S. (A.S.C., vol. 860).
Rif.	<i>Riformagioni/Riformanze</i> . Council minutes in A. di S. (nn. inv. 69-137).
<u>Viterbo</u>	Two fragments from Cathedral Archive, Viterbo,
<u>Fragments</u>	re. Inquisition, January 1268.
<u>1249 Process</u>	Sentence of the Inquisitor, Fra Roggero, O.P., 12 January 1249. Several copies in A. di S., incl. Cod. Tit. A, f. 95.
<u>1292 Catasto</u>	<u>Catasto</u> , 1292. In A. di S. (A.S.C., nn. inv. 399-400).

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### 3. BOOKS AND JOURNALS

AA.SS.	<u>Acta Sanctorum.</u>
A.S.I.	<u>Archivio Storico Italiano.</u>
B.I.S.A.O.	<u>Bollettino dell'Istituto Storico Artistico Orvietano</u> (Orvieto, 1945ff.)
B.(R.)D.S.P.U.	<u>Bollettino della (Regia) Deputazione di Storia Patria per</u> <u>l'Umbria</u> (Perugia, 1895ff.)
R.I.S.	<u>Rerum Italicarum Scriptores</u> , ed. L. Muratori.
C. & C.	<u>Chiese e Conventi degli Ordini Mendicanti in Umbria nei</u> <u>secc. XIII e XIV</u> , ed. M. Rossi Caponeri & L. Riccetti, Perugia, 1987.
C.D.	L. Fumi, <u>Codice Diplomatico della Città d'Orvieto:</u> <u>documenti e registi dal secolo XI al XV</u> , Firenze, 1884.
Eph. Urb.	<u>"Ephemerides Urbevetanæ dal Codice Vaticano Urbinate</u> <u>1745"</u> , in R.I.S., tom. XV, parte V, vols. 1 & 2, Città di Castello (1903) & Bologna (1929).

Note: Footnotes are included after each main sub-section of the thesis. The full title of each book will be given the first time it is cited in any set of footnotes. Thereafter, only the author's name and the first few words of the title will be given.

## INTRODUCTION

"Why Orvieto?" This question has been asked, in one form or another, by numerous people, in Orvieto and elsewhere, since the present research project began, and there is no simple answer to it. Granted that there may be some value in choosing one local community as a case-study of medieval religious life, and as a focus for detailed examination of more general historical questions, why should Orvieto be selected for this purpose, rather than one of the many other central Italian hill-towns of comparable size and antiquity?

Apart from the obvious attractions of its wine, and its spectacular thirteenth-century Cathedral, there is, in many respects, little to mark Orvieto out from other similar towns. However, this is entirely in its favour as far as historical research is concerned. Much of this study will be concerned with detailed examination of local issues and the lives of individual Orvietan men and women, and if its conclusions are to have any wider significance, it is essential that there should be points of contact between this, and other areas.

Like many central Italian towns, Orvieto occupies a hill-top site, chosen for its excellent natural defences, and occupied for that reason continuously since Etruscan times. Situated 125 km. from Rome, and 191 km. from Florence, on the main road between the two, the medieval town is set on a platform of volcanic rock, some twenty to thirty metres high. The skyline is dominated by the elaborate façade designed by Lorenzo Maitani (d. 1330) for the Cathedral, which celebrates the seven hundredth anniversary of its foundation in November 1990.

From the mid-twelfth century, when the commune was recognised by Pope Adrian IV, to the mid-fourteenth century, when the first of a long series of tyrants came to power, Orvieto operated as an independent republic within the Papal States. At the height of its influence, around the end of the thirteenth century, it ruled over an extensive *contado* in the surrounding area. The population at this time has been estimated, on the basis of the *Catasto* of 1292, at over 20,000, although this estimate is far from precise<sup>1</sup>. Orvieto, like most of the other city-states, became caught up in the struggle between Pope and Emperor, and this was reflected in repeated feuds between the different factions in the city, notably between the two main noble families, the Monaldeschi and Filippeschi, which are both to be found in Dante's Purgatory,

alongside the Montecchi and Cappelletti:

*Vieni a veder Montecchi e Cappelletti,  
Monaldi e Filippeschi, uom senza cura;  
color già tristi, et costor con sospetti.* (2)

The ecclesiastical face of the town was significantly altered from the early part of the thirteenth century by the arrival of the Mendicant Orders - Franciscans, Dominicans, Servites, and, slightly later, Carmelites - whose churches and convents quickly came to rival the older foundations in terms of wealth and influence. They also brought with them new opportunities for lay involvement and participation in religious life.

These are some of the basic facts and figures, but it remains to discover whether medieval Orvieto was distinctive in any way.

The first thing that marked it out from other towns was its geographical location. In addition to its unusually high, and therefore easily defensible site, it overlooks the road between Rome and Florence at the important bridge over the Paglia, and it was only slightly further from other main trade routes linking Rome with Siena and Perugia. It thus occupied a site of considerable strategic importance to Popes, Emperors, commune and Cathars alike. Furthermore, as stated already, the town lay just within the northern boundary of the Papal States, and this immediately puts it in a different category from those on the other side of the border, and influences any study of its political or religious development. Heresy, for example, is a complex subject in any context, but in the papal towns, such as Orvieto, it is all the more difficult to distinguish between those who had genuinely been convinced by the preaching of new doctrines, and those whose primary motivation was political. Anti-papal feeling erupted sporadically in Orvieto as a result of the ongoing territorial dispute over certain lands in the *contado* - notably, the area around Acquapendente and the Val del Lago di Bolsena.

Nor was this the only respect in which Orvieto's history was affected by her unusually close links with the papacy. Earlier popes may occasionally have passed through, or stayed briefly in the town, but the visit of Adrian IV in 1156 marked the beginning of a new stage in the relationship. It was the following year that the consuls and *popolo* of Orvieto swore loyalty to the Pope and his successors, and promised to protect him and his entourage when they were in residence there. From then on, different popes came to stay in Orvieto for varying lengths of



time. The most concentrated period of papal residence was between 1262 and 1297, during which time work was begun on the *Palazzo dei Papi* (1264) on the initiative of Urban IV, and the foundation-stone of the new Cathedral was laid, with much ceremony, by Nicholas IV (13 November 1290).

The chief concern of those who lived in the area around the church of S. Costanzo, where the Cathedral was later to be built, was probably the fact that, from 1268 onwards, their rent was to be doubled while the Pope was in residence<sup>3</sup>. Of wider significance, however, were the visits of a large number of influential people to Orvieto as a direct result of the presence of the papal curia. Among these visitors were Charles d'Anjou; King Edward of England; Pierre d'Artois, King of Jerusalem; S. Bonaventura; and St. Thomas Aquinas.

By the middle of the following century, Urban IV and St Thomas had both become part of a complex tradition, based on a mixture of history and legend, which linked the founding of the Cathedral and the institution of the feast of Corpus Domini with a eucharistic miracle which was supposed to have taken place in Bolsena, a small town a few miles to the south-west of Orvieto, in 1264. According to the fullest version of the tradition, a Bohemian priest, troubled by personal doubts about the Sacrament, was travelling to Rome to pray on the tomb of St. Peter and St. Paul. He stopped in Bolsena on the way, and while he was celebrating Mass in the church of Santa Christina, drops of blood miraculously fell from the Host, staining the linen altar-cloth ("*corporale*") beneath. Urban IV, meantime, was staying in Orvieto, and when he heard what had happened, he sent a messenger to Bolsena to fetch the blood-stained cloth so that he could judge the truth of the story for himself. Not only was he instantly convinced of the veracity of the miracle, but he was so impressed that he decided that the event should be marked in two ways. In the first place, a new Cathedral should be built in Orvieto, as a suitable tabernacle for the relic, and secondly, a new feast-day should be added to the Christian year in honour of the Body of Christ. St. Thomas, so the tradition continues, was also in Orvieto at this time, and the Pope commissioned him there and then to write the Office for the new festival of Corpus Domini, which is celebrated to this day in Orvieto with considerable colour and enthusiasm.

The above is a composite account of a popular tradition which had

hardened in more or less this form by 1337, when Ugolino di Vieri was commissioned by Bishop Tramo to make an elaborate silver reliquary, shaped like the façade of the Cathedral, to hold the *Corporale* and to carry it in procession through the streets of the town. The story of the Miracle is told, without words, in eight enamelled scenes on the reliquary, and these became the basis for a series of frescoes on the same theme in the *Cappella del Corporale*. The frescoes were painted by Ugolino di Prete Ilario between 1357 and 1364, and it must have been around the same time that one of the local theatrical confraternities began performing a dramatised version of the story, the script of which is preserved in a codex compiled for the Franciscan fraternity of *disciplinati* in 1405 <sup>4</sup>.

Several attempts have been made to disentangle fact from fiction in these verbal and pictorial accounts, with some measure of success<sup>5</sup>. There were clearly other reasons than the alleged miracle for the inauguration of the Cathedral project: notably, the parlous state of the old church of Santa Maria Maggiore<sup>6</sup>, and the growing prestige and prosperity of the town. And there are many rival accounts of the origins of *Corpus Domini*, which was not widely celebrated until much later than 1264. Nonetheless, Urban IV and St. Thomas Aquinas were in Orvieto around this date, and it seems likely that St. Thomas, who was, of course, one of the first theologians to give serious attention to the doctrine of transubstantiation, was also the author of the liturgy for the feast of *Corpus Domini* or *Corpus Christi*. The important point is that without the presence of the papal court in the town, the incident is unlikely to have acquired such a high profile, or Orvieto such a prominent rôle in the developing international cult of the eucharist.

If the presence of successive popes was one factor which made Orvieto unusual, and therefore particularly interesting to the religious historian, in the medieval period, another was the presence of a strong Cathar network in the town and *contado* from the mid-twelfth to the mid-thirteenth century. The earliest documentary source for Orvietan heresy is the *Leggenda* of B. Pietro Parenzo, written shortly after his death at the hands of the heretics in 1199<sup>7</sup>. Parenzo was a young Roman, sent by the Pope to assist the orthodox in Orvieto by becoming *podestà*. He was killed, instead, and even the combined effect of severe reprisals, public outrage and the popularity of his cult were insufficient to stop the spread of heresy. There were a number of attempts to deal with this



problem during the first half of the <sup>this</sup> ~~four~~teenth century, but it was not until 1268/9, when the sect may in any case have passed the peak of its popularity, that the Cathars were effectively eradicated by the Franciscan Inquisition.

The *Liber Inquisitionis* of 1268/9, which records the sentences passed on some eighty-eight Orvietan Cathar sympathisers, is one of two key sources for this comparative study of orthodox and heretical forms of religious expression among lay people. The other is the 1405 codex, already mentioned, which belonged to the Franciscan fraternity of *disciplinati*. The dramatic texts which form the main part of the collection, are, in fact, less important in this context than the matriculation and necrology lists which were added to them. Although the Inquisition record is considerably earlier than the confraternity membership lists, the two sources together provide the starting-point for a comparative study of the prosopography of heresy and lay piety in Orvieto.

Other sources will be brought in where appropriate, and the object of the investigation will be to discover to what extent Cathar cells and lay confraternities were meeting the same sort of religious needs, and attracting a similar range of lay support, in different periods. This will involve looking in some detail at those local people who were prepared to take the risk of becoming involved in heresy, before examining the religious associations which began to proliferate mainly after the Cathar cells had been destroyed, and which, unlike them, enjoyed official approval, or at least toleration.

The two main themes, of heresy and lay piety, will be treated consecutively, but always with the purpose of comparison in mind. By the end, it should be possible to draw out these elements of comparison, and to find thematic bridges between the two principal areas of study. These will include, for example, the sacramental aspect of both traditions, as well as similarities in their organisational structure, and in the pattern of community life which they offered to lay people. Another common theme will be attitudes and responses to illness and death, with the Black Death of 1348 as a particularly telling example, and with healing as a recurrent motif throughout. Holy men and women were important in deviant, as well as in orthodox piety, and the Mendicant Orders provide a further thematic bridge. Not only were they employed by the Church to be agents of repression, but the opportunities

which they provided for new forms of religious expression meant that they were in a position to provide lay people, perhaps for the first time, with positive alternatives to heresy.

Finally, there are a few individual men and women whose own lives spanned the two areas of heresy and orthodox piety. Pietro Parenzo, for example, was a loyal Catholic, martyred at the hands of heretics, and the promotion of his cult was therefore also part of the fight against heresy. Domenico di Pietro Rossi was a Franciscan tertiary, convicted of heresy by officials of his own Order<sup>8</sup>. And *domina* Bonadimane, wife of Accitante, was a simple, pious woman, who had prayed at the tomb of a local saint, if not at the same time as attending Cathar assemblies, then only shortly before<sup>9</sup>.

It is fascinating to be able to encounter men and women such as these at a distance of seven hundred years and more, and although larger historical and political themes must not be forgotten, it is the life and faith of ordinary lay people in medieval Orvieto which is the main subject of this study.

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#### FOOTNOTES

1. G. Pardi, ("Il Catasto d'Orvieto dell'Anno 1292" in B.R.D.S.P.U., vol. 2, 1896, p. 268) first estimated the population of the city at around 30,000, but later (Comune e Signoria a Orvieto, Todi, s.d., p.4) reduced his estimate to 25,000. The question is discussed more fully by E. Carpentier in her recent book, Orvieto à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: ville et campagne dans le Cadastre de 1292, Paris (CNRS), 1986.

2. Dante, Purgatorio, VI.

3. E. Carpentier, Une Ville devant la Peste: Orvieto et la Peste Noire de 1348, Paris, 1962, p. 73.

4. Biblioteca Nazionale, Roma, Cod. V.E. 528, Text 24 (or 25); "*come un prete forestiero, celebrando, avendo alcun pensiero sinistro, accadè miracolo che sopra del Corporale l'ostia diventò vermeglia, et fecesi carne e sangue*".

5. e.g. Fabiano T.Z.F. Buchicchio, "La 'storia del miracolo di Bolsena' e le sue vicende", in B.I.S.A.O., Ann. XXIX, 1973, pp. 3-45. P. Mariano d'Alatri, "L'Istituzione della festa del 'Corpus Domini'", estr. di A. Fliche & V. Martin, Storia della Chiesa, vol. X, Appendix II.

6. Canon Giovanni makes reference to this in his 'legend' of Pietro Parenzo. The church was in no state to receive the martyr's body, ed. V. Natalini, S. Pietro Parenzo: La Leggenda scritta dal canone Giovanni da Orvieto, Roma, 1936, p. 166.

7. ed. V. Natalini, S. Pietro Parenzo: La Leggenda...

8. Lib. Inq., f. 32<sup>1</sup>.

9. Lib. Inq., f. 30<sup>2</sup>. The same woman is mentioned in the canonisation process for B. Ambrogio di Massa (in Acta Sanctorum, Nov., vol. IV, pp. 567-608.)

## PRIMARY SOURCES

## 1. ORVIETAN ARCHIVES

With the possible exception of papal records in the Vatican archives, which do not come within the scope of this study, most of the surviving documentation for the history of Orvieto in the medieval period is now housed in local archives: the Episcopal and Capitular archives; the archives of the Cathedral and the Servite convent, and the civic archive, which was re-organised as a sub-section of the *Archivio di Stato* in 1951. Individual documents from these archives may have appeared in print, but the greater part of the material is unpublished'.

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### a) Archivio Vescovile

In 1154, at a time when there was "great discord and war" between Bishop Ildibrandino and Archpriest Rainerio, it is recorded<sup>2</sup> that the episcopal records of Orvieto were wilfully destroyed by burning, either by Rainerio himself or by one of his canons. But despite the loss of this early documentation, the Episcopal Archive still provides the earliest surviving records for the history of the town.

There are three large registers, Codices A, B and C, which were compiled between 1274 and 1388, but which contain copies of deeds dating back as early as 1024<sup>3</sup>. Many of the entries in these registers relate to the routine daily work of episcopal administration, such as property transactions, visitation of churches and monasteries in the *contado*, and the ordination and installation of clergy. This type of information enables a fairly detailed picture to be built up of the type of work done by the bishop and his *curia*.

Of particular interest are the entries made by Bishop Rainerio (elected 1228) in the margins, and other available blank spaces of *Codice B*. In addition to two short inventories, one of books held in the episcopal *camera*, and the other of sacred relics, Bishop Rainerio has left a short but telling pen-portrait of each of his predecessors. These marginal notes were published by P. Perali in 1907 under the title, La Cronaca del Vescovado Orvietano (1029-1239)<sup>4</sup>.

T. Piccolomini-Adami, writing in 1883, records among the contents of the episcopal archive "two large volumes which contain legends of the saints", but this almost certainly refers to the two-volume *Leggendario*



written by Guido Valloclensis in the mid-thirteenth century, and stored in 1883, as now, in the capitular archive<sup>5</sup>.

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b) Archivio del Capitolo del Duomo

Although small, the archive of the Chapter of S. Costanzo contains some important thirteenth and fourteenth century material. Some of the documents available to Natalini in 1955<sup>6</sup> do appear to have gone missing since then, though the problem may be one of accessibility.

The surviving codices may be divided into two categories, reflecting the dual nature of the canons' role. There are three works for liturgical use, and two which are mainly concerned with the administration of property owned by the Chapter. There is also a small volume of "Constitutions", the earliest dated 16 April 1332. This has been published by Natalini in its entirety<sup>7</sup>.

The largest, and most impressive of the three liturgical books is the two-volume *Leggendario*, wrongly ascribed by Piccolomini-Adami to the episcopal archive. The work was commissioned by Guido 'Valloclensis', chaplain of the church of S. Costanzo, who had used his own money to buy the ten *quaterni* required<sup>8</sup>. It is very fully described by V. Natalini in his edition of the Life of Peter Parenzo<sup>9</sup>, and is dated by him to the mid-thirteenth century.

The Legendary contains over one hundred Saints' lives, arranged in the order of the Martirologio Romano. Sermons of the Church Fathers are inserted for all the major festivals of the Church, and many of the Legends are divided into lessons, with a marginal note, in the original hand, of the appropriate Gospel reading for the day. Natalini has checked all the Legends with the Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina<sup>10</sup>, and found only four which do not appear there, in whole or in part.

The first of the administrative documents is a thirteenth century register containing a list of names and payments due ('*pensiones domorum*') on property owned by, or subject to the Chapter.

The most varied and useful document in this archive, however, is another thirteenth century codex, generally cited as the "*Codice di S. Costanzo*". The 281 numbered leaves are followed by a short index, which covers only a small section of the volume. The entries, in the hands of many different notaries, are more or less in chronological order, and cover the period c. 1214-1290.

By far the greater part of the codex consists of short entries in which individuals acknowledge annual payments due '*nomine pensionis*' to the Chapter for property in the town or *contado*. There are also several '*carte permutationis*', recording the gift or sale of certain property to the Chapter, but inserted among routine entries of this sort are various unusual items of particular interest. There are, for example, references to the dispute between the bishop and the canons in the period leading up to the foundation of the new Cathedral, and to other internal problems, such as the need in 1221 to regulate the system for the common table in the Chapter, and to prevent it from being abused'<sup>11</sup>. There are inventories of the Chapter and of other institutions subject to it; records of the nomination of clergy to churches where the Chapter has the right of appointment; and in one case the appointment of a vicar to enable the archpriest to go to school in order to acquire 'pearls of knowledge' ('*scientiæ margaritas*')<sup>12</sup>. This document, in other words, reflects the wide range of activities in which the Chapter was involved, and in this way complements the similar material in Codices A, B and C of the *Archivio Vescovile*.

When Natalini wrote his book in 1955<sup>13</sup>, he described eleven documents, covering the period 1156-c.1336, of which six are now known only from his descriptions of them. Most relate to property owned or administered by the Chapter, starting with the papal confirmation of the Chapter's possessions in 1156 and 1171. *Pergamena* 4 is in a different category from the rest, being a collection of several Acts from 1284 to 1290, relating to the dispute between the bishop and the canons over the site of the new Cathedral.

Finally, there is an obscure reference in a nineteenth century guide-book to a volume which may at one time have belonged to the capitular archive. Piccolomini-Adami, writing about the "*antichissima Compagnia de' Raccomandati*", which was based in the old church of Santa Maria Prisca, states that his information comes from a "*catalogo dei fratelli, dove vedonsi descritti in carattere gotico alcuni Canonici di S. Costanzo...*" <sup>14</sup>. Were this document to be located, it would be of considerable importance, but there is nothing in the present archive to fit the description.

This is by no means the only item to have gone missing from the archive over the centuries. The chequered history of the *Leggendario* suggests that other material may have been dispersed in various ways,

and it was only this century that a twelfth century Bible presented to the Pierpont Morgan Library of New York was traced to the capitular archive in Orvieto, because of marginal references in the second volume to Innocent III's visit to the town in 1216 <sup>15</sup>.

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c) Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo

The *Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo* was established when the cathedral project was begun, some time before 1290, and contains all the legal and administrative records relating to the new building and to the artistic work commissioned for it<sup>16</sup>. The account-books, listing income and expenditure, date from 1321, and are of particular interest to the art historian, as they provide a full record of the different stages of construction and artists employed. They also make it possible to trace with considerable precision the various officials responsible for administration of the *Opera*.

There is a wealth of other material in this archive, such as inventories, statutes, wills, legal records, council minutes and books for liturgical use, and a project is currently underway to transcribe the entire archive on to a computer database<sup>17</sup>. Its completion is planned to coincide with the celebrations for the seven hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the Cathedral, in November 1990. When the project is complete, it will provide scope for a great deal of further research, but until now the cathedral records have been relatively inaccessible<sup>18</sup>.

For purely practical reasons, only one section of this archive was consulted for the present study, namely the collection of *pergamene*, of which there are fifteen from the period up to 1350 <sup>19</sup>. These include some private legal contracts, but most of the documents are papal Bulls, the most typical being Indulgences conceded to those who visit the Cathedral or give money towards its completion. One rather more unusual document, which will be discussed fully later, is the response of Pope Boniface VIII in 1296 to a private appeal for the return of property earlier confiscated for heresy<sup>20</sup>.

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d) Archivio di Stato

Since the reorganisation of 1951, all the town's official records have been held in its own sub-section of the *Archivio di Stato*<sup>21</sup>. Although the material is primarily administrative and diplomatic, and



many series do not begin until the end of the relevant period or beyond it, there is still a great deal which is of interest for the religious history of the town between the mid-twelfth and mid-fourteenth centuries. In addition, several smaller archives have been subsumed into the *Archivio di Stato*.

### Riformanze

The *Riformagioni*, as they are entitled in Latin, consist of detailed reports from the meetings of the Councils which governed Orvieto from 1295. The series is virtually unbroken, and comprises no less than sixty-nine volumes for the period up to 1350. The records deal for the most part with local government business, but the councils were on occasion required to deal with specifically religious or ecclesiastical matters, and these deliberations, too, are recorded. Every so often, for example, there would be a meeting to decide the amounts of alms to be given by the Commune to the various religious establishments in the town<sup>22</sup>. On 24 May 1337, the councillors discussed for the first time arrangements for a public procession through the streets of Orvieto to celebrate the feast of *Corpus Domini* <sup>23</sup>; and ten years later, in June 1347, there is evidence in the *Riformanze* of continuing local veneration of the martyred *podestà*, Pietro Parenzo, a century and a half after his death<sup>24</sup>. On that day, the sixteen councillors present decided unanimously that, in order to secure the continued intercessions of the martyr for the town and people of Orvieto, one candle, weighing twenty pounds, should be given to the Cathedral each year on his feast-day (21 May). That same year, it was decided that the feast of the Assumption should be marked by public absolution of certain named prisoners in front of an image of the virgin, "*sita in maiori et cathedrali ecclesia civitatis*" <sup>25</sup>.

No attempt has been made for this study to work systematically through all the council records for the relevant period: the volume of material is too great, and the likely results not significant enough. The *Riformanze* do, however, contain many individual items of interest, such as the ones cited above, as well as reflecting the turbulent relations between the town and the papacy, for example between 1303 and 1312 when there were protracted negotiations for the removal of a papal Interdict<sup>27</sup>. They have therefore been used extensively, if selectively.

### Pergamene

There is a large collection of unbound parchments in the *Archivio*



*di Stato*, but these have not yet been fully catalogued<sup>28</sup>.

The collection includes many Papal Bulls, dealing largely with the long-standing dispute between Orvieto and the papacy over the possession of Bolsena, Acquapendente and the towns of the Val del Lago. Other items of interest include an Indulgence issued by Bishop Giacomo to members of the fraternity of "*Beatus Petrus Martir*"<sup>29</sup>, and a general anti-heretical decree, issued by a later bishop in 1349<sup>30</sup>.

There are also a few Wills with ecclesiastical benefactions, but one of these is in a class of its own, due to its exceptional length and detail. This is the Will of one Ugolino Lupicini, a prominent Orvietan citizen who lived around the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries<sup>31</sup>. It covers seven pieces of parchment sewn together to form a roll 23.5 cm wide by 4.6 m long, and has well over a hundred separate clauses, even without the opening section, which is missing. The testator has at his disposal large amounts of coin and real estate, including two thousand gold florins in cash alone, and he distributes them in varying proportions to virtually all the churches and religious orders in Orvieto, as well as to his own family and servants. The Will is thus of considerable interest, not only for the information which it provides about the institutions named, but also because of the insight which it gives into the mind of the pious layman who compiled it.

Another document which stands out from the others in this category is the lengthy canonisation enquiry for B. Ambrogio di Massa, published in full by the Bollandists in 1925<sup>32</sup>.

#### Liber Donationum

This large, heavily-bound codex is entitled Liber Donationum 1. 1241-1329, but the Wills and donations which it contains go back at least twenty-five years earlier than the title suggests.

It is the personal Wills that are of particular relevance to a study of lay piety, and there are just less than a hundred of these in the collection, covering the period 1221 to 1291. Some of the "*donationes inter vivos*" are, however, similar in form, particularly when made from the person's sick bed. There are 569 gifts in all, usually of houses or land, and twenty-one other legal agreements.

The Wills recorded in the *Liber Donationum* are for the most part fairly short. Many have no religious provision at all, while it is quite common for the testator to set aside a certain sum "*pro anima sua*", but to leave its distribution entirely to the discretion of his executors.

Nonetheless there are a few Wills which include benefactions to several named institutions, and over the codex as a whole, no less than thirty-six of Orvieto's churches, religious houses and hospitals are mentioned, on anything from one to twenty-five occasions each. There are also nine Wills and seven donations made by local clergy and religious.

Liber Inquisitionis, 1268 - 9

This volume, entitled on the outside cover, "*Liber Inquisitionis heretice pravitatis ab anno 1239 usque ad anno 1268*" <sup>aa</sup>, is of fundamental importance to the study of heresy in Orvieto, and will be discussed more fully in that context. A brief description, however, will serve as an introduction to it.

With the exception of the first two entries, the entire codex, comprising thirty-two folios, is in the hand of the Orvietan notary, Orbetanus Nicole. Despite the earlier date in the title, the sixty-six sentences in the document are all from the Inquisition held in Orvieto from May 1268 until January 1269, under the well-known Franciscan Inquisitor, Fra Benvenuto d'Orvieto, and his companion, Fra Bartolomeo d'Amelia. Only in a dozen or so cases, relating to obdurate or relapsed heretics, are there retrospective remarks about the work of earlier Inquisitors: a Dominican, Fra Roggero, in 1239 and 1249, and a Franciscan, Fra Iordano, in 1263.

The sentences deal with some eighty-eight individuals from Orvieto, sixty men and twenty women, and although each of the cases follows the same basic pattern, with the repetition of many of the same charges and penalties, there is sufficient specific detail and individual variation to give some picture of the people involved.

Most were Orvietan citizens, but two were Sienese men, who were described as '*habitor*' rather than '*civis*'. In a few instances there is an indication of the person's occupation or social status. Most of the local people brought before the Inquisitors were not themselves Cathar '*perfecti*', although some had been '*consoled*' in time of sickness, and others were accused of being present when the ritual was administered to friends or family members. More often, they were accused of such offences as believing in heretical errors, listening to the preaching of the '*patarenes*', giving them hospitality, and eating and drinking with them. Sentences ranged from the payment of a fine and the wearing of two yellow crosses, to the confiscation of all or part of a person's property, loss of his right to make contracts or hold public office,

expulsion from the area and destruction of his houses and towers. By no means all of the accused appeared in person to answer the charges against them. Many of them must already have made good their escape, choosing voluntary exile rather than banishment.

#### Political and financial records

Much of the material in these categories is irrelevant to the present study, but there are a few areas of overlap.

The *Riformanze*, for example, have already been discussed, and there is a body of material classified by Fumi<sup>34</sup> as '*Istrumentari*', consisting of a series of large codices, known in all but two cases by the name of the *Podestà* who commissioned them<sup>35</sup>. For the most part, these registers are concerned with purely political and diplomatic matters, such as alliances and peace treaties, but there are certain transactions involving churches or clergy, and three entries, dated 1223, 1239 and 1249 respectively, which concern the suppression of heresy<sup>36</sup>.

In 1281 certain property in the *Santa Pace* quarter of Orvieto was acquired by the civic authorities in order for the *Piazza del Popolo* to be built<sup>37</sup>. Business of this sort would not normally be of interest to the religious historian, but in this case some of the houses which were subject to compulsory purchase had either belonged to heretics in the past, or belonged now to their heirs. The *Santa Pace* quarter had been one of the main strongholds of heresy in Orvieto, and this document therefore provides important information about the long-term effects of the Inquisition on heretical families.

Another document, this time in the "economic" section of the archive<sup>38</sup>, should have been able to provide further data of the same sort. It is entitled "*Bona comunis olim rebellium*", and originally listed all the property confiscated from the ghibellines who were exiled from the town in 1313<sup>39</sup>. Only a small fragment of the list survives, however, and for that reason it was less informative than might have been hoped.

#### 1292 Catasto

There are several tax registers, but by far the most comprehensive is the '*Catasto*' of 1292, which is discussed at some length in an article by Giuseppe Pardi, and in great detail by Elisabeth Carpentier, who used computer techniques for her thesis and subsequent book<sup>40</sup>. The property survey for the *Catasto* was carried out by the Guglielmite brothers, on instructions from the *podestà* and his officials:



*Hic est liber appassatus sive mensurationis terrarum et possessionum hominum civitatis et comitatus civitatis prefate ac etiam extimationis, factus et conpositus per discretos viros magistrum Trasmundum Egidii de Fabriano, Palmerutium eius filium, Bernardum Hermannii et Bonansegnam Bartholi de Fulgineo, agrimensores terrarum,... tempore potestarie nobilis et egregii militis domini Florii de Mediolano, honorabilis potestatis et capitanei civitatis eiusdem. Que quidem possessiones extimate fuerunt per religiosos viros fratres ordinis Sancti Guilelmi, (41)*

The *Catasto* is in two volumes, the first dealing with the town and the second, larger one with the *contado*. Its chief interest, for present purposes, lies in any personal information which it may provide about lay people known from other sources to have been involved in heresy, or associated with one or other of the local confraternities.

Some connections of this sort can, indeed, be made, but there are two problems, quite apart from the sheer volume of information to be examined. In the first place, the dates do not coincide precisely, since the *Catasto* was compiled twenty-four years after the register in which the names of most of the local heretics are recorded, and twenty-one years before the first surviving confraternity matriculation list<sup>42</sup>. Secondly, it is by no means safe to assume that names which are given in a similar form in different codices always refer to the same people. Variations in spelling, plus the practice of using a small number of personal names repeatedly in each family, combine to make the process of identification very risky.

Nor is it necessarily the case that people omitted from the survey in 1292 were not resident in Orvieto at that date. The *Catasto* is a register only of real estate: it takes no account of the many residents who, for whatever reason, owned no "vineyards", "gardens", "meadows", "woods" or other "pieces of land", or who were exempt from the *datium*, the tax for which the register was being compiled. Clergy and religious were excluded, for example, except in those few instances when the property was their own personal possession. Thus the *Catasto* should not be confused with a complete census of the adult population, any more than a low valuation within it should be taken as a sign of poverty.

Despite these reservations, the *Catasto* is still a useful source of information about the lay population of Orvieto at a central date for the study of both heresy and lay piety in the town.

#### Fondo Giudiziario

This important body of judicial records could very easily have been

missed altogether, as it is hardly catalogued at all, and has received very little scholarly attention. A short article by Luigi Fumi deals only with some early criminal sentences passed by the Podestà, and a recent article by Marilena Rossi Caponeri is little more than a statement of the urgent need for these documents to be examined and properly catalogued<sup>43</sup>. A written description of the collection, which consists of thirteen 'folders' (*buste*) and one bound register (1287-9), gives a false impression of its scope, since each of the 'buste' contains from five to twenty sizeable fascicles, and the register has over eight hundred leaves. The loose sections in the folders must have come from bound registers like the one for 1287-89, and if the volume of material for this two-year period is a reliable guide, the scale of notarial business at this time must have been enormous<sup>44</sup>.

For most of the period up to 1350, however, only small fragments of the original registers have survived. The folders are arranged in a very rough chronological pattern, but there is no index whatsoever, and it would therefore be a slow process to extract the valuable information which they undoubtedly contain about a period closer than most other sources to that of the Inquisition, and the early confraternities. Even a cursory scan of the material revealed a number of items of interest.

The most significant discovery related to the implementation of the sentences passed by the Inquisitors. Among the documents in the *Fondo Giudiziario* are the results of appeals which were heard by a special judge known as the *Exgravator*, and in February - May 1269, the sons of two heretics presented appeals against fines imposed upon them. The basis of their case was that they were unable to pay because their family's property had been confiscated as a result of the heresy trials<sup>45</sup>. None of the other items is so directly relevant, but the names of heretical families appear at a number of points, adding to the general picture of what became of them once the trials were over. The material in this section of the archive would certainly merit further investigation.

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#### e) Archivio Notarile

The *Archivio Notarile* is one of several smaller archives, formerly independent, which have since been subsumed into the *Archivio di Stato*. Several hundred volumes remain, but only eleven of these, representing

the work of six notaries, contain material from the period up to 1350<sup>46</sup>. They cover the whole range of legal, personal and contractual matters for which a notary's services were required, but of particular interest here are the private Wills, a fair proportion of which contain ecclesiastical benefactions.

Although generally later than the Wills in the *Liber Donationum*, these ones follow a similar pattern. There are a few which contain detailed religious provisions, one with as many as forty-two benefactions to churches, monasteries or individual clergy<sup>47</sup>, many more which begin with a more moderate provision "*pro anima sua*", and others still which have no religious content.

In addition, the *Archivio Notarile* contains some receipts from the institutions which benefitted after the implementation of a Will, often in cases where the Will itself no longer survives. For the period up to 1350, there are at least seventeen Wills with religious provisions, and five receipts pertaining to Wills which have been lost.

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#### f) Archive of the Servite Convent

The Orvietan Servite convent has its own small archive, uncatalogued but containing several documents from the period 1265 to 1330. Nearly all of these have been published, and there are published texts of a further four documents which were once in the archive but have since been lost<sup>48</sup>.

The collection includes five papal Bulls, three of which relate to the building of the Servite church between 1265 and 1268<sup>49</sup>. There are also three Indulgences granted by bishops Francesco and Leonardo in 1292 and 1299 respectively<sup>50</sup>. The earliest of these is directed towards members of the Servite confraternity, who are also named in a decree issued by Fra Lottaringo, prior general of the Order, in the same year, granting them full participation in the privileges of membership of the Order<sup>51</sup>.

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#### g) Other Archives

At one time each church or convent would have had its own archive, some of them undoubtedly substantial, but the vagaries of time and fortune have resulted in the destruction of many of these, or their dispersal into other collections.



For example, the small remnant of the archive of the abbey of SS. Severo and Martirio, and the much fuller archive of the hospital of Santa Maria della Stella, have both, like the notarial archive, been incorporated into the *Archivio di Stato*<sup>52</sup>. It is also possible to trace there a number of documents which must once have belonged to the church of S. Giovanni, the repository throughout the thirteenth and early fourteenth century for all the official records of the town<sup>53</sup>. These three collections all contain a certain amount of thirteenth and fourteenth century material, but none of it is particularly relevant to this study.

The convent of S. Francesco, one of the most influential in the town, must at one time have had a substantial archive, but apart from the few documents, such as the Inquisition record or the canonisation process for B. Ambrogio, which survive elsewhere, this material seem to have disappeared, almost without trace. According to Piccolomini-Adami, it and the Dominican archive had been dispersed during the course of the nineteenth century, and this is consistent with the fact that della Valle, at the end of the previous century, was able to examine and describe the archive's contents<sup>54</sup>. His list is small, which suggests that by this time the bulk of the medieval material must already have been lost, but there were a number of papal bulls, two of which, dated 1279 and 1289, make reference to the Third Order, and five of which relate to the canonisation enquiry for B. Ambrogio.

The archive of the convent of S. Domenico seems to have undergone a similar process of dispersal. Most of this must have taken place well before the demolition of the convent in 1234, since anything remaining then would have been transferred to the Order's main archive in the convent of Santa Sabina in Rome, and there are, in fact, only two Orvietan items there. One of these, a seventeenth century inventory of papal Bulls, gives some hint of the extent of the archive in its prime<sup>55</sup>. No fewer than 260 Bulls are listed from the time of Pope Honorius III (1216-1227) to that of Pope Clement IV (1265-1268).

When della Valle consulted the archive, some time before 1791<sup>56</sup>, it contained a number of items now lost or located elsewhere. Caccia's chronicle, for example, was still there, though by 1907 it had been transferred to S. Bastianello in Rome<sup>57</sup>. There was a copy of Scalza's Life of B. Vanna (1323) and one of the Will of Cardinal de Braye (d. 1282), whose tomb in the church of S. Domenico is marked by the

ornate monument made by Arnolfo di Cambio. Della Valle also mentions two fourteenth century codices, one containing a composite version of the *Leggenda* of S. Domenico, and the other a variety of documents relating to S. Tommaso d'Aquino.

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#### FOOTNOTES

1. There is a useful summary by the town's archivist, Marilena Rossi Caponeri, of the material in all the local archives relating to the Mendicant Orders, in her introduction to the Orvietan volume of the series Chiese e Conventi degli Ordini Mendicanti in Umbria nei sec. XIII e XIV (ed. M. Rossi Caponeri & L. Riccetti, 1987).
2. The incident is recorded in a marginal note by Bishop Ranerio in Arch. Vesc., Cod. B., f.72, "...fuit maxima discordia et guerra inter ipsum (bishop Ildribandino) et Archipresbiterum Ranerium cum suis canonicis, ... presbiter Ranerius, tactus dolore cordis, intrinsecus proiecit in fumum et combusit Episcopalia instrumenta", (ed. P. Perali, La Cronaca del Vescovado Orvietano (1029 - 1239) scritta dal Vescovo Ranerio (Cronachette, Note ed Inventari), Orvieto (Marsili), 1907, p. 5)
3. Codice A covers the period c.1200 - 1300, Codice B contains the earliest material, beginning in 1024 and continuing to 1388, Codice C was compiled c.1349, but contains copies of some earlier documents.
4. ed. P. Perali, La Cronaca del Vescovado...
5. Tommaso Piccolomini-Adami, Guida Storica Artistica della Città d'Orvieto, Siena, 1883, p. 32. He probably borrowed his description of the Legendary from an earlier work, such as G. Della Valle, Storia del Duomo di Orvieto, Roma, 1791, (p. 79). The two large codices had been lost between their return from Rome in 1662 and their rediscovery on top of a cupboard in the Episcopal Chancery in 1722. They remained in the episcopal archive until some time after 1851, when they were returned to the archive of the Chapter (ed. Vincenzo Natalini, S. Pietro Parenzo: La Leggenda scritta dal Canone Giovanni da Orvieto, Roma, 1936, pp. 11-12).
6. Vincenzo Natalini, "Il Capitolo del Duomo di Orvieto ed i suoi Statuti Inediti (1260 - 1458)" in Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia, a. 1X, no. 2, May-Aug. 1955, pp. 177-225.
7. V. Natalini, "Il Capitolo del Duomo...", pp. 215ff.
8. Arch. Cap., Leggendario, vol. 1, fol. 1r.
9. ed. V. Natalini, S. Pietro Parenzo: La Leggenda..., pp. 4-40.
10. Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquitatis et Mediae Aetatis, Suppt. 2, ed. Socii Bollandiani, Brussels, 1898-1911.
11. Arch. Cap., Codice di S. Costanzo, f. 12v., 19 Feb. 1221. ed. V. Natalini, "Il Capitolo del Duomo...", pp. 189-90.
12. Cod. di S. Cost., f. 242r, 5 Oct. 1284. ed. Natalini, art. cit., pp. 214-5.
13. Natalini, art. cit. See also L. Fumi, Statuti e Regesti dell'Opera di Santa Maria di Orvieto, Roma (Vaticano) 1891.
14. T. Piccolomini-Adami, Guida Storica Artistica..., p. 127.
15. Cods. M.464 & M.465. The marginal additions to Codex M.465 are fully transcribed and discussed in M. Maccarrone, Studi su Innocenzo III (Italia Sacra 17), Padova (Antenore) 1972, pp. 1-163.



16. see L. Fumi, Statuti e Regesti; Lucia Tannaro Conti, "I Codici Corali dell'Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo di Orvieto" in B.I.S.A.O., Ann. VIII, 1952, pp. 18-19; L. Petrangeli, "L'Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo di Orvieto" in B.R.D.S.P.U., vol. 36, Perugia, 1939, pp. 148-50.
17. The project, sponsored by a computer company, is being undertaken by a team of five young researchers under the supervision of Lucio Riccetti. A number of people, including Katherine Gill and Catherine Harding have already started working on this material. One book has been published so far; L. Riccetti, Il Duomo di Orvieto (La Terza Edn.), 1988.
18. The amount of useful material which there may be in this archive was illustrated by my chance discovery, in a journal relating to linguistics, of two extracts from the Memorie e Contratti (1353-1364), which happened to refer to a local confraternity. (S. Bianconi, "Ricerche sui dialetti d'Orvieto e di Viterbo nel Medioevo", in Studi Linguistici Italiani, vol. III, Friburg, 1962.
19. These deeds are described in a hand-written catalogue, compiled in June 1932 by Prof. Scaccia Scarafoni and Sac. Alceste Moretti.
20. Arch. Duomo, Pergamena 60a, 31 Oct. 1296.
21. The development of the archive is discussed in Gli Archivi dell'Umbria, Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, XXX, Roma (Ministero dell'Interno) 1957.
22. The earliest such list is dated 11 December 1314, and thereafter there are lists for the years 1341-3, 1347-50, and beyond (Rif., ad. an.).
23. Rif., vol. 112, ff. 47v.-48r., 24 May 1337.
24. Rif., vol. 65/1, f. 38r., (?5) June 1347.
25. Rif., vol. 65/2, f. 20r., 15 August 1347.
26. Rif., vol. 67, ff. 67r.-68r.
27. Rif., vol. 78 (1309-1313), *passim*.
28. Some appear in C.D. under the heading "Fondo Diplomatico". Chiese e Conventi... contains a full description of a limited category of documents: those which relate in any way to the Mendicant Orders in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.
29. A. di S., Fond. Dip., 17 June 1258.
30. A. di S., Fond. Dip., 20 April 1349. This document is a re-statement of an earlier anathematisation, the date of which is not given. The bishop's name is given as Pietro, but there was no Bishop Pietro at an appropriate date. Either the date or the man's office must be in error.
31. A. di S., Pergamene. A full, annotated transcription was published by Lucio Riccetti, in B.I.S.A.O., vol. XXXVIII (1982), pp. 9-56, under the title, "Note in margine ad un testamento Orvietan del Trecento. Il testamento di Ugolino di Lupicini". Riccetti discusses in some detail the possible date of the Will and the identity of the testator.
32. Acta Sanctorum, November, vol. 1V, Brussels, 1925, pp 566-608.
33. A.S.C., vol. 860. The entries were all fully described (and transcribed in part) by L. Fumi (in C.D.), and, more recently, by L. Riccetti in C. & C. The *Liber Inquisitionis* is also discussed by P. Mariano d'Alatri in L'Inquisizione Franciscana nell'Italia Centrale nel sec. XIII, Roma, 1954, pp. 64-78, and in his article "'Ordo Penitentium' ed eresia in Italia" in Collectanea Franciscana, vol. XLIII, 1973.
34. L. Fumi, L'Archivio Segreto del Comune di Orvieto; relazione al sindaco Cav. Giacomo Bracci, Orvieto, 1875 (handwritten catalogue).

35. Matric. 865, Titolario Codice A, 1190-1248  
     " 866, " " Caffarello, 1168-1250  
     " 867, " " Catalano, 1117-1257  
     " 868, " " Galluzzo, 1171-1264  
     " 869, " " B, 1251-1295  
     " 870, " " Savello I, 1190-1285  
     " 871, " " de Bustolis (Savello II), 1168-1414
36. 30 March 1223, Sentence against two people who had received heretics, (Cod. Tit. A f. 37 & Cod. de Bust. f. 86); 6 August 1239, Decree that heretics should not be sheltered in Rocca Flaiana (Cod. Tit. A, f. 73 & Cod. Sav. I, f. 112); 12 January 1249, Sentence of the Dominican Inquisitor, Fra Roggero, against six named heretics (Cod. Tit. A, f. 94 & Cod. de Bust., f. 30).
37. A, di S., Istrumentum IX (matric. 878), ff. 1-10, 16 February 1281.
38. The classification is Fumi's (L'Archivio Segreto...).
39. A, di S., Bona Communis olim rebellium.
40. G. Pardi, "Il Catasto d'Orvieto dell'anno 1292", in B.R.D.S.P.U., vol. 2, 1896, pp. 302-3. E. Carpentier, Orvieto et son Contade: étude du cadastre de 1292 par la méthode de l'informatique, Univ. de Paris-Sorbonne, 1975 (4 vols). E. Carpentier, Orvieto à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: ville et campagne dans le Cadastre de 1292, Paris (C.N.R.S.) 1986.
41. A.S.C., Matric. 399, 1292 Catasto, vol. I. This is the introduction to the register for the *Santa Pace* quarter, but the same formula is repeated, with only slight variations, for each of the other quarters, and for the *contado*.
42. A, di S., Liber Inquisitionis, 1268-9, *Biblioteca Nazionale, Roma, Codex V.E. 528* (*Matricola* of Franciscan confraternities, 1313 & 1323ff.)
43. L. Fumi, "Notizie tratte dalle più antiche sentenze criminali del Podestà di Orvieto.", in B.D.S.P.U., vol. XIV, 1908, pp. 575-9. M. Rossi Caponeri, "Nota sulle fonti giudiziarie medievali conservate presso la sezione di Archivio di Stato di Orvieto", in B.I.S.A.O., vol. XXVIII (1982), Orvieto, 1985, pp. 3-7. A new inventory is planned, which will arrange sentences according to the officials responsible for issuing them: the eight rectors; the *podestà*; the *capitano del popolo*; and the *vicario*.
44. There must be a great deal more to be discovered in this register, not only in terms of religious history, but also with regard to legal procedures, and, more fundamentally still, with regard to everyday life in the town in this concentrated two-year period. This codex would make an ideal focus for a future research project.
45. A.S.C., Sentences of the Exgravator, ff. 24r.-v.
46. There are six notaries whose work covers the relevant period: Angelo di Pietro (vol. 1, in 4 parts, 1296-1340); Bernardino di Lutio (vol. 5, 1339-1370's); Giacomo di Giovanni (vol. 10, 1305); Teo di Matteo di Guidone (vol. 38, in 4 parts, 1347-1363); Nicola d'Angelo (vol. 39, 1348-72); Simone di Cello (vol. 41, 1333-71).
47. Arch. Not., vol. 1/2, 1319, Will of *domina* Angela Magalotti.
48. The documents themselves are stored in a metal box in the Servite convent. There is no edition of the entire collection; only a typed inventory has been prepared by L. Tammaro Conti. The documents prior to 1304 are all published in F.A. dal Pino, I Frati Servi di S. Maria dalle origine all'approvazione (1233ca.-1304), vol. II, *Documentazione*, Louvain, 1972.
49. 17 April 1285, "Ad pietatis opera..."; 12 January 1268, "Quoniam ut ait..." and "Meritis vestre devotionis..." (Clement IV); 15 March 1290, "Devotionis vestre precibus..."/



precibus..."(Nicholas IV); 11 February 1304, "Dum levanus..." (Benedict XI), Dal Pino, op. cit., section 1, documents 12, 17, 18, 48 & p. 191.

50. 10 April 1292 (Bishop Francesco); 12 March 1299, "Inter cetera opera..." and "Congruam et Deo placabilem..." (Bishop Leonardo), Dal Pino, op. cit., section 11, documents 34, 54 & 55.

51. 9 May 1292 "Exigente pie devotionis..." (dal Pino, op. cit., vol. 11, doc. 35). There is also a copy of a general ruling allowing Servite priors and brothers to hear confessions (13 January 1326; unpublished), and a deed of sale (7 August 1330) involving the Franciscan nuns of S. Lodovico.

52. All that survives of the medieval archive of SS. Severo e Martirio is a single volume, containing twenty-two entries for the years 1296-7 (A, di S., Matric. 830). These consist of property transactions in which the abbey was involved. The hospital archive is contained in two volumes, covering the years 1244-52 and 1262-1677 (Matric 825 & 826). Many of the deeds relate to the administration of property under the hospital's control, but others are concerned with internal administration, and even with the affairs of individual members of the community.

53. There is no shortage of evidence for the use of this church as the official town archive. A register compiled in 1239, for example, included copies of original deeds in the church of S. Giovanni (Eph. Urb., vol. 1, p. 175, fn.3). On 25 June 1306, a decree was issued that eight days before completing his term of office each *podestà* and *capitano* should send all his official records in a sealed bag to S. Giovanni, where they would be kept before being passed on to his successor (A, di S., Matric. 865, Cod. Tit. A, ff. 5 & 23). The 1323 revision of the *Carta del Popolo* mentions an archive held in "*ecclesia sancti Iohannis*" near the Piazza del Comune (C.D., p. 758). In 1339, the compiler of the "*Regesto degli Atti del Comune*" stated that he had found these Acts "*in libris et instrumentis dicti Comunis, existentibus apud ecclesiam sancti Iohannis de Platea*" (Eph. Urb., vol. 1, p. 97). The archive lost its function as a state depository on 28 October 1391, when a decree was passed ordering that the town's archive should be removed from S. Giovanni "*propter loci humiditatem et incomoditatem*" (Piccolomini-Adami, op. cit., p. 30). The convent's own archive retained its independence, however, as it was consulted by della Valle in 1791 (op. cit., p. 87) and by Piccolomini-Adami (op. cit., p. 33) about a century later.

54. G. Della Valle, Storia del Duomo di Orvieto, Roma, 1791, pp. 80-81 & p. 33fn.

55. Archivio Generale O. P., Santa Sabina, Roma, Xl 4900 - Conventus Urbevitanus. There is a further hint to material once contained in the Dominican archive in an undated file in the *Biblioteca Comunale* (22101 XXI B). This contains a handwritten list of items in the Dominican convent, possibly at the time of its demolition in 1234.

56. G. Della Valle, Storia del Duomo...

57. L. Fumi, "*Estratti dalla Cronaca di fr. Giovanni di Matteo del Caccia...*" in B.R.D.S.P.U., vol. 13, Perugia, 1907, p. 197.

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## 2. CODEX V.E. 528

This codex, now in the National Library in Rome<sup>1</sup>, is the most important single source for the study of Orvietan confraternities, and of sacred drama in particular, containing, as it does, the texts of thirty-four *laude* and *sacre rappresentazioni*. The collection has been published twice, once in full and once in part<sup>2</sup>.

The original manuscript was compiled in 1405 by one Tramo di Lonardo, "*disciplinato dela fraternita di santo Francesco*", but some of the plays - those, for example, which are to be performed "*al modo antiquo*" - are earlier in origin, while others would have been performed by groups other than the Franciscan fraternity to which the editor belonged.

The collection begins with a dedication to Christ, the Virgin Mary, St. Francis, S. Louis (of Toulouse) and all the court of heaven, and a statement to the effect that the text had been compiled by the said Tramo on the instructions of the rector and sub-rector. The thirty-four *laude* and *rappresentazioni*, three of which have musical directions, cover the main festivals of the Christian year (Nativity, Easter, Pentecost, Corpus Domini, All Saints, the Assumption), and events scriptural (e.g. the Annunciation, the Temptation, the Resurrection and the Ascension) and sanctoral (e.g. the immaculate conception of the Virgin, her presentation in the Temple, the conversion of St. Augustine, the stigmatisation of St. Francis).

The text is followed by an inventory of the possessions of the fraternity of Santa Maria. Most of the items, then stored in the Franciscan church, were associated with worship, or with the group's administration. The only dateable items on the inventory are three papal and episcopal privileges, all earlier than 1350. One is from pope 'Alisandro' (presumably Alexander IV, 1254-61); one from "*missere lo vescuo Lonardo*" (Leonardo Mancini, bishop of Orvieto, 1295-1302); and one from "*missere lo vescuo Guittone*" (Guido Farnese, 1302-1328). Also mentioned are other books of lauds, membership lists, regulations, inventories and necrologies, no longer extant.

The unpublished sections of this codex, the matriculation and necrology lists which flank the main dramatic texts, provide important information about the Franciscan confraternity to which they pertain.

There is a significant gap in the matriculation list, between the



first fragment, dated 1313, and the main section, which starts in 1337 and is continued in various hands until 1480. The first fragment, fol. 4r. of the codex, was obviously part of a much longer parchment, for after a general introduction, in which representatives are named for each of the four Quarters of the city, it begins by listing the names of forty-eight men from the Region of S. Costanzo in the Postierla Quarter. Even on the unwarranted assumption that this section was complete, and taking account of the fact that membership in this central region may have been larger than elsewhere, the full register must have been of considerable length, if there were still to be named the 'mulieres' mentioned in the opening section, as well as the men and women from each of the other twenty regions in the city.

When the *matricola* resumes on fol. 5r., it is in a different form altogether. Members are registered here not by region but in chronological order of admission to the confraternity. Only men are included, and in most cases the man's name and region are given, as well as the date on which he either died or was expelled from the group. The list begins in the middle of an entry for the year 1337, but it continues unbroken in the same hand until 1398. There are 459 entries up to this point, and a further 220 thereafter, in a variety of hands, covering the period 1398 to 1480.

The necrology covers fols. 52r. to 56v., and contains, in order of death, 365 names from the period 1324 to 1398. This register seems to be complete, but the entries are very much shorter, giving only the man's name and date of death in each case. There is, however, a fairly high degree of correlation between the necrology and the second matriculation list, with around 130 names appearing on both, and this enables the biographical information to be expanded in a number of cases.

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#### FOOTNOTES

1, Biblioteca Nazionale, Roma, Codice, V.E. 528,

2, 1) in B.R.D.S.P.U., Appendice 5, "Sacre Rappresentazioni per le Fraternite d'Orvieto nel Cod. Vittorio Emanuele 528", Perugia, 1916,

2) ed. Vincenzo de Bartholomaeis, Laude Drammatiche e Rappresentazioni Sacre, vol. 1, Firenze, 1943, pp. 331-473, (selected extracts only)

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### 3. PUBLISHED SOURCES

The bulk of relevant source material remains unpublished, housed locally in State and Church archives. In the last few years, however, reorganisation of the *Archivio di Stato*, and systematic examination of records relating particularly to the Mendicant Orders in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, have made this material much more accessible. The published results of the latter project mark the first significant advance on the work of the prolific Orvietan antiquarian, Luigi Fumi, who still deserves credit for most of the published sources available. His main interest was in political and diplomatic history, but he was thorough enough to include various items of interest to the religious historian.

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#### a) Chronicles

The main collection of Orvietan chronicles, edited by Luigi Fumi himself, was published in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* in 1909 and 1929<sup>1</sup>. The chronicles are presented as an appendix to the so-called "*Ephemerides Urbevetanae*", an anonymous account of the period from 1342 to 1368<sup>2</sup>, but in fact the 'appendix' is considerably larger than the text. Many of the appended chronicles are fragmentary, some are late in compilation, and some continue well beyond the limits of this study, but the following are worthy of note:

- a Regesto di Atti Originali per le Giurisdizioni del Comune (compiled 1339, with some later additions).
- the Chronica Antiqua (1161-1313) and the Chronica Potestatum (1161-1132), subsumed under Fumi's heading, "*Annales Urbevetani*".
- three fragments: a continuation of the 'Martiniana' (1284); fragments from annals and chronicles (1284-1330); and fragments from Vatican codex 1738 (1334-1353).
- fragments from a Cronica Urbevetana (1294-1304).
- the Cronaca del Conte Francesco di Montemarte e Corbara (1202-1400), compiled at the end of the fourteenth century.
- the Cronaca di Luca di Domenico Manente (1174-1413), begun in 1400, and extracts from its supplement, the *Historie* of Cipriano Manente (1325-1376), begun in 1513.

Some of this material exists also in an earlier edition, published by A. F. Gamurrini under the title Chronica Urbevetana<sup>3</sup>. This corresponds to Fumi's Chronica Potestatum and parts of his annal and chronicle fragments<sup>4</sup>. There is also an earlier edition of the '*Ephemerides*



*Urbevetanae*', under the title Cronaca d'Orvieto dal 1342 al 1363 <sup>5</sup>.

A few extracts from a lost chronicle are included in Monaldo Monaldeschi's Commentari Historici di Orvieto, but very little of the original chronicle has been preserved in this way.

Finally, there is a Dominican chronicle, written by Giovanni Caccia, a member of the Orvietan convent, and published by A.M. Viel and P.M. Girardin in 1907<sup>6</sup>. The first two sections deal with the Dominican Order in general, but the final part consists of a necrology of the Orvietan convent, from its foundation in 1232 until the death of the author around 1348 <sup>7</sup>.

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#### b) Ecclesiastical Tithes

Only partial records survive of the *Decime*, or ecclesiastical tithes collected from Orvietan churches and clergy in the thirteenth century, and these were published by P Sella in 1952<sup>8</sup>. There are nine lists, some of them incomplete, dealing with the period 1275-80, then a gap of seventeen years followed by a much fuller list for the year 1297<sup>9</sup>. Collections seem to have been made twice annually, at the feast of the Nativity and the feast of John the Baptist, and on six occasions between 1275 and 1279 the revenues are specifically designated "*pro subsidio terre sancte*".

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#### c) Hagiography

The most comprehensive recent work on Orvietan saints<sup>10</sup> deals with over a hundred individuals from the period 1150-1350, but this includes some figures with only the most tenuous local connections. Iconographical study might give a more realistic impression of active local cults, but as far as written evidence is concerned, only three Orvietan saints' lives require consideration<sup>11</sup>.

The earliest of these is the Passio Beati Petri Parentii Martiris, written by a contemporary, canon Giovanni, shortly after Parenzo's murder by heretics in 1199 <sup>12</sup>. The details of Parenzo's life, and in particular his death, seem to be heavily stylised. He is deliberately portrayed as an *alter Christus*, from his 'triumphal entry' into the town, and his courageous facing of a dangerous mob, to his betrayal after a final meal by a member of his own household, "*Radulphus, Iude similis, immo alter Iuda...*" <sup>13</sup>. Much of the legend, indeed, is concerned not with his life,

but with posthumous miracles. But the account is of prime importance for the evidence which it provides about the internal conflicts in Orvieto at the time, and in particular the early growth there of heresy, for which it is the main source of information. There are also interesting side comments, such as the vivid picture given of the cathedral's state of disrepair, when it was suggested as a place of burial for the saint<sup>14</sup>.

The second hagiographic source is likewise of more interest for the information it provides about the Franciscan convent in Orvieto, and about the circumstances of some of the citizens of the town, than for the fairly unspecific virtues exhibited by B. Ambrogio di Massa. The document in question is a record of the canonisation enquiry for B. Ambrogio (d. 1236), a Franciscan friar in the Orvietan convent<sup>15</sup>. After a preamble by Bishop Rainerio, Canon Giovanni includes a copy of a letter from Pope Gregory IX to the bishops of Orvieto and Sovana and the prior of the church of S. Giovanni di Platea, requesting evidence about the life of the holy man. He then goes on to record the testimonies of nine Franciscans and 187 other Orvietans to Ambrogio's saintly life and the miracles performed by him before and after his death. These testimonies were recorded between August 1240 and February 1241, fairly soon after Ambrogio's death. The original parchment is wrongly titled, in later hands, as follows:

*...miracoli delli Beati Morico et Ambrosio...  
Esame de Testimonii e Processo Fabricato per la Canonizzazione  
delli BB. Ambroggio e Morico dell'ordine di San Francesco li  
Corpi de' quali stanno nella Chiesa di San Francesco in questa  
Citta d'Orvieto.*

In fact, Morico is mentioned only as the first of the Franciscan witnesses called to testify. The entire Process has been published in Acta Sanctorum<sup>16</sup>.

There are two editions of the third *Leggenda*<sup>17</sup>, that of Beata Giovanna or Vanna of Orvieto, a Dominican tertiary, who died in 1306. Written by a contemporary and fellow-Dominican, Fra Giacomo Scalza (d. 1337), the *Leggenda* contains some information about the lifestyle of female Dominican tertiaries, but otherwise there is little that is remarkable about it. The Life is concerned chiefly with Vanna's humility, wisdom and fervent prayer, her resistance to devils and suitors alike, her holy death and her posthumous miracle-working.

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#### d) Anthologies

Until recently, the only anthology of medieval Orvietan documents was Luigi Fumi's Codice Diplomatico dell Città di Orvieto<sup>1a</sup>, published in 1884. Almost seven hundred documents are included from the period relevant to this study, and although they have been selected and edited with political and diplomatic history in mind, such a major collection is an invaluable tool for research, still useful as a guide to the local archives. It includes a detailed summary of the Inquisition proceedings of 1268/9 from the *Liber Inquisitionis*.

In 1987, a new anthology was published, as part of a larger project covering all the archives of Umbria, to catalogue every document relating in any way to the Mendicant Orders in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries<sup>2a</sup>. The collection is limited to a certain extent by the scope of its subject-matter, but the influence of the Mendicant Orders was so pervasive at this time that in practice all the major archival collections are quite comprehensively surveyed in the book. The local archives are treated individually, with one or other of the two editors in charge of each. A summary of each document is given in Italian, with key phrases preserved in the original Latin. Most importantly, precise source references are given, and there are detailed tables and indices at the end. In other words, this book serves as a useful introduction and guide to the medieval archives of Orvieto, and should save future researchers a considerable amount of basic groundwork.

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#### FOOTNOTES

1. R.I.S., 2nd edition, Tom. 15, part V, vols. 1 & 2. The second volume is of less relevance, as the Diario di Ser Tommaso di Silvestro, which it contains, does not begin until 1482.
2. from Codice Vaticano Urbinate no. 1745. Published here under the title "*Ephemerides Urbevetanae; discorso storico con molti accidenti occorsi in Orvieto et in altre parti...*".
3. from Codice Vaticano Urbinate no. 1738. Published in A.S.I., serie V, vol. 3, 1889, pp. 6-49.
4. Eph. Urb., vol. 1, Annales: Chronica Potestatum, pp. 137-182, Annales: Frammenti, pp. 192-198, Chronica Urbevetana Frammenti, 1364-1406, pp. 205-210. Fumi describes Gamurrini's edition as having been made "*molto inesattamente e non criticamente*" (ibid., p. 137fn.).
5. ed. Giulio Antimaco, Cronaca d'Orvieto dal 1342 al 1363, Milano (Daelli) 1845. Facsimile edition, Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1975.

- 6, Jean Mactei Caccia, O.P., Chronique du Couvent des Precheurs d'Orvieto, ed. A.M. Viel & P.M. Girardin, O.P., Rome & Viterbo, 1907. Extracts from this chronicle were also published by L. Fumi under the title, "Estratti dalla Cronaca di Fr. Giovanni di Matteo del Caccia Domenicano di Orvieto", in B.R.D.S.P.U., vol. 13, Perugia, 1907, pp. 197-207.
- 7, f. 98; "Frater Iohannes Mactei, qui compilavit hanc clonican̄ (sic)". There are some later entries, after this point, in a different hand.
- 8, P. Sella, Rationes Decimarum Italiae nei secoli XIII-XIV; Umbria, Vatican City, 1952. The section dealing with Orvieto is in Vol. 1, pp. 801-916
- 9, "Decime degli anni 1275-1280", from Act. Vat. Collect. 223, ff. 58-107v, "Decima dell'anno 1297", from Arch. Vat. Arm. XXXV, ff. 5-7v.
- 10, Aurelio Ficarelli, Sancto Urbevetana Legio, Orvieto, 1962.
- 11, One of the standard early accounts of the life of St. Dominic was written by an Orvietan; the Dominican bishop, Constantino of Orvieto (d. 1257). This is the Leggenda Sancta Dominici, ed. H.C. Scheeben, in Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Predicatorum, vol. 16, Paris/Roma, 1935, pp. 261-352. There was also a Life of S. Costanzo, bishop and martyr of Perugia, of Orvietan provenance, and apparently designed for public reading on the feast-day of this saint. The original is now lost, but a nineteenth century edition survives, ed. C. Brancadora, Atti di S. Costanzo, vescovo e martire di Perugia, protettore della Cattedrale di Orvieto, Fermo, 1803.
- 12, from Arch. Cap., Leggendario, Tomus Primus, ff. 165-177, ed. V. Natalini, Passio B. Petri Parentii Martiris, auctore magistro Ioanne Canonico Ecclesiae Urbevetanae, in LATERANUM, N.S., An. 11, n. 2, Roma, 1936.
- 13, ed. V. Natalini, Passio B. Petri..., p. 161.
- 14, *ibid.*, Lectio 7, p. 166, "Locus etiam in quo sepulcrum permanet collocatum, fracto superius tecto, nullum quasi habebat contra pluviam munimentum, Unde pluvia irrigante, locus ille desertus, herbis virentibus, prato similis videbatur."
- 15, A. di S., Pergamene. The Process is discussed By A.M. Galletti in an article on medieval attitudes to health and healing: "'Infirmitas' e terapia sacra in una città medievale (Orvieto, 1240)", in La Ricerca Folklorica, vol. VIII, Milano, 1983, pp. 17-34.
- 16, Acta Sanctorum, Novembris Tom. IV, Bruxellis (Bollandiano) 1925, pp. 566-608.
- 17, 1) ed. P. Vincenzo Mareddu, with Italian translation & notes, Leggenda Latina della B. Giovanna detta Vanna d'Orvieto del Terz'Ordine di S. Domenico, scritta dal Ven. P. Giacomo Scalza Orvietano de' Predicatori, contemporaneo della Beata, Orvieto, 1853. 2) ed. Luigi Fumi, Leggenda della Beata Vanna da Orvieto, tradotto in volgare l'anno MCCCC in Venezia da Fra Tommaso Caffarini da Siena dal testo latino del ven. Scalzo Orvietano, Città di Castello, 1885.
- 18, L. Fumi, Codice Diplomatico della Città d'Orvieto: documenti e regesti dal secolo XI al XV, Firenze, 1884. (C.D.)
- 19, Chiese e Conventi degli Ordini Mendicanti in Umbria nei sec. XIII e XIV: Inventario della fonti archivistiche e catalogo delle informazioni documentarie, ARCHIVI DI ORVIETO, ed. Marilena Rossi Caponeri & Lucio Riccetti, Perugia (Editrice Umbra Cooperativa), 1987. (Archivi dell'Umbria: Inventari e Ricerche, 9.)

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A. HERESY



## A.1 HERESY IN ORVIETO

Siger of Brabant, the Averrhoist heretic, may have ended his life in an Orvietan prison some time before 1300<sup>1</sup>, but to all intents and purposes the only heresy to affect the lives of Orvietan people prior to 1350 was Catharism. The Cathars ("Manichees", or "Patarines", as contemporaries described them, with more vehemence than accuracy) had a profound effect on every aspect of Orvietan life up to, and for a long time after 1268/9, when the period of their direct influence was brought to an end by the Franciscan Inquisition.

A more fundamental question remains, however, about this religious movement which rocked the very foundations of Orvietan society from the mid-twelfth to the mid-thirteenth century: namely, whether it is valid to describe Catharism as a Christian heresy at all. The consensus of expert opinion is that the radical dualism at the heart of Cathar faith marks it out as different from most of the other medieval heresies. In essence, it was a non-Christian dualist religion, but in practice the boundaries were less clearly defined. In particular, as Catharism adapted to the Christian society in which it had taken root, it moved closer to Catholicism in a number of respects. These are all matters of general historical concern, which have been discussed at length elsewhere<sup>2</sup>, but as far as Orvieto is concerned, what matters is not so much the theoretical distinction between Cathar and Catholic faith, as how the two were perceived by local people.

The 'perfect', as leaders and teachers of the sect, probably had the deepest understanding of Cathar theology, but none of them was brought to trial in Orvieto, and consequently it is hard to build up any real picture of their personality or beliefs. In any case, most of these people were not native Orvietans, but peripatetic missionaries, who depended on local people for shelter and support.

It is these 'lay' Cathar supporters who are the real subject of this enquiry, and from the testimony which they gave to the Inquisitors, it appears that very few of them had detailed knowledge of Cathar doctrine, despite the fact that many had attended secret meetings and listened to the teaching of the 'perfect' in the homes of 'believers', and in isolated locations in the *contado*. There were a few notable exceptions, such as one man, Stradigotto of Siena, who was able to recite a detailed Cathar creed in the course of his trial, and who was clearly well aware of the

theological implications of his decision to become deeply involved with the sect<sup>3</sup>. The finer points of theology would have been lost on most local sympathisers, however. The principal attraction for many seems to have been the personal *charisma* of the 'perfecti' and 'perfectæ', men and women whose strict ascetic life-style and religious fervour earned them respect and veneration in an age when such attributes were accepted by orthodox Christians, too, as proof of sanctity.

There were other reasons, of course, for the attraction of heresy to twelfth and thirteenth century Orvietans. Some people were already disaffected with the Church, and with the papacy in particular, for political reasons, and were therefore open to the opportunity presented by the Cathars of adding religious to political rebellion. It is certainly no coincidence that heresy first took hold in Orvieto at a time when the whole town was under papal Interdict for having taken control of Acquapendente against the orders of the pope. The Cathar sect also offered people the chance to participate in new forms of worship, and gave them the sense of identity which comes from belonging to a persecuted minority. And human nature being as it is, there must have been some who were drawn by the attraction of doing what was forbidden to them.

Official prohibition is, in fact, one of the defining characteristics of heresy: arguably the only one, since error does not become heresy until the Church has defined it as such. Equally, a person cannot be held morally responsible for wrong belief until his error has been pointed out to him, and he has wilfully persisted in it.

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#### a) Origins and development of heresy in Orvieto

This excuse might have held for the very first Orvietan converts to Catharism, but it would not have applied for long, as the civic and ecclesiastical authorities soon saw through the apparent devotion of the early Cathar missionaries, and condemned them as "wolves in sheep's clothing". Bishop Riccardo (d. 1201) was taken in for a while by two female *perfectæ*, Milita of Monteamata and Julitta of Florence, who infiltrated the 'clerical confraternity' by feigning concern for the church roof, on the one hand, and the contemplative life on the other.

The stylised nature of Canon Giovanni's account<sup>4</sup> is very evident here. Just as elsewhere he portrays the martyred *podestà*, Pietro



Parenzo, as an *alter Christus*, and his betrayer as a Judas, so he draws an explicit parallel between the two heretical women and Martha and Mary in the Biblical story. Nonetheless, there is no reason to disbelieve the core of his account of events. It is very likely that the Cathar evangelists would have made their first converts among those, such as confraternity members, who already had a strong interest in religion.

In any case, once Bishop Riccardo had realised his mistake, he called together a council of "canons, judges and other prudent men", and, according to Parenzo's biographer, proceeded to deal with known heretics more severely than ever before or since. This is the only occasion on which capital punishment is mentioned as part of the orthodox response to Orvietan heresy:

*Videns autem Episcopus se per illarum simulatam religionem esse delusum, canonicorum suorum, iudicum et aliorum prudentum consilio habito, ex adverso ascendens et se murum opponens pro Christi Ecclesia defendenda, in tantum est hereticos persecutus, ut alii penam suspendii sustinerent, alii capite punirentur, alii traderentur flammis ultropicibus comburendi, alii, maiorem capitis diminutionem perpassi, extra civitatem penam perpetui exilii deplorarent, alii, vitam suam male in suo finientes errore, feditam extra Ecclesie cimiterium acciperent sepulturam, (5)*

Canon Giovanni may have supplemented his knowledge of the local situation with standard examples of punishment from other areas. However, he was writing not long after the events which he described, and once again there is likely to be a core of truth in his account. It can be concluded, therefore, that from the time of Bishop Riccardo at least, before the end of the twelfth century, no inhabitant of Orvieto can have become seriously involved with the Cathars without realising that what he or she was doing was contrary to the laws of the Church.

Despite the measures taken by Bishop Riccardo to combat heresy, it continued to flourish in Orvieto in the later years of the twelfth century. The two Cathar women had been preceded by three men, Hermannino of Parma, Gotardo of Marsana and Diotesalvi of Florence, and they were succeeded by another man, Petrus Lombardus, whose impact was even more profound. Taking advantage of the Bishop's absence, due to the papal Interdict imposed in 1196, this "*doctor manicheorum*" came from Viterbo, and preached openly to large crowds of nobles and *popolani* in the streets and public squares of Orvieto.

The *Leggenda* of Pietro Parenzo is the only reliable guide to early



Orvietan heresy, and it is at this point that the young Roman politician enters the story. Worried by way in which heresy was spreading unchecked through the town, some loyal Catholics sent a delegation to Rome to ask Pope Innocent III to intervene. In response to their appeal, he not only lifted the Interdict, but also appointed Pietro Parenzo as "lord and rector", with the express task of "plucking out heresy by the roots". According to his biographer, this young man was a paragon of every possible virtue, "young in years, but old in wisdom", but the rapturous welcome which he received on 9 February 1199 from the people of Orvieto, "*magnis et minimis*", was short-lived.

His first move was to prohibit the fighting which normally took place during the season of Lent, but this merely provoked further rioting. It was purely by "divine grace" that the new podestà was protected from harm, despite his foolhardy gesture of riding on horseback through the hostile crowd. Just before Easter, Parenzo returned to Rome to consult with the Pope, and to visit his family, but the journey was to be his last. Shortly after his return to Orvieto, he was dining at home with a judge and other guests, when his own servant, Radolfo, "like a second Judas", conspired with a group of heretics to abduct him. He was taken to a lonely spot outside the city, and when he refused to give in to their demands for money, and for his own resignation, they killed him "with swords and knives", after making him eat dirt in a bitter parody of the sacrament. His body was discovered at daybreak, and there was immediate public outcry against the two main perpetrators of this crime. The "second Judas", as might be expected, committed suicide, while the man who had inflicted the fatal blow died, of natural causes, shortly after fleeing to the *contado*.

The remainder of Parenzo's *Leggenda* is concerned with the growth of his cult, and the posthumous miracles attributed to him, but it is clear from other sources that the advantage gained by the orthodox as a result of public outrage against his murder was only temporary. It was not long before the Cathars were active in Orvieto again.

One of the main problems in dealing with the subject of heresy is that virtually all the available records were compiled by representatives of the Catholic Church. With the possible exception of some recorded testimony, filtered through the perceptions of the Inquisitors and their notaries, the heretics can be encountered only through the words of their bitterest enemies. Canon Giovanni's prejudices are apparent even



in a brief summary of his version of the events surrounding Parenzo's death, and from this point onwards, Orvietan heresy tends to be documented only when measures were taken against it. Thus it could be argued that the more successful the Cathars were, the less is known about them. At the very least, it is true that most of the available information about their activities is retrospective, in the form of Inquisitorial sentences on those who had aided and abetted them, often many years after the events to which the sentences relate.

The first such document, dated 30 March 1223, relates to the punishment of a married couple, Guarnerius *de Cannano* and his wife Benvegnata, for having knowingly ('*scienter*') given hospitality to two of the Cathar *perfecti*, Giacomo, known as Pietro Spoletino, and his companion Oliverio<sup>6</sup>. There is nothing unusual in the pattern of heretical activity which this case reveals. It simply confirms that the Cathars were accustomed, as elsewhere, to travelling in pairs and relying on local people for shelter. The form of punishment is also quite typical: the couple's house was to be confiscated, and they were fined a hundred *Lire* each. The most interesting feature of this case is the fact that the sentence was passed not by officials of the Church, but by Almerico, "judge of the commune of Orvieto", who was acting on the authority of the *podestà*, *domino* Tommaso. In its early stages at least, heresy seems to have been regarded in Orvieto as a civil offence, just as much as a religious one. Pietro Parenzo, after all, was appointed *podestà*, not Inquisitor, and his brief campaign on the pope's behalf had more to do with preserving public order than doctrinal purity.

Similar comment could be made about the document which comes next in chronological order, for this was a decree issued in 1239 by the *podestà*'s "judge and vicar", Morico, as a warning to certain named *signori* not to allow "heretics or forgers" to be sheltered in the lands under their control<sup>7</sup>. It was witnessed, ironically, by two men who were later to be convicted of heresy, one of them in his capacity as chamberlain of the commune<sup>8</sup>, but the significant point is that the control of heresy was still regarded at this date as a matter for the civic authorities.

There is no documentary evidence until 12 January 1249 of the presence of ecclesiastical Inquisitors in Orvieto, although the Dominican friar in question, Fra Roggero Calçani, had been working there for at least nine years by the time this sentence was passed on eight of the



town's most obdurate heretics<sup>9</sup>. A brief chronicle entry for the year 1240 records that Fra Roggero "Inquisitor of heretics" was injured in an attack on the Dominican convent<sup>10</sup>, and the *Liber Inquisitionis* confirms that at least one of the men sentenced in 1249 had been involved in this earlier incident<sup>11</sup>. The eight men - members of the notorious Blasii and Tosti families - were all "relapsed heretics" already, and most, if not all, were to appear before the Inquisitors again in 1268/9<sup>12</sup>. If some were missing by that date, it probably had more to do with the passing of time than with any decision on their part to reform. The sons of at least three of them were also among the accused<sup>13</sup>.

Fra Roggero's sentence of 1249 recalls that fines had been imposed on these men in the past, "in the hope that a financial penalty would act as a deterrent to them and others, and would induce them to return to the bosom of holy Mother Church". Needless to say, this did not come about, and Fra Roggero then goes on to recount how four of the men, Christoforo, Ildribandino, Giuliano and Bivieno, had violently forced the Inquisitor's notary, Boniohannes, "who had faithfully and legitimately recorded all the acts of the Inquisition", to delete their names from his records. When the *podestà* tried to intervene, his home was attacked by an angry mob. The Inquisitor at this point runs out of words in which to describe the offences of these men, one of whom, Bivieno Blasii, had already been a heretic for thirty years, nine of them spent in a state of excommunication. Accordingly, Fra Roggero goes on to pass sentence on them for these and "many other offences, which it would take too long to enumerate, committed in derision of the orthodox faith".

It is clear, even from the fleeting references in Fra Roggero's sentence to the work of his notary, and to the earlier sentences passed on these men, that the documentation which has survived for Orvietan heresy is only the tip of what was once a much larger iceberg. The most detailed source available is, of course, the *Liber Inquisitionis*, but even it would only have been one volume of many, recording the investigations, as well as the sentences of Fra Bartholomeo and Fra Benvenuto. A tiny fragment of one of these other registers survives as testimony to what must have been lost<sup>14</sup>. The *Liber Inquisitionis* also contains a number of hints about the work of earlier Inquisitors, and there are, in fact, strong indications that by 1268/9 the Cathar movement had already passed its peak in Orvieto<sup>15</sup>. In that case, the chief value of this source lies in what it may reveal about heretical



activity in earlier years. Certainly, the only way to trace the development of Orvietan heresy from the first decades of the thirteenth century is to work backwards from the testimony given to the Inquisitors in 1268/9, supplementing it occasionally from other sources.

Several of the accused, for example, admitted that they had been involved in heresy for a specified number of years. No credence can be given to the precise figures quoted. There are numerous inconsistencies, as in the case of Raynerius Bartholomei, who confessed in 1268 to having been involved in heresy for twelve years, but who is known from his earlier conviction to have been a 'relapsus' already in 1249<sup>16</sup>. In general terms, however, these cases probably do represent people who had been Cathar supporters for longer than most. Filippo Busse had allegedly been receiving heretics in his home for twenty years in 1268; and Symeon Lanarolo was prepared to admit that he had been a 'believer' for ten years<sup>17</sup>. Further back still, Stradigotto Ricci de Tostis and Iohannes Carabone had both appeared before Fra Roggero in 1239, and confessed then that they had been involved with heresy for twelve and fifteen years respectively<sup>18</sup>. Likewise, Ildribrandinus Ricci had confessed in 1249 to a ten-year involvement<sup>19</sup>.

The beginnings of a second wave of Orvietan heresy can thus be placed somewhere around the 1220's, and it is quite consistent that there should have been a slight lull after Parenzo's death. This break of a decade or so would also explain a definite change in emphasis between the earlier source, Parenzo's *Leggenda*, and the later one, the *Liber Inquisitionis*. In the former, the heretical movement comes across largely as a political faction representing a crisis of order for the papacy and civic authorities; in the latter, there is a much stronger sense of Catharism as a genuine religious sect.

The *Liber Inquisitionis* also provides further information about the work of previous Inquisitors. As has been seen, it confirms Fra Roggero's presence in the town ten years before it would otherwise have been known. The wording of three of the sentences - those concerning Cristoforo Tosti, Raynerius Stradigotti and Ildribandinus Ricci<sup>20</sup> - makes it clear that two separate diets of trials took place, in 1239 as well as 1249. There is no possibility of scribal error with regard to the date, although the notary in 1268 may inadvertently have combined the names of two of the brothers of Cristoforo Tosti ("Ildribandinus" and "Riccius", 1249 Sentence) into one ("Ildribandinus Ricci", Lib. Inq.).

Finally, the work of an earlier Franciscan Inquisitor, *Fra Giordano*, is known only from retrospective comments in the *Liber Inquisitionis*, and from one brief, indirect reference in a deed relating to a property transfer. At some time between 1249 and 1263, official responsibility for Inquisition into heresy in the Orvietan area was transferred from the Dominican to the Franciscan Order, and *Fra Giordano* was probably the first Franciscan appointed. Ten of the people sentenced in 1268/9 had already appeared before him in 1263<sup>21</sup>. Once again, however, the partial nature of this evidence has to be borne in mind. Like his Dominican predecessor, *Fra Giordano* would have had his own notarial team, to keep written records of all his enquiries and eventual judgements. All that remains, apart from the small number of references in the *Liber Inquisitionis*, is a piece of independent proof that one, at least, of *Fra Giordano's* sentences was put into effect.

This comes in the form of *domina Bollaprata's* gift of all her rights in a certain piece of land to her son, *Frederico*, on 31 January 1265. The "*casalinum*" in question had previously been the site of a house belonging to her husband, *Guiscardo Pelliparius*. It had been confiscated (and the house, presumably, destroyed) by *Fra Giordano*, who had returned it to *Bollaprata* after her husband's death to compensate for the dowry which she would have brought with her to the marriage:

... quoddam casalinum super quo edificata fuit olim domus dicti Viscardi viri domine prelibate, quod casalinum frater Jordanus de ordine minorum, a domino pape delegatus ad inquirendum super heretica pravitate, eidem domine concessit occasione sue dotis, ut apparet per publicum instrumentum manu Andriotti Boniohannis notarii... (22)

*Bollaprata* was not, in fact, the innocent victim *Fra Giordano* must have believed her to be, but the time was coming when the Franciscans would finally come to grips with the problem of heresy in Orvieto. It was only another five years before this woman and her daughter-in-law, *domina Grana*, were both condemned by *Fra Giordano's* successors, *Fra Benvenuto* of Orvieto, and *Fra Bartholomeo* of Amelia, along with a family friend *Filippo Busse*, who had witnessed the property agreement in 1265<sup>22</sup>.

Fortunately for students of Orvietan heresy, the records kept by these last Inquisitors did not all suffer the same fate as the many other "public instruments" which must have been drawn up by *Andriotto Buongiovanni* and his predecessors in office: *Buongiovanni*, who was very



likely Andriotto's father, and Guido Bartholomei, notaries to the Inquisition.

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b) Cathar lifestyle and beliefs

It is because of the nature of the available evidence that a discussion of heresy in Orvieto has turned more or less into an account of official attempts to repress it. However, it is possible, even from documents as heavily biased as these, to build up a surprisingly full picture of the daily lives of Cathar sympathisers, and to gain some sort of understanding of the Cathar faith as they perceived it.

It is not, in fact, necessary to go into a great deal of detail on the Cathar way of life, as the Orvietan evidence mirrors to a large extent what has been well-documented in southern France and other parts of Italy. As elsewhere, the Cathar 'perfect' travelled around the Orvietan area in pairs, receiving hospitality and shelter from local people. They preached, and taught, and were consulted on medical matters<sup>24</sup>. They were often called in when a 'believer' was dying, to administer the '*consolamentum*', and a fee was paid for this service by relatives of the sick person<sup>25</sup>.

Despite the fact that only the 'perfect' were, in theory, subject to any moral code whatsoever, there is no reason to suppose that the behaviour of Cathar believers was substantially different in this respect from that of anyone else. And to be fair to the orthodox, charges of gross immorality against the Cathars, so common in anti-heretical propaganda elsewhere, are notably absent from the Orvietan sources. In fact, until the decisive action of the Franciscan Inquisition in 1268/9, it seems to have been possible for Orvietan Cathars to live a relatively normal life-style, their heretical tendencies either unknown to, or tolerated by their fellow-citizens. There are several examples of people who were later convicted as heretics serving on local councils, and as witnesses to private and public deeds, prior to 1268<sup>26</sup>.

As far as their worship and religious life was concerned, by far the commonest Cathar ritual was the "*melioramentum*", although that name is never used in the Orvietan sources. The Inquisitors used the term "*reverentia*", or the verb "*adorare*", to describe the ritual salutation given by Cathar 'believers' to the 'perfect' in return for a prayer or blessing. The form of words used in the case against Petruccio Ricci



Miscinelli is typical, although there were minor variations in wording from one case to another:

*Reverentiam fecerit patarenis, adorando ipsos iuxta hereticorum ritum abusum...* (27)

Every one of the eighty-eight Orvietan people on trial in 1268/9 was accused of having "adored" the heretics in this way, some of them "many times", and only two women specifically denied the charge. *Domina* Verdenovella, whose servant, Dyambre, had been 'consoled' in her home, denied that she had ever accepted the Cathar faith, or indeed had any deliberate personal contact with heretics:

*Dixit tamen quod nullo tempore fuit credens hereticorum erroribus nec reverentiam fecit alicui patareno, nec aliter participavit cum aliquo heretico scienter.* (28)

*Domina* Vianese, wife of Iohannes Claruvisi, denied the accusations against her in similar terms<sup>29</sup>, but it is clear that if a person was involved with the Cathars at all, then participation in this one, very simple ritual would certainly have been expected of them.

As with many of the heretical practices, the '*melioramentum*' had a parallel of a sort in orthodox religion, for when the bishop went round his diocese, inspecting churches and convents, he, too, received "reverence" from the local people. The word '*reverentia*' was used, for example, in 1265, when Bishop Giacomo received the oath of loyalty from Fra Martirio, abbot of the Premonstratensian monastery of S. Severo, just outside Orvieto:

*... fecit et prestitit secundum formam canonice fidelitatis debitum iuramentum et ponens manus suas inter manus predicti domini Episcopi supra librum et stolam promisit et fecit eidem domino Episcopo tamquam Episcopo suo recipienti pro se et successoribus suis obedientiam et reverentiam manualem.* (30)

As well as the person being required to lay his hands between those of the bishop, on top of his "book and stole", the ritual might involve a "kiss of peace" and genuflection. This was what happened when the appointment of *domino* Hugolino Aldebrandini Grece as Archpriest of Orvieto was confirmed by Bishop Francesco in 1281:

*... recipiens ipsum ad pacis osculum ut est moris... Ipse vero Episcopo iuramentum fidelitatis secundum formam canonice et ei flexis genibus reverentiam et obedientiam manualement exhibuit et in futuro sibi et successoribus suis servare promisit.* (31)

If a general comparison had to be drawn between the Cathar 'perfect' and anyone in the Catholic Church, then the Mendicant Friars would probably fit the description best. Nevertheless, a surprising

number of parallels can be drawn between these episcopal visitations and the pastoral-cum-missionary journeys of the 'perfect'. With the obvious difference that the one was undertaken with maximum pomp and publicity, while the other had to be kept secret, the two types of circuit performed a similar function. Because of the distances involved, the bishop, like the 'perfect', received overnight accomodation from the people in the district he was visiting. Local people also vied with each other to have the most illustrious guests and the most impressive menu at the dinner-parties given when the bishop was in residence. In 1286, the people of Capo di Monte treated Bishop Francesco and his entourage to a dinner consisting of different types of fish:

*Dictus plebanus honestam cenam dicto domino et eius familie ac aliis ab eodem invitatis in diverso genere piscium lera facie propinavit...* (32)

Fish had also been on the menu the previous day, on the island of Bisenzio:

*... idem prior eidem domino et eius familie comestionem bonam in piscibus et aliis necessariis propinavit...*

The wording of these entries, as well as their content, is reminiscent of the treatment of the 'perfect' in the homes of Cathar believers, and in the Orvietan countryside. Bianco Pellipario was sent to Castellonclo on one occasion with some seasoned fish ("*unum piscem sapillitum*") for the heretics who were meeting there<sup>33</sup>, and nearly all of the accused were said to have given the heretics "food, drink and other necessities" or to have "eaten and drunk" with them. In the case of the bishops, the food which they received was part of the tribute ('*procuratio*') due to them, while in the case of the 'perfect' it was their only means of survival. In both cases, however, it was also an opportunity for lay people to demonstrate their loyalty and devotion.

Similarly, both bishops and 'perfect' collected money from local residents in the course of their travels: church taxes, on the one hand, and alms ('*elemosinas*') on the other. Both preached, taught, and performed rituals at which lay people were not entitled to preside: confirmation, ordination, mass, confession, absolution and the consecration of churches, on the part of the bishop; and, on the part of the 'perfect', "consolation", blessing of the "holy bread", and two less common rituals described in the *Liber Inquisitionis* as "*munuscula*" and "*caritas*". The point of this comparison is not to suggest that the *perfecti* saw themselves as bishops, or deliberately modelled their life-



style on that of the orthodox clergy. It is simply to demonstrate that the Cathar movement, whatever its origins, can only properly be understood within the context of medieval Christian society. However radical their new ideas, the Cathars could only have won support among local people by meeting them on ground that was at least partly familiar, and adapting their lifestyle to that of the people whom they hoped to evangelise.

This principle is particularly evident in the area of sacraments, where there is an obvious and direct parallel not only between the "*consolamentum*" and the sacrament of extreme unction, but also between communion and the heretics' blessing of bread. This latter ceremony is mentioned on three occasions in the Orvietan sources. A witness, whose name is not now known, admitted that he had received the "bread which the heretics call blessed" and shared it with them:

... de pane quem ipsi heretici benedictum appellant recepit et  
comedit... (34)

Stradigotto of Siena and Loctho Guglielmi Surdi had also received bread blessed by the heretics<sup>35</sup>. Familiar rituals such as these would have made it all the easier for lay people to make a smooth transition from Catholicism into heresy.

The other two Cathar rituals mentioned in the *Liber Inquisitionis* are slightly less common. Three of the men most deeply involved in the sect - Cristoforo Tosti, Stradigotto Ricci de Tostis, and Stradigotto of Siena - were said to have received '*munuscula*' from the Cathars. This is unusual, insofar as gifts were usually given from believers to the 'perfect', and not the other way round. However, it was by no means unusual for medieval Christians to own religious tokens of one sort or another, and these examples could point to something similar in the Cathar tradition. The word "*munusculum*" simply means "a small gift".

The word "*caritias*", on the other hand, appears only once in the *Liber Inquisitionis*, and its meaning is not quite so easy to determine. It occurs in the case of Cambio Ricci Miscinelli, and was clearly a formal ritual of some sort, since it was performed in conjunction with the '*reverentia*':

*Reverentiam pluries fecerit eis et caritias cum eisdem iuxta  
hereticorum ritus abusum, elemosinas pecuniaria patarenis  
multotiens destinaverit, ac aliis,* (36)

The root of the word is probably the Latin "*caritas*" or "charity", and the fact that alms are mentioned immediately afterwards suggests that a



financial transaction of some sort may have been involved. This is made all the more likely by the fact that Cambio Miscinelli was a financier by profession<sup>37</sup>. The precise nature of the ritual is not known, however, and it is not mentioned in any of the standard text-books on heresy.

Just as ritual was important in both Catholic and Cathar tradition, so public preaching, which had been revitalised for Catholics by the Mendicant friars, was a prominent feature of Cathar life. Indeed, because the force of inertia would always favour the orthodox, there was probably more pressure on Cathar *perfecti* than there was on Catholic preachers to win the allegiance of the uncommitted. Their austere lifestyle, the living embodiment of so many of the elements of traditional hagiography, was an attraction in itself, but they also devoted themselves enthusiastically to the tasks of teaching and evangelising.

Small house-groups met in the city, but larger assemblies were held in those parts of the *contado*, which were either remote enough to be safe, or whose *signori* were sympathetic to the Cathar cause. Castellonclo, for example, was a popular meeting-place (see Table 12). There are several instances in the *Liber Inquisitionis* of local people being asked to guide the 'perfect', most of whom were strangers, to the place where an assembly was to be held. It was not uncommon, in fact, for children to perform this task, sometimes for a little extra pocket-money. Ranucetto had been initiated into heresy at an early age by his notorious father, Cristoforo Tosti, and one of his tasks as a boy ("ut puer") was to guide heretics in this way<sup>38</sup>. Similarly, Pietro Guidi Becci had done several small jobs for the Cathars on his father's instructions, and had been paid for conducting heretics around the countryside on more than one occasion:

*... in Castellonclo fuit locutus pluribus patarenis patarenibus, quibus pluries missus a patre suo, portavit panem, vinum et pisces una vice que misit eisdem pater eius, dictus, audivit inibi monitiones et predicationes ipsorum... Conduxit Benvenutum Çacheu et eius socium patarenos ad plura loca. Nec non Benvenutam hereticam apud Castrum Gradulensem et receptavit pretium pro conductionibus supradictis.* (39)

Domenico di Pietro Rossi may once have taken two heretics to Castellonclo<sup>40</sup>, but it was Stradigotto of Siena who was most prominent in this, as in other areas of Cathar life. Not only had he personally taken one of the *perfecti*, Iacobus Lombardus, to Collesereno, but it was on his direct instructions that Bianco Pellipario and Gezio Teoderici had

both acted as guides to heretics who were unfamiliar with the Orvietan area<sup>41</sup>. Bianco, in fact, was the only person to be described by the Inquisitors as "*conductor hereticorum*" in addition to the usual "*credens et fautor*", and so he may have performed this task more than once.

It is clear from a number of references that one of the main purpose of the out-of-town assemblies which Stradigotto and his subordinates helped to arrange was to listen to Cathar preaching, but for obvious reasons no Orvietan tracts or sermons are available now for examination. Having effectively crushed the sect, the Inquisitors would have done their utmost to suppress any seditious writings, even if the *perfecti* or their disciples had gone as far as committing their doctrines to parchment. Nonetheless, it is possible to reconstruct some of the content of their preaching from testimony given to the Inquisitors. Indeed, this is the only way to try to understand the theoretical side of Cathar faith, as preached and practised in Orvieto.

Local *credentes* varied, of course, in the extent to which they understood the preaching which they heard, but by far the most helpful case is that of Stradigotto of Siena, the man who had so much to do with organising the Cathar assemblies. He cannot have been so busy with administration that he had no time to listen to the preachers, for he was able to give the Inquisitors a detailed, but concise summary of his faith (recorded in the *Liber Inquisitionis*, f. 28):

- 1) that this world and all visible things have been created by the devil;
- 2) that human souls are spirits fallen from heaven, capable of salvation only through the 'patarenes';
- 3) that there will be no future resurrection of human bodies;
- 4) that priests of the Roman Church have no power to absolve those who have repented and confessed their sin;
- 5) that married life is a state of damnation;
- 6) that baptism by water, according to the rites of the Church, contributes nothing to the salvation of those who have received it.

This is all good, standard Cathar doctrine, comprising a mixture of dualist theory and straightforward anticlericalism, and formulated in such a way as to suggest a creed learned by rote. That it was not entirely impersonal, however, is indicated by the differences between this and the only other comparable list of Orvietan Cathar beliefs, in the *Leggenda* of Pietro Parenzo, written shortly after 1199<sup>42</sup>.

It is remarkable that Wanda Cherubini should have seized upon these two sources as evidence for continuity between twelfth- and thirteenth-century heresy<sup>43</sup>. Both lists do, certainly, contain a



selection of mainstream Cathar beliefs, and to that extent do demonstrate, "*come gli heretici... fossero rimasti sempre catari*", but there is no foundation for Cherubini's statement that Stradigotto's confession "corresponds perfectly" with the doctrines recorded by canon Giovanni. In fact, only two of the ten credal statements - the basic principle that the material world was created by the devil, and the repudiation of Catholic baptism - appear in both lists. The earlier creed has less emphasis on theological detail, and more on the inefficacy of Catholic practice:

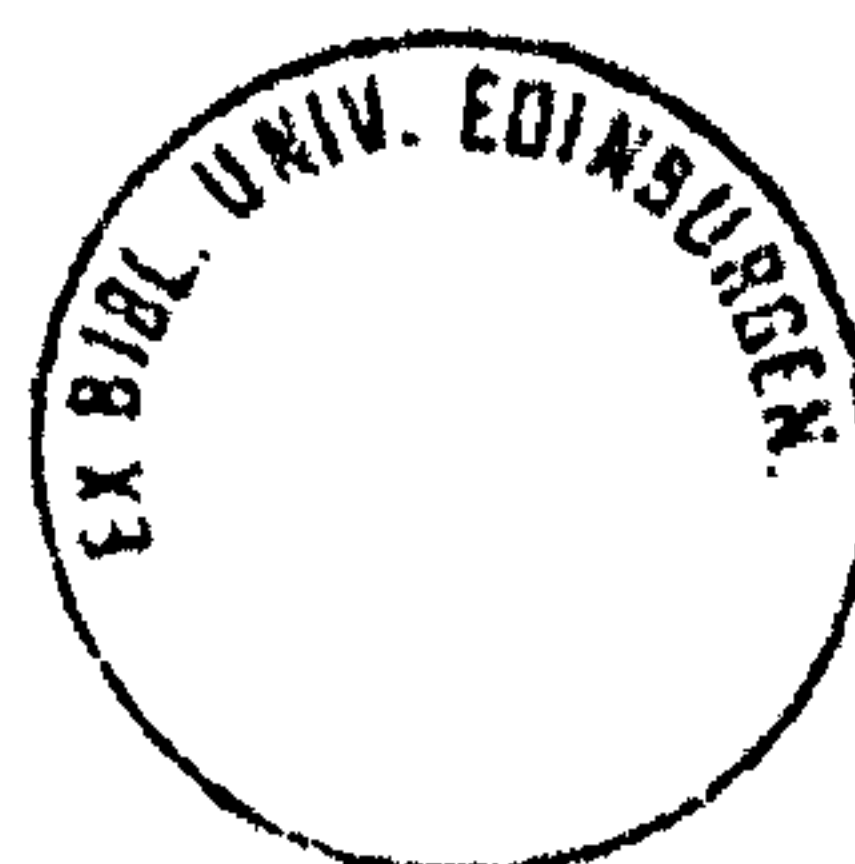
- 1) the sacrament of Christ's body and blood has no validity [*"nihil est"*];
- 2) baptism, as practised by the Catholic Church, contributes nothing to salvation;
- 3) prayers and alms for the absolution of the dead are of no benefit;
- 4) Pope Sylvester and all his successors have been condemned to eternal torment;
- 5) all visible things have been created by the devil, and are subject to his power;
- 6) any good person has the same merits and rewards as Peter, prince of the apostles; and any evil person will receive the same punishment as Judas the traitor.

It is tempting to reverse Cherubini's procedure, and engage in detailed comparison of the two 'creeds', with a view to illustrating changing emphases in Cathar teaching over the seventy-year period. Canon Giovanni's final phrase should, however, warn against any such undertaking. After listing the six specific elements of the "*doctrinam manicheorum pessimam*" which was being disseminated in Orvieto at the time of Bishop Rustico, he concludes as follows:

*... addens alia nefanda que in libello contra hereticos edito  
possunt collegi manifeste,*

It sounds very much as though Giovanni, having decided that Parenzo's murderers were Cathars, and wishing to amplify his account, has gone to the Capitular reference library, selected a volume on "heresy", and copied out the relevant details from the section headed "Cathars" (or possibly "Patarenes" or "Manichees").

If nothing else, this shows that Cathar beliefs were accessible, at least to an educated élite, in the period prior to 1200, but it also puts the source in quite a different category from the recorded testimony of an actual believer. Of course, it is possible that Orbetanus Nicole, notary to the Inquisitors in 1268, was repeating standard formulæ in precisely the same way as canon Giovanni, but what is much more likely is that the later creed was based on Stradigotto's own confession,



given willingly, in order to curry favour, or only after the "prudent interrogations" mentioned in some of the other sentences.

There are three basic elements which appear time and time again in the charges against other Cathar 'believers': they had "praised" the Cathars; had believed them "good and holy"; and had believed that salvation lay only with them. Although much less detailed than Stradigotto's account, the wording of these statements is sufficiently varied to suggest that most of them were based on the witness's own testimony.

Seven local people were accused of having expressed their admiration of the perfect and their way of life:

*"vitam ac fidem (quin immo perfidiam) patarenorum laudaverit assertive (et commendaverit)";* (44)

*"vitam hereticorum/ipsorum commendaverit (et laudaverit assertive)";* (45)

*"eosdem laudaverit et commendaverit assertive";* (46)

The words "good" and "holy" were added in a further nine cases, with reference to the 'perfect' their "words" or their "life":

*(credidit) "patarenos/ipsos/eos esse bonos et sanctos";* (47)

*"verba ipsius bona esse";* (48)

*"quod ipsi erant boni et sancti homines et apostoli dei";* (49)

*"quod...sunt boni homines et faciunt bonam vitam";* (50)

*"bonam esse vitam patarenorum";* (51)

*"vitam eorum sanctam esse";* (52)

Finally, there were seven people who were even more specific in their stated understanding of the rôle of the perfect. They believed that salvation was available only through the 'patarenes', whether by means of their teaching, or by following their way of life, or by the laying-on of hands:

*(credidit) "per eos posse salvari";* (53)

*"quod ipsi erant in via salutis";* (54)

*"quod solum in eis erat salvatio... et quod omnes que erant in fide Romane Ecclesie non salvabuntur nisi solum qui faciunt vitam et tenet vitam patarenorum";* (55)

*"quod in eis erat salvatio et nemo nisi per eos salvari poterat";* (56)

*"dottrinam eorum fore salubrem";* (57)

*"per impositionem manuum eorundem posse salvari";* (58)

Testimonies such as these, although less satisfying than Stradigotto's from the point of view of compiling a comprehensive dossier of Cathar belief, are probably a more accurate guide to what was actually being said and heard locally. Technically, the Inquisitors were right to accuse the Cathars of preaching "against the faith and sacraments of the Church", but that was not what was stressed by the



preachers, nor what made the biggest impression on those who heard them. In fact, the content of their preaching seems to have taken second place to the force of their personalities, a trend which was almost certainly encouraged by the *perfecti* themselves. Thus an intellectual orientation was not necessary for popular Catharism, any more than for popular Catholicism. And whereas the cult of Catholic saints flourished for the most part after the person had died, the "holy men and women" in the Cathar tradition attracted popular veneration during their lifetime.

It would be misleading to make too strong a case for the non-intellectual nature of Catharism on the basis of what suspects chose *not* to say to the Inquisitors. Those who failed to recount the precise nature of the "depraved doctrines" by which they had been "seduced" were not necessarily less well-informed. Indeed, it might very well have been those most deeply committed who either fled before the interrogations began, or were most obdurate in their refusal to testify. What is clear, however, is that those people who were still around in 1268, and were prepared to cast their minds back over the preaching they had heard many years earlier, had been left with a consistent recollection of the thrust of the Cathars' message. Their campaign slogan seems to have been that they, the 'perfect', had (or, indeed, were) the key to salvation. What mattered was not only to be persuaded by the finer points of their teaching but also to acknowledge their right to teach with authority. The message was that Cathars were right, and everyone else, but especially the Roman Catholic Church, was wrong; that any who looked to the beliefs, rituals or ministers of the Church for salvation were the victims of cruel delusion, as salvation was attainable only by emulating the lifestyle which the 'perfect' had already achieved (see Appendix).

There is no difficulty in extrapolating the more specific doctrines from this basic framework, and certainly no inconsistency involved in so doing. Denial of the validity of baptism and the eucharist, and repudiation of papal and priestly authority were part of the Cathars' determined attack on all that the Church stood for. The diabolical origin of the material world, the fallen spirits and the sinfulness of marriage were all part of the rationale behind the superior way of life which the 'perfect' represented, and which they wished others to emulate.

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## A.1 HERESY IN ORVIETO: FOOTNOTES

1. A.S. Turberville, Medieval Heresy and the Inquisition, London, 1920, p. 69.
2. see, for example, G. Leff, Heresy in the Later Middle Ages, vol. 1, Manchester, 1967, pp. 446-452; R.I. Moore, The Birth of Popular Heresy, London, 1975, pp. 1-6; and all the standard accounts of heresy.
3. Lib. Inq., f. 28, 17 April 1268. Stradigottus Senensis. Discussed more fully below, 5A,2 & 5A,3c).
4. Most of the information about early Orvietan heresy comes from the *Leggenda* of Pietro Parenzo, written by a local canon some time after 1200, ed. V. Natalini, S. Pietro Parenzo: la leggenda scritta dal maestro Giovanni, Roma, 1936.
5. ed. V. Natalini, S. Pietro Parenzo: La Leggenda..., Lectio 2, pp. 154-5.
6. A. di S., Cod. Tit. A, f. 37, 30 March 1223.
7. A. di S., Cod. Tit. A, f. 74v., 6 & 9 August & 7 October 1239.
8. The list of twelve witnesses present on 6 August included Giuliano Blasii (1249 Sentence) and *domino* Provençano Lupicini (Lib. Inq., f.13)
9. A. di S., Cod. Tit. A, f. 95, 12 January 1249. "Iulianum et Bivienum Blasii, Ildribandinum, Riccium et Stradigottum fratres Christoforum Tosti, Bartholomeum Ranuctii Tosti et Rainerium Bartholomei Ranuctii Magistri."
10. "Chronica Potestatum\*\*\*\*", in Eph. Urb., p.150.
11. Lib. Inq., f. 1. Christoforus Tosti.
12. It is not possible to be precise, as names were given in different forms in different documents. Christoforo Tosti was certainly tried again in 1268 (Lib. Inq., f. 1), as was Raynerius Bartholomei (f. 5') and Bartholomeus Ranutii (f. 18). Stradigottus Ricci (f. 3') may have been Christoforo's brother, and although there is no mention of Ildribandino or Riccio, there was an "Ildribandinus Ricci" who was tried posthumously (f. 7), and this could be a case of scribal error.
13. Guillelmus, son of Viveno Blasii (f. 34<sup>2</sup>), Rainucettus, son of Christoforo Tosti (f. 14), Barthutius, son of Raynerius Bartholomei (f. 5'). Also Raynerius and Andriottus, sons of Stradigotto Ricci (ff. 2 & 20<sup>2</sup>).
14. Viterbo Fragments 1 & 2.
15. For example, the fact that many of the accused had already died or left town by the time their cases came to trial (see Table 1), and the fact that so little is heard of the heretics after 1269 (see 5A,4).
16. Raynerius Bartholomei Raynutii. Lib. Inq., f. 5' & 1249 Sentence.
17. Lib. Inq., ff. 6<sup>2</sup> & 15', Phylippus Busse & Symeon Lanarolo.
18. *ibid.*, ff. 3' & 4'. Stradigottus Ricci de Tostis and Iohannes Carabone.
19. *ibid.*, f. 7. Ildribandinus Ricci.
20. *ibid.*, ff. 1 & 8, f. 2 & f. 7. Christoforus Tosti, Raynerius Stradigotti Ricci de Tostis & Ildribandinus Ricci.
21. Bonacursus & Iannesbonus Lombardus (*ibid.*, f. 3<sup>2</sup>); d. Rainerius d. Munaldi (f. 4<sup>2</sup> & f. 27<sup>2</sup>); Raynerius Bartholomei Tosti (f. 5'); Miscinellus Ricci Miscinelli (f. 11); Petus Ildribandini, Benedictulus Castellane, Masseus Cavardelli & Bonparens Ursi from Castelloncio (f. 17<sup>2</sup>); Petrus Rainerii Adilascie (f. 19<sup>2</sup>).



22. Lib, Don., f. 88v, 31 January 1265, "*Donation inter vivos*" from *domina* Bollaprata to her son, Frederico,
23. Lib, Inq., f. 34<sup>2</sup>, *domina* Bellapratu, *uxor* Guiscardi Pelliparii; *domina* Grana, *uxor* Frederici, *ibid.*, f. 6<sup>2</sup>, Phylippus Busse de Urbeveteri,
24. *ibid.*, f. 4<sup>2</sup>, d. Rainerius d. Munaldi, "... *recepti ab eo consilium pro sua infirmitate*,"
25. *ibid.*, f. 17<sup>2</sup>, Bonparens Ursi of Castellonclo, "... *dederit ipsi patareno manducare et bibere inibi, et pro ipsa consolatione sol. xij. minut.*"
26. For their membership of councils etc., see below 5A,2a) Noble and Popular ("Holders of Public Office"), Provençano Lupicini and Giuliano Blasii witnessed a precept of 1239 (Cod, Tit, A, f. 74v., & discussion above); Stradigotto and Bianco Pelliparii were witnesses to the Will of Rainerius Iohannis comitis Fumi on 3 July 1353 (Lib, Don., f. 9v.), and there are numerous other examples,
27. Lib, Inq., f. 29<sup>2</sup>, Petrotius Ricci Miscinelli,
28. *ibid.*, f. 24<sup>3</sup>, *domina* Verdenovella, *uxor* Rainerii Iannis Albare,
29. *ibid.*, f. 31, *domina* Vianese, *uxor* Iohannis Claruvisi,
30. Arch, Vesc., Cod, A, f. 66r, 11 December 1265,
31. *ibid.*, f. 237v., 22 April 1281,
32. Arch, Vesc., Cod, C., ff. 78-79, from 21 August 1286,
33. Lib, Inq., f. 24<sup>2</sup>, The precise meaning of the word '*sapilitum*' is unclear. There is another reference to fish being eaten by the heretics in the case of Pietro Guidi Becci (f. 16<sup>2</sup>), whose father gave him "bread, wine and fish" to take to the heretics in Castellonclo,
34. Viterbo Fragment 2.
35. Lib, Inq., ff. 28 7 32<sup>2</sup>, Stradigottus Senensis & Locthus Guillelmi Surdi,
36. *ibid.*, f. 21<sup>1</sup>, Cambius Ricci Miscinelli,
37. see below, 5A,2b) Trades & professions of Orvietan heretics
38. Lib, Inq., f. 14, Raynucceptus Christofani Tosti,
39. *ibid.*, f. 16<sup>2</sup>, Petrus Guidi Becci, *buccinator*,
40. *ibid.*, f. 32<sup>1</sup>, Dominicus Petri Rossi, The wording is not quite so clear in this case: "... *Iacobum Florentinum et eius socium hereticos conduxit in hereticorum favorem ac aliis quibuscumque communicans, in Castellonclo cum hereticis comedit et bibit et participavit dampnabiliter cum eisdem...*"
41. Lib, Inq., f. 28, Stradigottus Senensis, *ibid.*, ff. 24<sup>2</sup> & 23<sup>1</sup>, Blancus Pelliparius & Geptius Teoderici,
42. ed, V, Natalini, S. Pietro Parenzo: La Leggenda..., Lectio 2,
43. W, Cherubini, "Movimenti Patarinici in Orvieto", in B.I.S.A.O., Ann. XV, 1959, p. 35,
44. Lib, Inq., f. 4<sup>2</sup> (d. Rainerius d. Munaldi); f. 19<sup>3</sup> (*domina* Anata); f. 20<sup>1</sup> (Martinus Martini Guidutii); f. 31 (Vianese),
45. *ibid.*, f. 11 (Miscinellus Ricci Miscinelli); f. 26<sup>2</sup> (Ymilga),
46. *ibid.*, f. 26<sup>3</sup> (Camera),
47. *ibid.*, f. 28 (Stradigotto Senensis); f. 3<sup>1</sup> (Stradigottus Ricci); f. 6<sup>2</sup> (Phylippus Busse); f. 21<sup>1</sup> (Cambius Ricci Miscinelli),

48. *ibid.*, f. 3<sup>2</sup> (Bonacursus & Iannesbonus Lombardus),
  49. *ibid.*, f. 16<sup>2</sup> (Petrus Guidi Becci),
  50. *ibid.*, f. 15<sup>2</sup> (Oddo Caçalatro),
  51. *ibid.*, f. 18 (Bartholomeus Rainutii Tosti),
  52. *ibid.*, f. 22<sup>1</sup> (Dominicus Iampulcini),
  53. *ibid.*, f. 14 (Rainucettus Christofori); f. 26<sup>1</sup> (Benamata),
  54. *ibid.*, f. 15<sup>2</sup> (Oddo Caçalatro),
  55. *ibid.*, f. 16<sup>2</sup> (Petrus Guidi Becci),
  56. *ibid.*, f. 21<sup>1</sup> (Cambius Ricci Miscinelli),
  57. *ibid.*, f. 28 (Stradigottus Senensis),
  58. *ibid.*, f. 6<sup>2</sup> (Phylippus Busse).
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## A.2 PEOPLE ASSOCIATED WITH HERESY IN ORVIETO

Thirteenth century Orvieto lay, as stated already, within the boundary of the Papal States, which meant that town and papacy interacted at a temporal, as well as a spiritual level. This fact makes it more than usually difficult to disentangle political and religious aspects of the heretical movement, and has also had a considerable effect upon the way in which heresy in this particular town has been studied and interpreted.

As early as the fifteenth century, the chronicler Luca di Domenico Manente<sup>1</sup>, aware of the obvious and undeniable links between heretics and ghibellines, was content to look no further for his explanation of the phenomenon of Catharism. He uses the terms 'heretic' and 'ghibelline' quite interchangeably, speaking, for example, of the "heretical-imperial party", or describing as 'heretics' those whose opposition to the pope was clearly of a political nature.

Modern historians, although for the most part prudent enough to treat Manente with the caution he deserves, have, like him, tended to focus their attention on the political, rather than the religious implications of heresy, and this has carried over into their assumptions about the sort of people who gave their support to the heretics, and their reasons for so doing.

Much of what has been written in this, as in so many areas of Orvietan history, has been based on the meticulous groundwork of Luigi Fumi, but it has to be remembered that Fumi was writing in the late nineteenth century, when the vogue in historiography was for politics and diplomacy, and not for popular devotion or the everyday affairs of the laity. Indeed, it is a tribute to his thoroughness that Fumi gives as balanced an account as he does<sup>2</sup> of the range of local people brought before the Inquisitors in 1268/9. Given his own interests, however, and the nature of the evidence available from other sources, it is natural that he should have picked out as cases of special significance those people known to have belonged to prominent ghibelline families, such as the Ricci, Tosti, Miscinelli and Lupicini.

There is no question of denying the significance of the fact that some of Orvieto's "greatest and most powerful" <sup>3</sup> citizens appear among the ranks of the accused, but it is another matter altogether to take for granted either that heresy was primarily the preserve of rich

ghibelline nobles, or that the religious commitment of these people to the principles of Catharism was minimal and superficial. The first conclusion is implicit in Cherubini's almost exclusive concentration on the four prominent families already mentioned<sup>4</sup>; while the second point is made explicitly by Daniel Waley<sup>5</sup>, who, although acknowledging the importance of religious motivation, suggests that the Inquisitors were at least partly motivated by a desire to punish enemies of the papacy (see Appendix):

Not only did those convicted include members of leading Ghibelline families, but the charges were often slender ones of having had social contact with heretics.

This is a modified version of Fumi's more radical claim, based on the same evidence, that these men were "simply ghibellines, and not heretics" <sup>6</sup>.

P. Mariano d'Alatri<sup>7</sup> approaches the same material from a rather different perspective: that of the collapse of Catharism in central Italy under pressure from the Franciscan Inquisition. He does give due weight to the Ricci and Tosti, and their fellow-ghibellines, but, just as he refuses to dismiss the Inquisition as a mere 'extension' of the arm of the guelf commune, so his interest in local heretics is not confined to the wealthy and politically-motivated. It is d'Alatri who draws attention to the case of Domenico di Pietro Rossi<sup>8</sup>, whose significance lay not in his role in town government or his land-holdings in the *contado*, but in the fact that he managed for some time to combine membership of the Franciscan Third Order with active support of heresy.

The time is ripe, then, for a reappraisal of the evidence in the *Liber Inquisitionis*, in order to determine, where possible, the sort of people attracted to heresy in a town like Orvieto: different, politically, from towns outwith the papal states, but typical in many other respects of numerous medium-sized, semi-autonomous city-states throughout central and northern Italy<sup>9</sup>.

There will still, inevitably, be a certain weighting towards the rich and powerful, since these are the people about whom most is known, figuring, as they do, in council minutes, in property transactions, and on witness-lists of every kind. However, the aim will be to put these outstanding cases into some sort of statistical perspective, by examining, as far as possible, the distribution of interest in heresy among all the people of Orvieto: rich and poor; old and young; male and



female; noble and artisan; townspeople and *contadini*.

Comprehensive or definitive answers to statistical questions are, of course, beyond the scope of the documents to provide. In particular, it has to be remembered that the *Liber Inquisitionis*, with its eighty-eight sentences<sup>10</sup>, does not by any means deal with all Orvietan heretics and sympathisers. Even within it, there are hints of wider ripples of involvement, for example the "reliable witnesses" who knew enough about heresy to be able to denounce their friends and relatives to the Inquisitors, or the various people who had died "consoled heretics", but were not personally charged<sup>11</sup>. There are also tantalising glimpses in other documents of a very much wider network of Orvietan heresy. A fragment conserved in the Cathedral archive in Viterbo, for example<sup>12</sup>, bears witness to the Inquisitors' early investigations in 1268, and mentions names which appear nowhere in the final sentences. Or again, there is a letter in the Orvietan cathedral archive<sup>13</sup>, dated 1296, in which Boniface VIII agrees to reverse a sentence about which nothing would have been known had this appeal not been made against it.

It is unrealistic, then, to expect the *Liber Inquisitionis* to provide a comprehensive picture of the whole of the heretical movement in Orvieto. Nor can it be assumed that the people whose sentences it records are a representative sample of those with Cathar sympathies, as the Inquisitors may have concentrated their energies on the ringleaders, and on the more prominent citizens, whose punishment might have a deterrent effect on others. Nonetheless, to ask questions at all about the background of known heretics, and to begin to answer some of them, may make it easier to account for the undoubted attraction of Catharism, and to estimate the extent to which religious conviction, rather than political self-interest was a factor in the allegiance of local people to it. It may also go some way towards providing what M.D. Lambert<sup>14</sup> rightly identifies as "essential preliminaries" for any general discussion of the religious aspects of heresy, namely, "concrete information on the origins, social class and wealth of heretics", information which, as he remarks, has been noticeably lacking in the literature of medieval heresy.

.....

a) 'Noble' and 'Popular'

Even the apparently simple task of distinguishing nobles from non-

nobles is fraught with difficulties, due in large measure to the fluidity of social distinctions, which were only beginning to crystallise around this time.

Theoretically, 'noble' and 'popular' were distinct, exclusive categories, and in daily life, too, it would have been generally known and accepted which local families belonged in which one'. However, the term 'noble' could in reality encompass everything from the wealthiest of landowners, whose ancient, hereditary titles were matched by their power and fortune, to men whose standard of living, in the 'twilight world' of the impoverished nobility, was barely distinguishable from that of the peasantry. Utilising evidence in the 1292 property register, Mme. Carpentier<sup>2</sup> distinguishes four separate categories of men to whom the fluid title '*dominus*' might be applied: members of families such as the Montemarte and Bulgarelli, whose claim to nobility dated back to the earliest known records<sup>3</sup>; many, but not all members of families such as the Monaldeschi and Filippeschi, which had more recently risen to prominence; judges; and, finally, members of the ruling council, the *Signori Sette*. Five of those in the first category were also described as '*comes*': of their wealth and standing there can be no doubt. The eighty simple '*domini*'<sup>4</sup>, however, came from a much wider variety of circumstances, with property valuations ranging from a meagre 200 - 300 *Lire* to 30,836 *Lire*, the highest figure in the entire register<sup>5</sup>.

Noble status might be claimed on the basis of recognised legal or military privileges, but it could just as readily be seen as the natural progression from the adoption of a certain style and standard of living, as in the case of numerous guelfs and ghibellines, whose fortunes were inextricably linked to those of the independent commune, and of their own particular faction within it<sup>6</sup>. John Larner's statement that there was no such entity as a 'typical noble' or a 'typical noble estate' can be applied without hesitation to thirteenth century Orvieto<sup>7</sup>.

On the other side, many of the wealthier *Popolo* families, with their town houses and towers, and their country estates, already had all the outward trappings of nobility, and longed for the power and privilege that formal recognition of their status would bring. In particular, this would have opened the door to various prestigious secular offices, as well as election to the Cathedral chapter<sup>8</sup>. Paradoxically, and confusingly, knighthood could sometimes even be the reward for outstanding service to the *Popolo*<sup>9</sup>. In the Orvietan context,



Waley comments on the divided loyalties of the most prominent representatives of the *Popolo*, whose lifestyle and economic interests prevented them from being more than "tepidly anti-noble" <sup>10</sup>.

Luca Manente's confidence is thus understandable, if misplaced, when, without qualification or explanation, he describes one leading *Popolo* family, the Tosti, as being "of noble blood" <sup>11</sup>, and includes the Tancelle in his list of "noble households" <sup>12</sup>. None of the leading heretical families, such as the Tosti, Ricci and Miscinelli, appears in the earliest official list of Orvietan noble households<sup>13</sup>, but this by itself cannot be taken as proof that they were not recognised by their own contemporaries as authentic members of the nobility<sup>14</sup>. Not only is the list a very short one (27 families in all), but it is also late. Compiled in 1322, it relates to a period twenty-four years after the Inquisition, and nine years after the decisive defeat and expulsion of the Orvietan ghibellines. A much more convincing refutation of Manente's classification is the fact that several of his 'noble' ghibellines are named in the *Liber Inquisitionis* as 'citizens' of Orvieto, and are known from other sources to have held offices from which genuine noblemen would have been excluded.

#### Noblemen

There is only one case in which it can be stated unequivocally that the person on trial for heresy came from the upper echelons of the Orvietan nobility - and, incidentally, from the traditionally guelf Monaldeschi line<sup>15</sup>.

Despite the embarrassing circumstances, the *nobilis vir dominus Rainerius domini Monaldi domini Rainerii domini Stephani de Urbeveteri* was given his full title in the first of two entries in the *Liber Inquisitionis* relating to his case<sup>16</sup>. This title makes it quite clear that he was one of the '*filiorum Monaldi Ranerii Stefani*' whose male descendants were specifically named in the list of noble households compiled in 1322 <sup>17</sup>.

*Domino* Rainerio was convicted of heresy on 21 May 1268, and further admonished on 7 June for not fulfilling the penalties imposed. On both occasions, he was summoned to appear in person to hear the sentences read, but 'contumaciously' failed to do so. It may be that he, like many of the other suspects, had chosen voluntary exile rather than face trial, but in that case, it must have become safe for him to return well before 1292, when he appears in the *Catasto* as one of the town's

wealthiest citizens.

There is a slight problem of identification here - one which Mme. Carpentier fails to recognise when she takes it for granted that the former heretic is to be identified with the Rainerius *domini* Munaldi who is listed alongside his brother Petrus in the S. Giovenale region<sup>18</sup>. The other possibility is that he was living in the neighbouring S. Giovanni region, and is listed as *dominus* Nerius Munaldi Rainerii Stefani<sup>19</sup>. There is a very significant gap between these two men in terms of wealth, the property<sup>20</sup> of the former being valued at 15,522 *Lire*, and that of the latter at 4,238 *Lire*. Indeed, this is one of the strongest arguments for concurring with Carpentier's identification: it would be unusual if *domino* Rainerio did not fall within the same broad bracket of wealth as his brother, *dominus* Petrus Munaldi Rainerii Stefani, whose property valuation was 16,900 *Lire*<sup>21</sup>.

A case could be made out for either identification<sup>22</sup>, but in this context it is unnecessary to insist that the issue be resolved. Whichever of the two men was the *domino* Rainerio mentioned in the *Liber Inquisitionis*, the same conclusions may be drawn: that he was unquestionably of noble rank; that he had managed to find a niche in society despite his earlier conviction for heresy; and that he was very wealthy by contemporary standards. Even the lower sum of 4,238 *Lire* would have made him more than twice as rich as most of the people reckoned by Pardi to be "*le persone più raguardevoli della città*"<sup>23</sup>, while the higher figure of 15,522 *Lire* would put him in a tiny minority of the super-rich. Only 225<sup>24</sup> of the 2,751 town-dwelling landowners listed in 1292 qualified, in Pardi's terms, as the town's "most prominent citizens", by having property worth more than 2,000 *Lire*. Of these, 206 had a valuation lower than 10,000 *Lire*, seven were in the 10,000 to 15,000 *Lire* range, and only twelve, including Pietro, Raniero, and two groups of joint owners, exceeded that figure.

The double summons is only one of several features which mark out the case of *domino* Raniero from the others in the *Liber Inquisitionis*, and in view of his wealth and family background, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the unusual character both of his involvement in heresy and of his treatment by the Inquisition may be due, in some measure at least, to his social rank.

In the first place, although he would undoubtedly have owned several houses in town and *contado*, *domino* Raniero was one of the few



local sympathisers not to have received the *perfecti* in his own home<sup>25</sup>. On his own admission to Fra Giordano in 1263, he had sought out heretics in Monte-Marano and Castellonclo, speaking with them and asking for their medical advice, and although the witnesses who betrayed him to Fra Benvenuto and Fra Bartolomeo in 1268 accused him of associating with heretics in Orvieto, as well as in "*diversis aliis locis*", his own home is never mentioned. He often sent alms to the *perfecti*, and gave them other forms of support; he listened to their preaching, performed the ritual 'adoration', and was open enough about his allegiance to praise their life and doctrine "fervently" (*assertive*). But despite this fervent proclamation, which may in any case only have taken place in circles which he considered 'safe', there is a restraint about the charges which suggests that *domino* Rainerio wished to keep a certain distance between himself and the heretics, whose teaching nonetheless attracted him, and to whom he was willing to give covert financial, and moral support.

In this respect, he may have been doing no more than continuing the pattern set by his father, for in the course of their investigations in the early part of 1268, the Inquisitors were told of one "*Monalducus Raynerii Stephani*", who, no more than twelve years previously, had come to visit the heretics Andrea Castellane and Bonamicus while they were staying in the home of the anonymous witness. There, Monalduccio had listened to their preaching and "spoken amicably with them", but his sympathy apparently did not extend to suggesting that the conversations be continued in his own home<sup>26</sup>.

With regard to the treatment of *domino* Rainerio by the Inquisitors, it cannot be proved that his social rank carried any special weight, though his treatment does seem to have been particularly lenient in relation to the gravity of his offences. It is true that excommunication, to which he was twice subjected, would have had serious repercussions for a man in his position, as would the removal of his legal, testamentary and commercial rights, not to mention the humiliation of having to wear yellow crosses on his clothing every time he appeared in public. Indeed, the force of the latter sentence, in an age when clothing was a precise guide to social status, is illustrated by *domino* Rainerio's failure to collect his crosses within the stated period, even though he was apparently willing to make substantial financial amends for his misdeeds<sup>27</sup>.

Nonetheless, if his prescribed punishment was not without power to hurt him, the overall impression given by the sentences is that all three Inquisitors involved, from 1263 onwards, went out of their way to make it easy for him to return to the fold, and it is surely more than coincidence that Bishop Giacomo, who attended only four of the sixteen sessions in 1268/9, took the trouble to be present on both occasions when this man's case was being heard.

He had been absolved from excommunication in 1263 on the strength of his own testimony alone, Fra Giovanni apparently accepting at face value his denial of all but two of the charges levied against him. Moderately strict sentences were passed by Fra Bartholomeo and Fra Benvenuto on 21 May 1268, but these were clearly intended as temporary penance rather than lifelong penalty. This is indicated by the unusual wording of the final "*reservata semper...*" clause, which lays special emphasis on the possibility of the sentences being modified at a later date<sup>29</sup>. Even when Rainerio still refused to co-operate, he was given a final chance to repent. The 1,000 Lire fine set for him on 7 June 1268 was sizeable by contemporary standards, but its payment was well within his means.

It seems, then, that *domino* Rainerio received very favourable treatment from the Inquisitors, but it cannot simply be assumed that this was because of his social influence. Again, there is evidence pointing both ways. On the one hand, his personal involvement with the heretics was slight, and he had given them no direct hospitality. Moreover, the fact that he had stayed in town, and that he did eventually pay the fine imposed on him, may indicate a certain begrudging submission to ecclesiastical authority. On the other hand, had the Inquisitors wanted to be brutal, they could have found ample reason here. His association with heresy was of long standing, since he had already been tried and sentenced at least once before 1263; he had lied to the Inquisitors; and he had ignored no fewer than three citations to appear before them. Far from regarding his noble status as protection, the Inquisitors could, had they so wished, have applied the principle laid down by Innocent III for the punishment of heretical priests: "*in quo maior est culpa, gravior exerceatur vindicta*" <sup>30</sup>.

It is at this point that it would have been useful to know which of the two references in the 1292 *Catasto* to a "*domino Rainerio*" <sup>30</sup> applies to the man earlier accused of heresy, but there is no obvious



way of resolving the ambiguity. If *domino* Rainerio's conviction had left him with a fortune of over 15,000 Lire, then it had obviously done him little harm. If, on the other hand, his property by this time was worth only 4,238 Lire to Pietro's 16,960, it is very tempting to look to the criminal record of one of the brothers as an explanation for the financial gulf between them.

The one thing that is beyond question about this man is his noble rank, but the status of other prominent heretics is rather more ambiguous, and one has to be wary of reading too much into the designations used in the *Liber Inquisitionis*. There are some clues, however. Whereas a good number of the women are described as *domina*, the masculine equivalent, *dominus*, is used much more sparingly, and this means that its use, if not its omission, must be regarded as significant<sup>31</sup>.

Apart from *domino* Rainerio, and a passing reference to *domino* Guido of Gradoli, the late father-in-law of *domina* Verderosa<sup>32</sup>, the only other case in which the title *dominus* is used is that of Iacobus Arnuldi, sentenced posthumously on 26 July 1268<sup>33</sup>. This man may not have matched *domino* Rainerio in rank or wealth, but his home is described as a "palace", and, unlike Rainerio, he seems to have had no qualms about using it as a Cathar meeting-place. He received two female *perfectæ*, Ricca and Benvenuta, and two unnamed men "in palatio suo", where he heard them preach and performed the ritual 'reverence' to them. Since he was already dead by the time the Inquisitors came to deal with his case, it is not possible to compare his treatment with that of *domino* Rainerio, but there is no evidence of special leniency here. His family was spared the disgrace of seeing his bones exhumed and burnt, but he was excommunicated and his memory damned, and the financial penalties on his heirs and business associates could not have been any more severe. All his property was confiscated and divided between the Church and the commune; his Will was declared invalid; and all his legal contracts were revoked.

There are only a few other cases where the people accused of heresy can be categorised with certainty as either nobles or *populares*, though many fall into the grey area of influential families whose aspirations to nobility had received a greater or lesser degree of contemporary recognition. Included in Luca Manente's retrospective list of noble households in 1290 are the following names which appear in one

form or another in the *Liber Inquisitionis*: Toncelle; Ardaccione; Rossi; Benincase; Magalotti; Paganucci; Lupiccini; Miscinelli; Saraceni; Adilascie; Tosta; Prudentii; Frascabocchi<sup>34</sup>.

Of course, it is hardly to be expected that the Inquisitors, while condemning people to "perpetual infamy", would be punctilious about addressing them by their proper titles, but this means that more accurate information about status has to come from occasional references in other sources. For example, Amideo Lupicini<sup>35</sup>, who was one of five, or possibly seven "rectors of the city" in 1266, is described in the Council records as a 'nobleman', and given the title 'signor' <sup>36</sup>. Likewise, there is a 'signor' Rainerius Stephani, who was Chamberlain of the commune in 1243 <sup>37</sup>.

In the latter case, there is a problem of identification. If this man was the grandfather of d. Rainerius Munaldi Rainerii Stephani, as is just possible if the former had been elderly in 1243 and the latter quite young when first tried for heresy prior to 1263, then his noble status is not in question. If, however, the former Chamberlain is to be identified with Rainerius Stephani *faber* or *Fabri* <sup>38</sup>, who was tried by the Inquisitors on their last day in Orvieto, 22 January 1269, then the situation is more ambiguous, as the name 'faber' ('smith') sounds more like a description of his own or his father's trade than a genuine surname. It was not unknown for a nobleman to engage in a trade, but it was unusual<sup>39</sup>, and the nobility were explicitly excluded from the guilds. Far more common was for wealth acquired through trade or industry to act as a stepping-stone to nobility, and it is quite feasible that the name 'Fabri' in this instance was no more than a legacy from an artisan forebear. If so, there was nothing unusual about this sort of family history: the 1322 list<sup>40</sup> of the 27 most prominent Orvietan noble families included the descendants of at least one craftsman<sup>41</sup>, Ranaldo *Bifulci*.

With regard to male heretics, there is one further instance where the records seem to indicate a member of the nobility, though this is by no means to suggest that Matheus Romei completes the tally of men who would have been regarded as noble by their fellow-Orvietans. Matteo was not one of the people whose sentences were recorded in the *Liber Inquisitionis*, but his son-in-law, Neri di Turri, later won an appeal to Pope Boniface VIII that his wife's share of her late father's estate, confiscated for heresy, should be returned to her<sup>42</sup>. In fact, only the



son-in-law's rank is explicitly stated, but a man of his status [*'nobilis vir Nerius de Turri, miles Urbevetani'*] is unlikely to have married beneath his own class. And to judge by the extent of his father-in-law's property, which covered half of "Castro Tessannani" in the diocese of Tuscania, his wife's family was well-matched with his own.

#### Noble Women

As far as women are concerned, it looks at first sight as though the matter of noble or popular status should be more easily resolved, since some, but not all of the women in the *Liber Inquisitionis* are given the title 'domina' (see Table 2). Closer examination of the evidence is sufficient to dispel this impression, however. In the first place, if it were really true that approximately 70% of female sympathisers were fully-fledged noblewomen<sup>43</sup>, then the social distribution of heresy among women would bear no relation whatsoever to that suggested by the data relating to men<sup>44</sup>. It is possible, of course, that Catharism may have had greater appeal, for whatever reasons, to noble women than to noble men, but what is more likely is that the title 'domina' was used more freely as a title of respect than its masculine counterpart, 'dominus', and with correspondingly less significance.

Its use was neither entirely random, nor governed by any single, obvious criterion. Seniority may have been one factor, since all but two of the twelve widows are described as 'domina' <sup>45</sup>, but the title is also accorded to two out of the three unmarried women, whom one might have expected to be younger<sup>46</sup>. In the case of Tafura, daughter of Christoforo Tosti, who is accorded no title, the lack of respect might be explained by the heinousness of her father's crimes, but none of the other eight women who were denied the title 'domina' came from families of more than usual notoriety<sup>47</sup>.

Social status was undoubtedly relevant, but here, too, there are inconsistencies. Benvegnata, the seamstress, was, predictably, denied a title, but *domina* Bellapratu and *domina* Granu, whose husbands were both skimmers, and *domina* Dellaltre, whose nephew was a woollen manufacturer, were not. *Domina* Mathea was married to a very wealthy man (Miscinellus Ricci Miscinelli), and *domina* Syginetta to a very influential one (Domenico Toncello), but Trocta's husband was a member of the Tosti family, one of the so-called 'ghibelline nobility' of the town, and yet she received no title. Two of the 'ladies' were married to Orvietan 'citizens', but the one woman who may have been a citizen in her own

right is simply called 'Amata' <sup>48</sup>.

It would be tedious to give a proliferation of examples, but there are obvious disparities not only between text and margin<sup>49</sup>, but also within the main text of the *Liber Inquisitionis* itself. Someone who has been introduced as 'Belverdes' is described later as '*dictam dominam Belverdem*'; while in the case of '*domina Pacifica*' [*'dictam Pacificam*'], the reverse applies. And whereas nobility was almost always something which applied to an entire family<sup>50</sup>, there is an example here of a mother [*domina Amata*] and her two daughters [*Albasia* and *domina Mathea*], two of whom are 'ladies', and the third of whom is not.

In other words, the application of the title '*domina*' can in no sense be taken as a reliable guide to the social status of female Cathar 'believers', but it would be equally mistaken to dismiss it as totally irrelevant<sup>51</sup>. The most striking illustration of this caveat is the extraordinary care taken by the notary, or by the Inquisitors whose judgement he is recording, to distinguish between the three women who were sentenced together on 20 June 1268:

*... ex depositionibus fide dignorum testium... nec non ex confessionibus Benvegnate sartrici, domine Domedellaltre infrascriptarum, quod ipse Benvegnate, domina Dellaltre, uxor Egidii Seccadinuti, et domina Greca, matris Petri Bonansigne de Urbeveteri credentes extiterunt hereticorum erroribus...*

*... Nec non dicta Benvegnate consolationi interfuit hereticorum,*

*... prefatis dominam Grecam, Benvegnatam et dominam Donnadellaltre... fuisse credentes hereticorum erroribus, faatrices et Receptatrices patarenorum sententialiter iudicamus et perpetua dampnatus infamia...* (52)

The notary was in some difficulty over the spelling of Dellaltre's [or Domedellaltre's] name, but he was in no doubt that two, and only two of the three women were entitled to be described as '*domina*'.

This designation can thus be used, although only in a very general way, to help formulate an impression of the social composition of heresy in Orvieto. When all the necessary provisos and reservations have been taken into account, there is some evidence to suggest that among Orvietan women, Catharism had a particularly strong attraction for upper-class widows. Perhaps they enjoyed a greater degree of independence than their married sisters, or looked to the heretical movement for a sense of belonging and identity, lost to them when their husbands died. Whatever their motivation, at least ten, and possibly as many as fifteen of these widowed ladies had houses of their own, or had



sufficient autonomy in the running of the household in which they lived to allow heretics to be sheltered, and Cathar meetings to be held there (see Table 2c)).

### Popolani

It is in the nature of the evidence available that conclusions based upon it must be hedged about with questions and reservations, and the same applies across the somewhat hazy boundary which separates nobles and *popolani*. It was only in the course of the thirteenth century that the *Popolo* began to emerge as a distinct political institution<sup>53</sup>, but several heretical families were nevertheless associated with it. Provençano Lupicini, who was later exposed as one of the people most deeply embroiled in heresy, had been *Capitano del Popolo* in 1247/8, and Matteo Toncelle, whose brother's family were all Cathars, held the same post in 1261. So, indeed, did his ill-fated brother, Domenico, six years later<sup>54</sup>.

The office of Rector of the *Popolo* was the one apparently most prone to heretical infiltration, though there is no obvious reason why this should have been the case. Domenico Toncelle had been Rector in 1244, and three years later, in 1247, the office was held jointly by Rainerio Adilascie and Martinello Martini Guiduti<sup>55</sup>. The latter was condemned posthumously on 26 July 1268, along with Petrus Rainerii Adilascie, also dead, who was almost certainly the son of Martinello's former colleague<sup>56</sup>. Furthermore, Petrus Rainerii Adilascie had himself held office in the *Popolo*, in 1262, when he and yet another heretic, Raynerius Stradigocti<sup>57</sup>, were among the seven 'elders' (*anziani*) of the *Capitano*<sup>58</sup>.

### Holders of Public Office

Local government at this time was, to say the least, fluid and complex, with nobles and *popolani*, guelfs and ghibellines, constantly vying for power, and reconstituting local councils and positions of authority whenever they got the chance. Terms like 'rector', 'consul', 'prior', 'councillor' and 'chamberlain' thus tended to be used interchangeably and with reference to a wide variety of positions, and this, together with the persistent blurring of the boundary between noble and non-noble, means that it is not always possible to say which local government positions were strictly under the auspices of the *Popolo*. What is clear is that a small number of the heretics occupied positions of some prominence in public life; a fact which gives point to

the Inquisitors' insistence that no convicted heretics should be allowed to enjoy 'temporal honours', or to hold public office<sup>59</sup>.

As well as serving as Rector, and later Captain of the *Popolo*, Domenico Toncelle had been town Chamberlain some time before 1235. He had also been Prior of the Arts in 1255/6, only a year before the town was rocked by the scandal of his murder in the main public square<sup>60</sup>. Provençano Lupicini had not only been *Capitano*, but also Consul once (in 1240/1), and Chamberlain twice (in 1239 and 1249) <sup>61</sup>. These men, in other words, were part of a small ruling élite who shared out public appointments, if not in strict rotation, at least with some degree of predictability. It is perhaps unfortunate that so much attention has been given to these few very public figures, thus reinforcing the impression that most heretics were prominent ghibellines, and diverting attention from the large number of very ordinary people, of whatever political persuasion, with Cathar sympathies. Nonetheless, the importance of the 'élite' must also be recognised.

Considering the force with which the hand of the Inquisition was to fall in 1268, it is remarkable that men such as these were able, apparently, to maintain their position as respected leaders of society almost to the last moment. Amideo Lupicini is the most outstanding example. Whatever his precise rank and responsibility as 'rector of the commune', it meant that in 1266, only two years before his posthumous anathematisation, this man had responsibility for passing sentence on the 'evildoers' of the town, and was involved in the important negotiations with Clement IV to secure peace between Orvieto and Siena<sup>62</sup>. Assuming him to have been a genuine Cathar sympathiser, then he must either have been very successful at keeping this fact a secret, or attitudes towards heresy must have changed significantly in the short time between 1266 and 1268. If he was still an active adherent in 1266, and if this was known locally, then the townspeople cannot at that stage have shared the Inquisitors' obsessive desire for a radical extirpation of all traces of heresy, past and present.

### Citizens

In addition to the heretics known to have held specific civic appointments, there is a much wider circle of men who, by virtue of their status as 'citizens' (see Table 3), are almost certain to have held similar appointments at some time, and to have taken their turn at serving on local councils. Their names occur frequently on the witness-



lists of legal documents<sup>63</sup>, and it is probably only because the records have not yet been combed thoroughly enough that more is not known about the extent and nature of their public service.

Like every other social category examined so far, there was no clear consensus about what it meant to be a 'citizen' in thirteenth century Italy<sup>64</sup>. The criteria varied greatly from one city to another, and yet '*civis*' was a designation universally recognised and respected. According to its literal meaning, the word should distinguish town- from country-dwellers, but matters were not always so simple. Not everyone who lived in the town enjoyed the privileged status of a 'citizen', while *contadini* in certain circumstances might be granted full civic rights without being required to take up residence in the city. In Orvieto in 1265, for example<sup>65</sup>, this was one of the concessions granted, along with exclusive localised milling rights, to a group of *contadini* under the leadership of *domino* Rainerio Monaldeschi<sup>66</sup>. In this case, the defining characteristic of citizenship seems to have been registration for payment of the tax known as the '*datium*'. Anyone who worked regularly for the millers' co-operative was to be regarded as a '*cittadino continuo*' of Orvieto, which meant being freed from the arbitrary dues which might be exacted by a noble landlord, and subjected instead to the set rates of the *datium*.

Citizenship was very often linked to financial considerations of this sort, and in some cases the economic element could take over to such an extent that the whole system lost its purpose. This happened in Modena in the 1280's, when the Commune was so desperate for money that it started selling citizenship for 100 *Lire* a time<sup>67</sup>. Usually, however, there was much more to the granting and receiving of citizenship than just the possible financial benefit to either party.

In some cases, only citizens were allowed to hold public office; in others, citizenship was a recognition of such service already performed. Rarely, however, was there any problem with regard to incomers, whether from other cities or from the *contado*, who wanted to consolidate their social position by acquiring full civil rights, including eligibility for office. In the case of the Orvietan heretics, there is no need to read any significance into the fact that neither of the *habitatores*, and none of the other incomers, are named as citizens. Their numbers, although consistent with what is known about the proportion of non-Orvietans in the population as a whole<sup>68</sup>, are too small to be of any consequence.

According to the *Carta del Popolo* <sup>69</sup>, only two categories of people were definitely excluded from citizenship. These came from both extremes of the social spectrum - the nobility and the very poor - for in order to become a citizen in Orvieto in 1323, it was necessary both to have a certain specified level of wealth, and to be registered in one of the *Arti*, from which nobles were barred. If the same rules applied in 1268, then these two important pieces of information can immediately be applied to the eighteen *cives* accused of heresy in that year<sup>70</sup>.

The rules may not have been the same, of course, or, if the same, may not have been strictly enforced; but there is every reason for believing that most of these men were, in fact, well-to-do artisans. Only eight men out of the entire total of 90 convicted heretics are identified by their membership of one of the recognised Orvietan guilds<sup>71</sup>, and three of these men - Simeon, *lanarolo*; Blancus, *pelliparius*; and Ingilbertus, *mercator* - appear here on the list of citizens. A fourth citizen, Martinus Martini Guidutii, is known from other sources to have been a high-ranking official in the guild of merchants, and there is a slight possibility that Cittadinus Viviani may also have been involved somehow in the woollen industry<sup>72</sup>. Such a high proportion of artisans in this small list of heretical citizens cannot possibly be attributed to chance.

As to the other precondition for Orvietan citizenship - a certain level of wealth - there is again no reason to doubt the ability of any of the 18 *cives* to meet a stipulation of this sort. Cambio Ricci Miscinelli, in particular, came from a very wealthy family<sup>73</sup>, one to which Martino Martini Guidutii was related by marriage<sup>74</sup>. The Tosti, who account for another four of the '*cives*', owned several houses in the *Santa Pace* quarter, while Amideo Lupicini belonged to the same clan as the man whose Will, only slightly later, consisted of over a hundred clauses, recorded on seven pieces of parchment sewn together to form a roll nearly 5 metres long<sup>75</sup>. Since Rainerius Camfrongin was already dead in 1268, it cannot have been his property that was valued 24 years later, in the *Catasto* of 1292, at nearly 2,000 *Lire*, but some of it may well have been passed on by him to a son of the same name. Finally, the son and grandson of Petrus Bonamsegne, also listed as property-owners in 1292, were not in the same league as Rainerio, but even so, the sum of their holdings amounted to a respectable 943L. 9s. <sup>76</sup>.

Further investigation would undoubtedly result in a fuller, and



more accurate estimation of these people's wealth, but it is already abundantly clear that the financial qualification for citizenship would have presented them with no problems whatsoever. In any case, there is nothing unusual in the notion that people described as citizens must also have been of some financial substance. The point does not need to be laboured. Much more interesting, and unusual, is what may be a hint as to the source of some of their wealth. Only eight people were specifically forbidden by the Inquisitors to practise usury, and three of these come from the list of 'citizens' (see Tables 3 & 6). In Parma, usurers, like murderers and those under sentence of banishment, would automatically have been excluded from citizenship<sup>77</sup>. If these men were money-lenders, and were known as such, then this indicates a very different attitude on the part of the Orvietan authorities. It was wealth, *per se*, that was the passport to respectability, and the way in which it had been acquired could be ignored where necessary. If that is a fair representation of attitudes to usury in Orvieto, the same blind eye might also have been turned towards more serious deviance of a religious or a political nature.

As well as being a mark of respectability, citizenship in the Italian communes was associated with participation in the government of the city-state. The extent of active participation varied from one city to another, and also from one period to another<sup>78</sup>, but there was a universal expansion of civic bureaucracy in the course of the thirteenth century, and most of the '*cives*' would have been able to find some rôle in local government. By 1247, when the *Popolo* in Orvieto was just on the brink of its first period of real influence, it had two regionally-elected Councils of one hundred and two hundred members respectively<sup>79</sup>, each supplemented by 24 representatives of the *Arti* and *Società*. The 18 *cives* named in the *Liber Inquisitionis* would undoubtedly have been part of this sizeable élite, to whom social prestige was as important as the actual power of decision-making.

Not even the weight of the Inquisition was enough to remove the presence of these heretical families from the ruling councils of the town, for towards the end of the century various familiar names appear, significantly as representatives from the *Santa Pace* quarter, where heresy had had its strongest roots. The councils by this time [1298] were larger than ever, with around 60 members on the general council, and 20 - 30 on the special council for each quarter. By this date, too,

most of the original heretics would have been dead, but their sons were continuing in the family tradition. Ranuceptus Toste and Loctus Cambii Miscinelli were members of the special council for *Santa Pace*, while the general council included Lapuccius Ranucepti Toste and Dominicus Inghilberti<sup>30</sup>.

The evidence for a strong heretical presence in the ruling élite of the town is irrefutable: its significance is somewhat harder to assess. It would certainly have been useful to the Cathars to have friends in high places, and may help to explain how heresy managed to gain such a firm hold at all levels of society, and to resist numerous official attempts at repression prior to 1268. Why so many prominent citizens (and why some and not others) should have found a spiritual home in a subversive movement such as Catharism is more obscure. Unlike the noble widows, who may have felt drawn to a close-knit group which gave them a sense of belonging and identity, these men should have been in no doubt about their rôle in society, though they may have had other reasons to feel disaffected. The ghibelline connection is part, but only part of the answer. A full explanation would have to take account of spiritual and personal factors as well as political ones, and if the subtle nuances of medieval urban politics are hard to unravel, the personal spirituality of its protagonists is unlikely to yield a great deal to historical investigation.

Petrus Guidi Becchi, *buccinator*

Before leaving the subject of civic appointments, there is one interesting, and rather unusual case which deserves some comment. Petrus Guidi Becchi was not one of those named as a 'citizen', but he, too, had a more prominent role in public life than the entry in the *Liber Inquisitionis* alone would suggest<sup>31</sup>. Indeed, citizenship would not have been an inappropriate reward for his later service to the Commune<sup>32</sup>. Pietro is described in the Inquisition record simply as '*buccinator*', or trumpeter, and the various personal hints about him, such as the moderate (100 *Lire*) fine imposed, and his willingness to accept casual payment for guiding heretics to their meeting-place, combine to suggest a very minor figure, albeit one unusually well-informed about Cathar teaching<sup>33</sup>. This image must either be mistaken, or Pietro must not only have re-established himself in society after his conviction for heresy, but also achieved considerable advancement. In any case, from 1272 to 1291, he figures regularly in the judicial records of the town, with the



title, 'publicus banditor comunis', or, alternatively, 'exbannitor' or 'preconis' <sup>84</sup>.

If this is the same man (and there is no linguistic or chronological reason for believing otherwise), this represents a remarkable recovery of fortunes. It means that in the space of four years, someone with a serious criminal record was being employed in a very public way on the side of the law. The *Carta del Popolo*, compiled in 1323, devotes one complete section<sup>85</sup> to the office of *preconis*, and the compilers were clearly concerned that its importance should be properly acknowledged on both sides. On the one hand, the *precones* were to receive adequate recompense for their services...

*...quod faciunt et facere debent Comunis et Populi Urbisveteris  
et in curiis domini Potestatis, Capitanei et aliorum officialium  
et Consulibus artium...* (86)

Four chamberlains were appointed to make sure that the *precones* received the 50 *Lire* salary, and 25 *Lire* clothing allowance<sup>87</sup>, which are here specified as their due. On the other hand, the *precones* themselves, on penalty of 100 *Lire*, were to dress and comport themselves in a manner befitting the dignity of their office:

*Et debeant dicti precones portare in superioribus vestibus, quas  
portabunt in dorso, semper insigna Comunis Urbisveteris, ut  
manifeste appareat ipsos esse precones, et ut Comunis debitus  
honor, ut condecet, reservetur...*

Pietro Guidi Becci was *preconis* nearly half a century earlier than this, and there is nothing to suggest that he was particularly well-paid for his work. Neither of the two men of this name listed in the 1292 *Catasto*<sup>88</sup> had more than very modest land-holdings. There can be no doubt, however, about the public, and prestigious nature of his appointment. The entries in the judicial registers make it clear that it was his task, as *exbannitor*, to proclaim the banishment of obdurate criminals, and in particular those who had failed to pay their fines.

The most likely explanation for the apparent anomaly between the *Liber Inquisitionis* and the later sources is that Pietro was very young at the time of his involvement with heresy. This would account both for his subservient role within the sect, and for his easy re-integration into society afterwards. Youth alone would not have spared him from the wrath of the Inquisitors, but combined with remorse and willingness to make amends, it might have predisposed them towards leniency. The evidence is far from conclusive, but on balance it seems likely that both

these conditions did apply.

With regard to Pietro's willingness to co-operate with the Inquisitors, there is the fact that he appeared in person to make his confession before them, and that his fine of 100 *Lire* was paid<sup>29</sup>. (Against this, there is his refusal to attend the public reading of his sentence, despite being summoned by the Inquisitors' nuncio, Jannuccio, to do so<sup>30</sup>.) With regard to his youth, there is his own statement about running errands for his father, and the fact that acting as guide to the perfect was often a youngster's job<sup>31</sup>. (Against this, is the charge that he had received the heretic Ricca *in casa sua*).

There may also be a clue to his age in the form which his name takes in the various sources. It is only in the earliest of the later examples, a 1272 case where he is described for the first time as '*publicus banditor*', that the diminutive form of his name, Petrucius, is used. In a different context, Petruccio might have been assumed to be a son of the heretic, Pietro, but here, with the other evidence of his youth, the diminutive was almost certainly used of someone on the borderline between adolescence and adulthood. This is confirmed by the fact that the Inquisitors themselves use both forms of his name. They begin very formally, with reference to 'Petrus Guidi Becci, *buccinator*', but several paragraphs later have lapsed into using the form that apparently came more naturally to them: '*dictum Petrucium*'. From 1285 onwards he is consistently called 'Petrus'.

.....

#### b) Trades and Professions

A cursory glance at the list of people sentenced in the *Liber Inquisitionis* would have revealed only a few instances - *domino* Rainerio, certainly, and also the eighteen people named as citizens - where social status could be assigned with any degree of confidence. Some judicious reading between the lines, combined with evidence from external sources, has enabled this list to be expanded considerably, and the same procedures must now be applied in relation to the professional status of individual heretics.

There are a number of cases in which the person's occupation is explicitly stated, although sometimes, as in the case of Rainerius Stephani, it is difficult to distinguish between an unusual surname and an authentic job description (see Tables 4 & 5). Nor is it safe to



assume that there were no artisans or businessmen among the people whose occupation is not specified'.

### Merchants

Martinus Martini Guidutii, for example, was Consul of the Merchants in 1247<sup>2</sup>, but, unlike his less illustrious colleague Ingilbertus<sup>3</sup>, he is never described in the *Liber Inquisitionis* as 'mercator'. He was probably well-enough known locally for such detail to be superfluous. Consul was the highest of three possible grades within any of the *Arti*<sup>4</sup>, and can be taken to imply a person of considerable wealth and standing, though not, according to the *Carta del Popolo*<sup>5</sup>, a member of the nobility. This specific prohibition, although too late to be of direct relevance, is interesting simply because its inclusion was thought necessary. There must, in 1323 at least, have been noblemen wanting to become Consuls, or Consuls with aspirations to nobility<sup>6</sup>. In Martino's case, his prominent place in society is confirmed and emphasised by the fact of his sister's marriage to one of the powerful Ricci Miscinelli brothers<sup>7</sup>.

These two merchants, Martino and Ingilberto, both of them Orvietan citizens, are among several local people whose occupation would have given them the degree of mobility necessary, according to M. D. Lambert<sup>8</sup>, for the spread and survival of Catharism. Martino, in fact, qualifies on two counts, as his association with heretics took place not only in his own home, in the Santa Pace region of Orvieto, but also when he was serving with the Orvietan army in Todi<sup>9</sup>. Soldiers, like merchants, were not only very likely to be exposed to new ideas in the course of their travels, but were perhaps also more open to them when they were temporarily uprooted from their homes and families than they would have been at home. The Cathar *perfecti* clearly exploited this opportunity for proselytisation, for the charge against Martino was not that he met secretly with individual heretics, but that he listened to their preaching "in exercitu Urbevetano", and 'revered' them there. This suggests fairly open heretical assemblies among the soldiers, some of whom would be professionals, but some of whom, like Martino, would be returning eventually to a variety of civilian occupations.

### Textile Trade

Orvietan commerce at this time was dominated to such an extent by the textile trade that it is highly probable that cloth was the main substance of Martino and Ingilberto's mercantile activity. There were other local trades, of course, but none remotely approaching the scale of

the textile industry<sup>10</sup>. With a very few exceptions, such as ceramics, for which there was a certain export market, most goods were produced purely for local consumption. The textile trade, by contrast, involved external contacts at various levels. Some wool was locally produced, but wool was also imported from as far afield as Sardinia, Spain and Provence, while other fibres, such as cotton, silk, flax and hemp, as well as various dyes and resins, had all to be bought in from outside<sup>11</sup>. An annual trade fair was held each year in September, for a fortnight before, and a fortnight after the feast of S. Severo<sup>12</sup>, and to encourage foreign traders to attend, safe-conduct was promised to travellers, and a moratorium was declared on all taxes for the entire period. The main business would, of course, have been the buying and selling of cloth, but Orvietans also bought luxury goods such as gold, velvet, furs and spices, and were able to offer in return wine, cattle and pottery in addition to the *guarnelli*, their home-spun cloth.

On top of all this local trading activity, account must also be taken of Orvieto's geographical location, and the fact that the town lay at a strategic point on the major trade routes linking Rome with Florence and Siena. Orvietan inn-keepers and revenue collectors benefitted from this continuous through traffic, and there was ample opportunity for new ideas to be disseminated along with the goods which were brought for sale in the town, or which passed through on the way to other markets. It should thus come as no surprise to discover that the textile trade seems to have been one of the most fertile breeding-grounds for Orvietan heresy. Cathar preachers, who seized their opportunity to evangelise in the Orvietan military camp, must have seen similar potential in the cosmopolitan trade fairs, while textile merchants and manufacturers who were curious about the new teaching would have had more freedom than most to satisfy their curiosity by attending one of the secret, out-of-town assemblies. Even if they were not able to attend in person, they would be in regular conversation with business associates who would have had ample opportunity to do so.

Orvietan evidence confirms what has been observed elsewhere about links between heresy and textile-related trades: namely that heresy was very strongly rooted in this area, but that it drew support from all levels of this industry, attracting different people for different reasons. R.I. Moore successfully quashes any "romantic picture" of the spinners, for example, as "intelligent artisans with time to dream of



utopias as they chatted with their customers" <sup>13</sup>. There was a big difference between the poor labourers and wandering journeymen, who might be attracted to heresy out of sheer desperation, and the successful entrepreneurs and international merchants, looking for a faith which would match their status and independence. Any analysis of medieval heresy must take account of both these extremes, and the whole intermediate range of social levels represented in this "homogenous trade". This complexity was reflected in the Cathar movement in Orvieto, where a large number of known heretics were either employed in the cloth trade, or belonged to the family circle of those who were. Insofar as it is possible to tell, these people varied considerably in terms of wealth and social status, from simple labourers to wealthy industrialists.

As well as the two merchants discussed already, there was at least one heretic involved in the production side of the industry: Symeon *Lanarolo*, who was convicted on 20 June 1268<sup>14</sup>. There were some noblemen who reared large flocks of sheep on their country estates<sup>15</sup>, but Symeon was not one of these. His citizenship excluded him from the nobility, but as a woollen manufacturer, he was nonetheless engaged in a highly prestigious occupation: one of the foremost of the twenty-five "Arts" of the town<sup>16</sup>. His case is therefore another example of the way in which heresy had managed to gain a hold in the very foundations of Orvietan society.

Nor was his involvement in any way casual or superficial. Like his mother Alda, who had been 'consoled' on her deathbed, he, too had received the *consolamentum*. This may have been a miscalculation on his part, since his illness had obviously not proved terminal, but in any event it left him technically one of the 'perfect', a '*hereticus consolatus*'. On his own confession, dragged out of him after '*interrogationes varias et prudentes*', he had been a believer for ten years, and there is evidence that he was prepared to put himself at considerable risk for the sake of his beliefs. Not only did he allow the *consolamentum* to be performed in his house (the cause of its eventual destruction), but he offered heretics overnight hospitality there, and on one occasion went so far as to rescue the body of a convicted heretic from the gallows and give it decent burial:

... *prohanum (sic) corpus Iosep dampnati heretici deposuit de furcis et devotissime sepellivit...*

As well as his late mother, his aunt (or grandmother) *domina* *Donnadellaltre*<sup>17</sup> was also a Cathar 'believer', and she was convicted on the same day as Symeon himself. This man was thus far more than just a member of the woollen trade with some heretical connections: he and his family were deeply committed members of the Cathar sect.

### 'Pelliparii'

A similar level of commitment was to be found among some members at least of a closely related trade: the '*pelliparii*', who were skimmers, pelterers or possibly furriers<sup>18</sup>. The word could apply to the hide of any animal, but given the prominence of the wool trade in the Orvietan economy, these men were almost certainly responsible for the treatment and/or sale of sheep pelts. This places them within the widespread trading network described above, and as such they were prime targets for exposure to Cathar propaganda, and likely also to become agents of its dissemination. In fact, the known heretics include four '*pelliparii*', two of them named in the *Liber Inquisitionis*, and two known from other sources.

*Blancus Pelliparius*<sup>19</sup> was an Orvietan citizen, but his mobility is evident in the charges laid against him. Like the merchant *Ingilbertus*, he was accused of performing the *reverentia* to heretics "in many places" (though he denied this charge). Furthermore, on his own admission, he had acted as guide to one named heretic, *Nicola de Casalveri*, and his *socius*, and to "many others", taking them to "many places", including presumably *Castellonclo*, where he had listened to *Iacobo Florentino*'s admonitions about the "*vita patarenorum*".

He tried to lay the blame for this limited involvement on the other skinner, *Stradigotto*, who, he said, had asked him to act as guide to the heretics, and had on one occasion given him a (?seasoned or salted) fish<sup>20</sup> to take to them. Even if *Bianco* was in fact more deeply involved than he wanted *Fra Bartolomeo* to believe, this defence gives an insight into his relationship with *Stradigotto*, as he must have been in the habit of obeying *Stradigotto*'s orders and running errands for him. The two men may have been in the same trade, but one was clearly a senior, and the other a junior partner.

If *Stradigotto* '*Pelliparius*' was the same man as *Stradigotto* '*Senensis*', then he was not only a senior member of his trade, but also one of the key figures in Orvietan heresy, and a man with an outstanding grasp of the theoretical principles of Catharism for a mere 'believer'<sup>21</sup>.



Cherubini follows Fumi in taking it for granted that the two names do refer to a single person<sup>22</sup>, but in fact the evidence is fairly evenly weighted between the two possibilities.

On the one hand, the scribe responsible for the marginal summaries in the *Liber Inquisitionis* clearly thought that the two men were one and the same, for the marginal entry in the case against Stradigotto of Siena describes him as "*Stradigottus Pelliparius Senensis*" <sup>23</sup>. On the other hand, Geptius Teodorici, the nephew (or grandson) of Stradigotto the skinner, is described as "*nepos olim Stradigotti Pelliparii*" <sup>24</sup>. Since Gezio himself was not only called to appear before the Inquisitors, but also berated for failing to do so, the word '*olim*' can only apply to his uncle<sup>25</sup>, and yet Stradigotto 'of Siena' was alive and well on 16 April, when he appeared personally to answer the charges against him.

The matter cannot finally be settled one way or the other, but even without the list of charges laid against Stradigotto of Siena, it is clear that the furrier of the same name was not only deeply involved in heresy himself, but had also put considerable energy into enlisting the support and active co-operation of others.

*Stradigottus Pelliparius* is mentioned four times in the course of cases against other people, and in two of the four his role was to organise the activities of the person accused. He taught Amato of Siena<sup>26</sup> to perform the *reverentia*, and when Amato received the heretic Leonardello, and his *socius*, in the house where he was staying in Orvieto, it was "*ad suggestionem et preces Stradigotti Pelliparii*", just as it had been "*ad petitionem Stradigotti Pelliparii*" that Bianco had agreed to guide other heretics around the countryside. In the case against his nephew Gezio, Stradigotto's name is mentioned only in passing, but it is worth noting that one of Gezio's offences was to conduct heretics "*ad diversa loca*", just as Bianco had done at Stradigotto's instigation. Finally, Stradigotto's complicity is confirmed by the fact that on at least two occasions he allowed Cathars to stay in his home and to hold their illicit assemblies there. A fragmentary record has survived from the Inquisitors' initial inquiries, and one of the witnesses there confessed to having guided two of the 'perfect', Benencasa Trencaloliu and his '*sotius*', from the home of Stradigoctus Pelliparius, where, presumably, they had been staying, as far as Gradoli<sup>27</sup>. And when Cittadinus Viviani came to trial in 1268, one of the charges against him was that he had 'revered' two other heretics, Nicola

de Casalveri and his companion, "*tam in domu Stradigotti Pelliparii quam alibi*" <sup>20</sup>.

Stradigotto the skinner was thus deeply embroiled in heresy, and his activities were known to the Inquisitors from at least three independent sources. It would be surprising, then, if he had escaped their wrath, and of the two men in the *Liber Inquisitionis* with the same personal name, Stradigotto of Siena is a more likely choice than Stradigotto Ricci de Tostis, despite d'Alatri's apparent preference for the latter<sup>21</sup>.

Other arguments may be advanced, too, for identifying Stradigotto 'Senensis' as the subversive skinner. Amato of Siena, for example, provides a plausible bridge between the two, since he shared the birthplace of the former, and is known to have associated with the latter. Similarly, the name of Bianco 'Pelliparius', whose connections with Stradigotto 'Pelliparius' are well-documented, appears alongside that of Stradigotto of Siena in the list of witnesses to the Will drawn up by Rainerio Fumi in 1253<sup>22</sup>. It is also quite consistent that someone in the woollen trade should have been an incomer to the town, a 'habitor' rather than a 'civis' of Orvieto. Although Stradigotto of Siena is not accused directly of any of the offences known to have been committed by Stradigotto 'Pelliparius', he seems to have been involved in the same sort of indirect manipulation of other people. He did not personally act as guide for the heretic Iacobus, but arranged for him to be taken to Collesereno, having previously 'procured' accommodation for him in town; and on another occasion he bribed a former heretic to leave town so that her contacts would not be at risk<sup>23</sup>.

There is thus a strong case, but no more than that, for believing that Stradigotto 'of Siena' and Stradigotto 'the furrier' were one and the same. If the identification could have been proved, this would have added significantly to what is known about leadership in the heretical movement, and the part played by local businessmen in particular. The theoretical understanding of Stradigotto of Siena, combined with the organisational ability of Stradigotto 'Pelliparius' would have made this man a formidable figure indeed. Even without such proof, however, it can still be said that at least one member of the woollen trade occupied a position of effective leadership among a certain sector of Orvietan heretics. When the involvement of other members of the same trade, and of their families and associates, is also taken into account, it becomes



clear that the Cathar movement in Orvieto was far more than just an alternative form of protest for discontented ghibelline nobles. Tradesmen, too, had a prominent part to play.

There is no specific evidence to link Bianco and Stradigotto with other heretical skinners, but a little detective work, using the *Liber Inquisitionis* in conjunction with two property transactions in the *Liber Donationum*<sup>22</sup>, makes it clear that several other Orvietan heretics were in fact associated with this profession, or with members of it.

The last two people to be tried by Fra Benvenuto and Fra Bartolomeo in Orvieto were two women, *domina* Bellapratu and *domina* Grana, whose sentences were read in the Piazza S. Francesco on 22 January 1269<sup>23</sup>. There is nothing to mark out these cases from the rest until it is realised that *domina* Bellapratu, who is described in the *Liber Inquisitionis* only as "*uxor Guiscardii*", was in fact the same person as *domina* Bollampratu, "*uxor quondam Viscardi pelliparii*", who gave a piece of land to her son Federico in 1265<sup>24</sup>. Once this connection is made, the two sets of documents interlock to reveal a complicated network of associations and relationships.

The earliest of the documents dates from 1265, when Bellapratu transferred ownership of a piece of land to one 'Federicus Pelliparius', on condition that he provide for her daily needs, such as food and clothing, for the remainder of her life. However, there must at one time have been earlier Inquisitorial records relating to the same property<sup>25</sup>. The land was only Bellapratu's to give because it had been granted to her by Fra Giordano as compensation for her dowry (*occasione sue dotis*). No precise details of the case are given, but the main outline of events can be reconstructed with a fair degree of confidence.

Guiscardo, a skinner, who died some time between 1263 and 1265<sup>26</sup>, must have been tried by Fra Giordano in 1263, and found guilty of offences related to heresy, including probably allowing the *consolamentum* to be performed in his home<sup>27</sup>. His house was ordered to be demolished<sup>28</sup>, but because his wife was at that time reckoned to be innocent, it was seen as the Inquisitor's responsibility to make provision for her<sup>29</sup>, and so she was given the land on which her husband's house had stood<sup>40</sup> as equivalent of the dowry which she would have brought with her when she married.

Subsequently, Bellapratu's own complicity must have come to light, and when she was sentenced in 1269, part of her punishment was to lose

all her property, including her dowry<sup>41</sup>. Frederico would presumably have been affected by this too, as all legal contracts made by the heretics were declared invalid. This would have included the 1265 donation from mother to son<sup>42</sup>.

In fact, further detection is required to establish that Frederico was Bellapratu's son, as this is not explicitly stated in the 1265 transaction. However, the second entry in the *Liber Donationum*, a deed of 11 February 1270<sup>43</sup>, involves someone called Frederico 'Viscardi', *pelliparius*, and this can only have been the same person. Quite apart from the coincidence of name and profession, the two documents are linked by the name of another heretic, Phylippus Busse, which appears in both, and also in the *Liber Inquisitionis*<sup>44</sup>. Once again, the complete story has to be pieced together from information in all the different sources:

Filippo Busse, like his father before him ("... *paterni sceleris immitator...*"), had been an active supporter of heresy for many years<sup>45</sup>, and his home was one of the places where the *consolamentum* was regularly administered<sup>46</sup>. His acquaintance with the family of Guiscardo the skinner dated back at least to 1265, because he was one of four men summoned specially to witness the agreement between Bellapratu and her son. Some time within the next three years, he and his wife Clara decided to sell their house in the S. Giovenale region<sup>47</sup>, and they asked their friend Frederico Viscardi to act as their guarantor. Eventually, the Inquisitors caught up with Filippo, "captured and detained" him, and, on 30 May 1268, ordered that he should be kept in prison until further notice, and that his house, contaminated by the rites performed in it, should be destroyed to its foundations. This done, the new owners, *domina* Melontana, a widow, and her son Petrus, who was a priest, were left in a very awkward position. Matters had still not been resolved by 11 February 1270, when Melontana ceded her 75% interest in the property to her son, presumably so that he would be in a stronger position to fight for their rights.

Without commenting here on the detailed implications of these cases, what has emerged from careful juxtaposition of these sources is a cohesive group of heretical artisans, spanning at least two families and two generations: one skinner, and his wife, son and daughter-in-law; and a family friend, whose father had also had heretical leanings. Of these, only the son, Frederico, was not specifically accused of any heretical



offences; but in view of the certain complicity of both his parents, his wife<sup>48</sup>, and his friend, it would be a bold venture indeed to attempt to argue for his orthodoxy.

Thus far, then, there are seven known heretics associated with some aspect of the woollen trade - two merchants, one woollen manufacturer, and four skimmers - and when their family and friends are taken into account, the circle widens to more than twenty (see Table 4). There are indications, however, that even this may only be the tip of the iceberg.

The word 'avultronis' appears nowhere as such in any of the standard mediæval word-lists, but it bears a close resemblance to the word 'avulsor', derived from 'velle', meaning 'skin', and itself meaning 'one who plucks or tears'. There is thus at least a possibility that Cittadinus Viviani Avultronis<sup>49</sup> was a shearer, a close colleague of the four 'pelliparii'. And if the etymology alone is insufficient proof, there is also the fact that Cittadino was a known associate of one of the skimmers, Stradigotto. Amongst the charges laid against him was that he had 'revered' heretics in the home of Stradigottus pelliparius:

*... reverentiam exhibuerit, tam in domo Stradigotti Pelliparii, quam alibi...*

If Cittadino is accepted as a *bona fide* member of the woollen industry, then the circle expands by more than just one, for his family, according to the Inquisitors, had been immersed in heresy for a very long time. It was, they said, 'public knowledge' that Cittadino's parents had been involved in the conspiracy to murder that champion of orthodoxy, the martyred *podestà*, Pietro Parenzo, in 1199:

*...cuius domus et progenies ab antiquo fuit heretica labe respersa, et quod est ipse dictu horrendum, nephandi sui progenitores Beati Petri martiris zelatoris fidei et exterminationis heretice pravitatis, cum quibusdam credentibus hereticorum complicibus sue malitie, usque ad mortis supplicium tenere excesserunt, sicut contra eos publica laborat infamia...*

Another man whose name may suggest a textile-related occupation is Rainerius Iannis Albare, husband of domina Verdenovella, who was sentenced on 7 September 1268<sup>50</sup>. The name 'Albare', with its connotations of 'white' and 'whitening', could well denote a fuller or bleacher, and it may then be significant that Verdenovella was sentenced on the same day as Amato of Siena and Bianco the skinner, both associates of Stradigottus Pelliparius. Rainerio was not charged in his own right, and assuming that he was still alive<sup>51</sup>, this must mean that the Inquisitors lacked any evidence against him, despite the fact that his

wife's servant, Dyambre, had received the *consolamentum* in his home. If Rainerio was a fuller, then his business must have been profitable enough to allow him to employ at least one servant in a household large enough, apparently, for heretical rituals to be performed there without his knowledge.

Finally, at least as far as the textile trade is concerned, there is one man, Iohannes Clarumvisi<sup>52</sup>, whose possible connection with it would not have come to light if the *Liber Inquisitionis* had been the only evidence available - a point worth noting, before rushing to any statistical conclusions. The Inquisition record, in fact, gives very little biographical information about this man, beyond the fact that he was a citizen ('*civis urbevitanus*'), and owned a house in which he had given hospitality to Bonamicus, Gualdinus, Benencasa, and 'many other patarenese'. Iohannes was sentenced on 20 June 1268, and his wife, Vianese, was sentenced separately on 24 October<sup>53</sup>. Some years later, however, two separate items appear in the judicial archives of the town and these clarify his status a little.

In 1295 he, or possibly by this time a son with the same name, was included in the list of nearly five hundred men charged with failing to join the cavalry for its intended muster in Bolsena<sup>54</sup>. This was such a large undertaking that his inclusion does not give very specific guidance about his rank, but it does show that he was rich enough to own a horse. Otherwise, he would have been listed among the recalcitrant '*pedites*' in the following section.

It is an earlier reference which places this man, or rather his son, as a member of the textile trade. The document, dated 17 March 1282<sup>55</sup>, is an inventory of the sort which had to be made when a minor, in this case Petruzio Radolfini, inherited his father's estate and had to be put under the care of one or more '*tutores testamentarii*'<sup>56</sup>. Among the creditors due money from the late Radolfino's estate, was one Petrus Iohannis Clarumvisi, who had supplied black cloth for mourning clothes at the time of the funeral:

*...Item xviii lib, et xv sol, den, debet habere Petrus Iohannis Clarumvisi pro xii brachiis et dimidii pani nigri pro vestimentis dicte domine Adelaxie tutricis. Item xi lib, et xii sol, debet habere dictus Petrus Iohannis Calumbisi (sic) pro xxxviii brachiis sagie nigre pro vestimentis ipsius Ugolini et aliorum de domo qui induerat se de nigro.*

The name is sufficiently unusual for there to be a strong possibility



that this was indeed the son of the man tried for heresy fourteen years earlier, and although it is also possible that the son had taken up a different profession from his father, it is a great deal more likely that he was continuing in the family business.

#### Soldiers and Guards

Some of these examples are more convincing and more significant than others, but taken together they provide conclusive proof of a strong heretical presence in a variety of trades relating to the woollen industry. There is less information about heretics who belonged to other, unrelated trades and professions, but some pointers are available.

Reference has already been made to Martinus Martini Guidutii, the Merchants' Consul who also served in the army, and who seems to have become acquainted with Cathar teaching during his period of military service. Orvieto was involved in so many local conflicts at this time that a high proportion of her young men may have been exposed to heresy in this way, but the only other concrete evidence is the presence of two known heretics, Ildribandinus Ricci and Petrus Ildribandini, and the father of a third, Rainerius Adilascie, among the Orvietan prisoners returned by the Sienese in 1235 <sup>57</sup>.

There are a further two men whose names suggest that they may have been employed as castle guards or governors<sup>58</sup>. *Andrea Castellane* was a 'perfect', who was received on various occasions by local sympathisers; while *Benedictulus Castellane*, was one of four men from Castellonclo, denounced on 2 July 1268 as...

...,credentes,,, fautores et receptatores Patarenorum, nec non et  
in hereticam pravitatem relapsos,,, (59)

Castellonclo was a small town on the eastern boundary of the *contado*, which seems to have been a centre for heretical preaching and assemblies. Benedictulus is the only one of the four whose occupation is indicated in any way (if indeed 'Castellane' is more than just a personal name) but if he was a castle guard, then the *contado* is precisely where one would expect him to be found, and if he was stationed in some noble stronghold near Castellonclo, then his involvement in heresy is easily explained.

#### Manual Crafts

In relation to manual crafts, one likely case has already been discussed: that of Rainerius Stephani, *faber* or *Fabri*, whose last name means 'smith'. Similarly, there is a strong probability that

*Benefactus Calçolarius* was a shoemaker, as his name suggests<sup>60</sup>.

There is nothing at all exceptional about this second case, except that it is recorded in the hand of a different notary from all the rest<sup>61</sup>. Despite denying on oath that he had favoured heretics, given them hospitality, listened to their preaching or 'adored' them, *Benefatto* was found guilty, and a typical range of penalties was imposed upon him. He was excommunicated, deprived of all his legal rights and his right to Christian burial, all his property was confiscated, and he was ordered to wear two yellow crosses on his clothing until such time as he should repent and be released from this obligation. The significance of this case lies in its very ordinariness, for it is important not to lose sight of the dependence of Catharism on a groundswell of support from large numbers of unremarkable local people, such as this Orvietan shoemaker. It serves also as a reminder that, for all its political implications, Catharism was first and foremost a religious sect, and not a political protest movement.

Another name which occurs twice in the records relating to heresy is '*Ferralloca*' (or '*Feraloca*'), but there is considerable obscurity surrounding both the meaning of the word and the precise role of the two people concerned. This name does not correspond with the standard form of either of the two commonest iron-working trades - farrier (*ferrator*) or blacksmith (*ferro/ferronus*) - but it could be a local variant of either term, or could designate a different, but related profession. Certainly, the most likely root of the word is '*ferrum*', meaning 'iron'.

*Petrus Ferralloca* was the son-in-law of *Bonadimane*, who was posthumously declared '*credens, fautrix et amatrix*' of heretics<sup>62</sup>. Neither he nor his father-in-law, *Accitante*, was accused of any crimes, and it may be that *Bonadimane* was already a widow, in charge of her own household<sup>63</sup>, by the time she became involved with the Cathars. There is no reason to assume that *Pietro* shared or approved of his mother-in-law's heretical sympathies, but his name may be an indirect pointer to her position in society. On the other hand, even if his name does, or did at some stage in his family's history, relate to an iron-working trade, the fluidity of the boundary between noble and artisan must never be forgotten. In the *Catasto* of 1292, there are two men from very different levels of society, either of whom, to judge by name alone, might have been *Pietro*'s sons. Both lived in the Quarter of SS. Giovanni



and Giovenale, but whereas Ofredutius Petri Ferra Locha had property valued at 365 L. 10s., *dominus* Bonjohannes Petri Ferra Loche, in addition to his title, had property worth nearly 1,400 *Lire*.

The second '*feraloca*', Iohannes, was certainly convicted in his own right, and indeed seems to have been involved in protracted dealings with a succession of Inquisitors, but the nature of his crime is never specified. For that matter, he may not have been a Cathar at all. The date of the only known document relating to his case, a papal Bull of 1298<sup>64</sup>, seems to support the view that he belonged to some later sect, as does the fact that none of the four Franciscan Inquisitors named in the Bull, Fra Ado *de Cumis*, Fra Angelo *de Reate*, Fra Leonardo *de Tibure* or Fra Angelo *de Colleveteri*, is known from the earlier proceedings against Cathars. In the Orvietan context, of course, the balance of probability must always be with the Cathars, who dominated to such an extent that 'heretic' and 'patarene' had come to be used more or less synonymously; and in Giovanni's case, Catharism cannot be ruled out on chronological grounds alone.

His first lapse from orthodoxy must have taken place considerably earlier than 1298, since the Inquisitor's office had changed hands at least three times since then, and if he was a Cathar, he must have been an adult already by 1268/9, as he made no attempt to evade responsibility by pretending that his 'crime' had taken place before he had reached an age of responsibility'. Nonetheless, he need not have been any older than fifty or so by the time Boniface's Bull was issued in 1298.

The only real clue is disappointingly ambiguous, though it tends, if anything, to support the view that Giovanni had fallen prey to some heresy other than Catharism. After being sentenced and absolved by the first two Inquisitors, Fra Angelo *de Reate* and Fra Leonardo, Giovanni had his penance re-imposed by Fra Ado<sup>65</sup>, and was then called to appear before Fra Angelo *de Colleveteri*, "at the time when there was discord between the Roman Church and the town of Orvieto over the Val del Lago territory" <sup>67</sup>. Unfortunately, conflict over Bolsena and the Val del Lago was something which flared up intermittently from the end of the twelfth century, and well on into the fourteenth, and this could refer to any one of a series of crisis points. For example, Orvieto had been put under Interdict by Innocent IV in 1251<sup>68</sup>, when the Cathars were certainly active in the town; and there are any number of comparable

incidents. The one freshest in the mind of Boniface VIII, however, would undoubtedly have been the long period of interdict, imposed after Orvieto's unauthorised invasion of Bolsena and the surrounding area in May 1294, and lifted only at the end of 1296<sup>69</sup>. If Giovanni's heresy was still a matter for investigation at this time, then it is unlikely to have been Catharism that was at issue.

Even without these dubious examples, there is ample evidence that Catharism had a strong hold among tradesmen in the town, particularly, though not exclusively, among members of the woollen trade. The probability is that it was also well-established in the *contado*, where it was so much easier for rebels of all sorts to evade the authorities, but there is very little evidence relating to country areas. There is certainly nothing in the Orvietan records to refute the established view<sup>70</sup> that one of the differences between the Cathar movement in Languedoc and its Italian counterpart was the presence of peasants in significant numbers in the former, but not in the latter. The only possible echoes of rural employment in the Orvietan sources are two names which occur in the fragmentary documents from Viterbo<sup>71</sup>: *Masseo Callatoris* and *Guidecto Ronconis*. The former is reminiscent of the word '*calacator*', meaning 'one who treads grapes', and the latter of the verb '*roncare*', meaning to clear or break up land. This faint linguistic possibility is enhanced by the fact that the enquiries as a whole relate to people from the country area of Carnaiola, where agricultural workers might be expected to live. No great weight should be placed on this insecure hypothesis, however.

#### Women's Occupations

Discussion has perforce centred around male occupations, since the husband in normal circumstances would be the wage-earner for the family. The role of women in general will be discussed separately, but before leaving the subject of the occupation and social status of Orvietan heretics, mention should be made of two women, Benvegnata '*sartrex*', and *domina Benamata*, widow of Benvenuto Pepi<sup>72</sup>.

No indication is given of Benvegnata's marital status, but if she was earning her own living as a seamstress, it is likely that she, too, was a widow, particularly if there is any possibility of her being the same person as the 'Benvegnata' who, with her husband, Guarnerio de Cannano, had been convicted in 1223 of sheltering heretics in their home in the Santa Maria region<sup>73</sup>. After the passage of forty-five years, it



is unlikely that both husband and wife would still be alive, and if her husband had been dead for some time, the old lady might well be known by her occupation rather than by his name.

*Domina* Benamata takes the Orvietan heretics into another level of society again, for her late husband, Benvenuto Pepi, was a notary by profession<sup>74</sup>. Members of this '*corps privilégié*', which, to judge by the volume of surviving documentation in the notarial and judicial archives alone, can seldom have been short of employment, were, according to Carpentier<sup>75</sup>, second in status only to doctors of law, but surpassing them in terms of influence. Benvenuto is not charged, but he is specifically implicated by her testimony. She dates her own involvement to a period sixteen to eighteen years earlier, when he was still alive, and, according to her, responsible for inviting heretics into what she carefully describes as his home rather than her own<sup>76</sup>. This sounds very much like an attempt on Benamata's part to shift responsibility from herself on to her husband, but, if so, it failed, because she was declared '*receptatrix*' as well as '*credens*' and '*fautrix*' of heretics.

At the other end of the social scale, there are two women whose involvement in heresy illustrates how Catharism, which centred of necessity around sympathetic households, could penetrate in this way to all levels of society. The two women were both domestic servants<sup>77</sup>, though their level of involvement was quite different.

Francesca, the '*famula*' of Masseo Callatoris of Carnaiola<sup>78</sup>, almost certainly had no choice in the matter. If her master invited heretics into his home, it would be her duty to see to their needs, just as to those of any other guests.

Dyambre, on the other hand, a member of *domina* Verdenovella's household (and not, as d'Alatri says, her friend)<sup>79</sup>, seems to have had a strong personal commitment to heresy. So much so, that when she was ill she persuaded her mistress to go and fetch two '*patarenes*', so that she could be consoled, "*iuxta pravam hereticorum consuetudinem detestandam*"<sup>80</sup>. Dyambre had died since then, presumably as a result of this illness. There is thus only Verdenovella's word that the ritual had been performed at Dyambre's own insistence. It would certainly have been in Verdenovella's interests to play down her own part in the affair, but she would have gained nothing by forcing her maid to be consoled against her will. If there is any truth in the woman's statement that she had never herself believed the heretics' 'errors'<sup>81</sup>, then it may

indeed have been through the servants' quarters that heresy first entered this particular household, but this situation could not have continued for any length of time unless the master and mistress had themselves been very tolerant, very naïve, or strongly sympathetic.

### Priests and Tertiaries

With regard to the Orvietan clergy, there is no evidence that they had gone over to heresy on any large scale, as might have been expected at certain times, for example when the town was out of favour with the papacy. There was, however, at least one heretical priest in the very early stages of the movement. *Presbiter Lambertus de Plano*<sup>a2</sup> had been defrocked because of his 'contamination' with the 'foul disease of heresy' and this caused considerable hardship to his disabled brother Pepo, whose family had been dependent on the priest for financial support. Pepo, who was unable to work because of a paralysed hand, pleaded with the bishop for his brother to be reinstated, but the bishop remained obdurate. Human assistance having failed, Pepo, along with "many other sick people", visited the tomb of Pietro Parenzo, in whose *Leggenda* the story is recorded. Fortunately for all concerned, the deceased martyr obliged with a miraculous cure, but there is no reason to suppose that Lamberto was ever restored to the priesthood. If he subsequently stayed on in the area, a reversal of roles would have been required. No longer able to earn his living as a priest, he would have been dependent on Pepo for support.

The other relevant case is that of Domenico di Pietro Rosse<sup>a3</sup>, who provides one of the few definite bridges between heresy and lay piety. This case is examined in some detail by P. Mariano d'Alatri, who uses it as a focus for his discussion of the relationship between the Third Orders and heresy in general<sup>a4</sup>. There is no doubt, in the first place, that Domenico was a Franciscan tertiary. The Inquisitor<sup>a5</sup> made this quite clear, in his anxiety that the good name of a branch of his own Order, founded, as he believed, by St Francis himself, should not be sullied by the 'madness' (or infamous conduct)<sup>a6</sup> of one member:

*... attendentes quod honestati sanctissimi ordinis Penitentium, a beato Francisci conditi, derogatur, insania eiusdem, si aliquis, heretica labe respersus, dictorum fratrum habitum sane portet et eorundem privilegio gaudeat libertatis;... prefatum Dominicum... sententialiter privamus publicis officiis ac habitu sanctissimi ordinis Penitentium et omni immunitate Ordinis predicti, a consortio fratrum eiusdem Ordinis eundem personaliter abdicamus, in detestationem prefati criminis et perpetuum anathema.*



Despite the vehemence of the language used against him<sup>27</sup>, the offences committed by this "wolf in sheep's clothing" were not particularly heinous ones. On his own admission, Domenico had "seen and known" certain named heretics, had listened to their preaching "in various places", and had acted as guide to two of them. He had participated in their rituals of 'reverence' and 'adoration', and had eaten and drunk with heretics in Castellonclo. He was not described as 'credens' or 'receptator', two of the terms most frequently applied to Orvietan Cathar supporters, although belief is implicit in his eagerness to hear the heretics' preaching, and hospitality would have been difficult, if not impossible to offer if he was living in a residential community of tertiaries.

What stands out about Domenico's case is not the crimes which he had committed, but the punishment which he received. Almost none of the usual penalties were applied to him. His property was not confiscated; his legal rights and privileges were not threatened; his fellow-citizens were not prevented from doing business with him; his Will, and any legal contracts remained valid. It is true that he was immediately excluded from his own Order, and denied all associated privileges, but he was not excommunicated from the Church, and was given no reason to believe that he would not eventually be buried in consecrated ground. Instead of punishing him in the usual way, the Inquisitor's chief concern seems to have been to offer Domenico the chance of doing penance for his sins, and although reinstatement as a tertiary was never promised to him, all the indications are that his exclusion from the Order of Penance need not have been permanent.

For the time being, he was forbidden any contact with other tertiaries, and was ordered to exchange his habit for the two yellow crosses of the heretic. Nonetheless, his life was to continue to be centred around the Franciscan Order. Indeed, had he faithfully carried out the penances imposed upon him, he would to all intents and purposes have been living as a tertiary, albeit one disgraced and isolated from his brothers. Even the one financial penalty took the form of alms, whose distribution to the poor was to be organised by the leaders of his former Order. He was to go on penitential pilgrimage to Rome; to fast every Friday, and to abstain from cooked food for the six weeks of Lent, each year for the rest of his life; to pray regularly, day and night, saying the *Pater Noster* and the *Ave Maria* fifty times a day; and to

confess three times a year to a Franciscan confessor.

Penances had been imposed by Inquisitors in the past<sup>28</sup>, but in 1268/9, when the eradication of heresy had become more important than the rehabilitation of offenders, they were sparingly applied. Many of the heretics were ordered to wear yellow crosses on their clothing, but this was a form of public humiliation rather than spiritual penance. Genuine penances were offered to only three people other than Domenico: Cambio Ricci Miscinelli, his brother Petruccio, and Locthus Guillelmi Surdi<sup>29</sup>. If it could have been shown conclusively that Domenico's special treatment was due to his status as a tertiary, then it would have been reasonable to conclude that these three men were also members of the Third Order.

These unusual cases have two other features in common, however. None of the four men had been deeply involved in heresy (none was a 'receptator', for example)<sup>30</sup>, and all had shown some willingness to co-operate with the Inquisition. All four had, with a greater or lesser degree of reluctance, come before the Inquisitors in person to confess<sup>31</sup>. Loctho had not even waited to be summoned, but had appeared 'spontaneously' to make his confession<sup>32</sup>. Like Domenico, he was convicted on his personal testimony alone. Cambio was rather less keen to purge his soul, but after he had been denounced by "many reliable witnesses", and had made one futile attempt to deny the charges, he had a change of heart, and confessed to a slightly shorter list of offences<sup>33</sup>. Petruccio's sentence was based on his own evidence, plus that of "reliable witnesses", but he had already co-operated with Fra Bartholomeo to the extent of being absolved from excommunication after accepting the appropriate penance<sup>34</sup>.

Their voluntary submission to authority may be enough to account for the fact that penances were given to the two brothers, Cambio and Petruccio Miscinelli. (A third brother, Miscinello, whose crimes were much more serious, and who had consistently tried, as the Inquisitors saw it, to deceive them about the extent of his involvement, was shown no such clemency<sup>35</sup>.) As far as the actual penances are concerned, these were substantial, but more straightforward than those demanded of either Domenico or Loctho. Cambio was given a year in which to make a pilgrimage to Compostella ("... *limina beati Iacobi de Galitia*."), while Petruccio, whose involvement had been deeper, was instructed not only to visit the Holy Land within the same period of time, but also to observe



two Lenten pilgrimages ("quarantenas") and to spend fifty Lire on clothing for the poor. Once these specific tasks had been performed, their obligations would have been fulfilled. There seems to have been no expectation that either man would continue to live a life of penance.

The case of Locthus Guillelmi Surdi is quite different in this respect. He was tried on the same day as the known tertiary, Domenico di Pietro Rosse, and the two sentences are recorded on the same page of the *Liber Inquisitionis*. More significantly, he was given a range of penances which would have changed his entire way of life, had he not been accustomed to it already. Like Domenico, he was instructed to observe an annual six-week period of fasting, presumably at Lent, for the rest of his life; he was to make confession every four months; and was to establish a routine of regular, daily prayer, though only twenty-five recitations of the *Pater Noster* and the *Ave Maria* were required. In addition, he was expected to attend Church services on Sundays and feast-days. The obvious inference is that Loctho, like Domenico, was a Franciscan tertiary. It is strange that this fact should be spelled out so clearly in the one case and not mentioned at all in the other, but it is hard to see any other reason why this very disciplined pattern of personal piety, so reminiscent of the tertiaries' normal lifestyle, should have been imposed upon him.

Comparatively little is known about the Third Orders and lay confraternities in this early period, although both were well established. There was always a risk of unorthodox ideas taking hold in relatively independent associations of this kind, where lay people were accustomed to discussing matters of religion, and worshipping in their own way. Indeed, this is the thesis underlying the whole of the present study of Orvietan piety: that orthodox lay societies and illegal heretical cells held a broadly similar attraction for similar sorts of people.

The evidence for the study of heresy in the town is mostly earlier than that which relates to the Third Orders and confraternities, and so there is not a great deal in the way of precise correlation between the two, but this gives added significance to the few examples that there are. Cases like that of Domenico di Pietro Rossi and Loctho di Guillelmo Surdi provide concrete proof that it was possible for one person to be drawn simultaneously towards orthodox and heretical outlets for religious expression. A third example - the case of Bonadimane, wife of

Accitante, and mother-in-law of Pietro Ferraloca<sup>96</sup> - suggests that the phenomenon may have been much more widespread. Bonadimane was not a tertiary, but she was an ordinary, pious woman, who, in 1240, had prayed with other devout lay people at the tomb of a local saint for her grandson to be healed. Nevertheless, at some stage she must have come under the influence of the Cathars, for she was posthumously condemned in 1268 as "*credens, fautrex et aceptrex patarenorum*".

The authorities must have been aware of the risks of allowing lay people the freedom to belong to their own religious associations. They cannot have forgotten the lesson of the successful campaign of two of the very earliest Cathar missionaries in Orvieto: Militta of Monteamato and Julitta of Florence<sup>97</sup>. These women, according to their accusers at least, deliberately infiltrated the "clerical confraternity" in order to spread their ideas among the pious women of the town, whom they had shrewdly recognised as potential converts. Despite this negative experience, however, confraternities continued to flourish. The nature of the sentences passed on the two heretical tertiaries, Domenico and Loctho, suggests that the Inquisitors, although well aware of the risks, had also recognised the Order of Penance as an invaluable weapon in the fight against heresy. Thus Domenico and Loctho were encouraged to return to their former penitential lifestyle as the first step towards rehabilitation.

#### Money-Lenders (see Appendix)

None of the other Orvietan heretics can be directly identified by occupation<sup>98</sup>, but there is another grey area which requires investigation before the subject is left aside. There is almost certainly an indirect hint about the lifestyle of some of these people in one of the less common sentences of the Inquisition: namely, the prohibition of usury<sup>99</sup>. So few of the heretics were subjected to this restriction that it seems likely that it was applied only to those known to have engaged in the practice of money-lending.

If so, then the Orvietan evidence has an important contribution to make to the study of European Catharism. One of the standard accusations of the Catholic polemicists was that Cathar believers, who had cast aside all moral restraints when they rejected the Catholic faith, were not only sexually depraved, but also included a high proportion of usurers<sup>100</sup> among their number. Hitherto, there has been little concrete evidence to support the latter charge, and historians



have assumed that it was largely unfounded:

... in so far as we can identify the followers of the sect, they appear to have been rather significantly concentrated outside of the more advanced districts economically... Usurers were - we must suppose - relatively hard-headed men, little likely to risk everything by identifying themselves with an outlaw and suspected group. (101)

If it is true that the eight Orvietan *credentes* forbidden by the Inquisitors to practise usury were, in fact, professional bankers or money-lenders, then this conclusion must be modified as far as Orvieto is concerned.

The first point to note is that three of the eight people concerned were brothers: Miscinellus, Cambius and Petrutius Ricci Miscinelli, once again<sup>102</sup>. It looks very much as though money-lending was, for them, a family occupation, and this impression is confirmed by a 'financial settlement' of 11 October 1257<sup>103</sup>, which reveals a complicated network of financial dealings, stretching as far as Siena, and controlled to a large extent by Cambio Ricci Miscinelli and his 'natural brothers'. The scale of their activities also casts doubt on M.D. Lambert's suggestion that Cathar support was not generally drawn from among the "leading businessmen" of the day<sup>104</sup>.

The "*Quietanza di Denaro*" of 11 October 1257 was the last in a long series of transactions between the various parties involved, and its cryptic references to the earlier stages make it difficult, though not impossible, to work out what had been happening up to that point (see Table 7).

Three preliminary transactions must have taken place to make this final settlement necessary and possible. First of all, the Orvietan money-lenders, Cambio Ricci Miscinelli and his brothers, had lent three separate sums to their Sienese counterparts, Masseo and Paganello Johanuzzi<sup>105</sup>. This was a formal, legal agreement, drawn up by a notary, Giovanni, and, as often happened in such cases, the lenders demanded that the borrowers appoint a guarantor, in this instance Guido Bonamichi of Orvieto. Meanwhile, the Sienese 'society'<sup>106</sup> had been lending out money on its own account. Pietro Septembrini had borrowed more than 80 *Lire* from Bartolomeo Bencivenne, one of Masseo's associates, while Ugolino of Orvieto had received the smaller sum of 48 *Lire*.

Thus the state of play at the close of these preliminary transactions was as follows. The Sienese money-lenders, Masseo,

Paganello and Bartolomeo, were owed approximately 130 *Lire* by two clients, one at least of whom was Orvietan<sup>107</sup>, and they in turn owed a very much larger sum to Cambio, Petruccio and Miscinello Ricci Miscinelli of Orvieto. At this stage, the Miscinelli brothers must have demanded repayment of their loan, and when Masseo and Paganello were unable to pay, their guarantor, Guido, became responsible for the debt.

Guido, doubtless with his own financial interests uppermost in his mind, now becomes the key figure in what by this time had developed into a matter of civic diplomacy and not merely one of finance. Guido entered into negotiations with two judges, *signor* Raniero Mathei and *signor* Griffolo *domini* Iacobi, and two other prominent citizens, *signor* Giampaolo *quondam domini* Albizi, and Raniero Patricis. The 1257 agreement, formulated in the august presence of the Orvietan ambassadors, *signor* Bongiovanni Comitis Fumi and *signor* Bonaccorso Bonaccursi, represents the outcome of their negotiations.

First of all, Guido Bonamichi satisfied his employers' creditors by paying the Miscinelli brothers the sum of 312 *Lire* out of his own pocket. He then recouped his loss by demanding 199L. 15s. and 109 *Lire* respectively from Pietro Septembrini and Ugolino d'Orvieto in repayment of their loans.

Because of the different currencies involved, and the mixed use of local currencies and actual silver, it is not possible to calculate precise rates of interest and commission, nor to determine who benefitted to what extent from the various transactions<sup>108</sup>. However, it may safely be assumed that Cambio Miscinelli and his brothers would have been well compensated for the delay in the recovery of their loan, and that notaries, negotiators, witnesses and guarantor would all expect payment for their services. The more protracted the negotiations, the more the increased costs would be passed on in higher interest rates to the small-time borrowers such as Pietro and Ugolino. The one thing that is perfectly clear is that the three Orvietan heretics, Cambio, Miscinello and Petruccio Ricci Miscinelli, were engaged in money-lending on a very large scale, so that acceptance of the Inquisitors' condition for their readmission to the Christian fold would have had a significant and detrimental effect on their business activities<sup>109</sup>.

Such conclusive confirmation of the financial activities of three of the eight heretics forbidden to practise usury makes it all the more likely that the remaining five had also been 'professional' money-lenders,



though almost certainly on a more modest scale than the wealthy Miscinelli brothers. This cannot be proved, from the *Liber Inquisitionis* or elsewhere, but once alerted to the possibility, there are certain hints that are at least consistent with such an interpretation of the available data.

For example, if Pietro Guidi Becci was indeed a young man, not yet established in his profession, and perhaps employed only on special ceremonial occasions when large numbers of trumpeters were required, then he would have been grateful for the additional casual income offered by the rather disreputable pursuit of money-lending. At the very least, he was prepared to accept payment for conducting heretics to their meeting-places<sup>110</sup>.

Gezio Teoderici had also acted as guide to heretics<sup>111</sup>, and although neither age nor financial remuneration is mentioned in his case, it is likely that he, too, was young and short of money. More significantly, Gezio was a close relative of Stradigotto Pelliparius (his nephew or grandson), and that puts him within the orbit of the merchant community and its financial activities, including the borrowing and lending of money at interest<sup>112</sup>. The same argument may also apply to Cittadinus Viviani Avultronis<sup>113</sup>, another of the eight heretics forbidden to practice usury, if his last name does denote sheep-shearing or some similar occupation.

Finally, the 1257 document makes it clear that money-lending was a family pursuit. Cambio Ricci Miscinelli worked with his two brothers; and Masseo and Paganello Giovanuzzi were at least second, and possibly third generation members in the Sienese family firm. It is rather more unusual to find a husband and wife partnership, but that was the case with Bartholomeus Rainutii Tosti and his wife Trocta<sup>114</sup>, each of whom was independently forbidden by the Inquisitors to lend money at interest. There is no reason why they should thus have been singled out unless they had both been active practitioners of this necessary, but socially dubious trade.

Ambivalence was indeed the keynote of the medieval attitude to usury: society was increasingly unable to function without credit, and yet the Church refused to withdraw its formal condemnation of those who provided what had become an essential service to paupers, merchants and civic authorities alike<sup>115</sup>. The issue raised problems for confraternity leaders too. In 1341, for example, Mecu di Pietru Prosparosu had to be

expelled from the Franciscan fraternity in Orvieto "...che presto ad usura" <sup>116</sup>. Meanwhile, the city fathers, although formally upholding the faith by which usury was condemned, were not above accepting loans from local citizens when necessary<sup>117</sup>. There was no official guild for Orvietan money-lenders, but their activities were certainly known to the civic authorities, who exploited the situation by imposing particularly high levels of taxation upon them<sup>118</sup>.

One way out of their moral dilemma for Christian leaders in need of credit was to borrow money from Jews, who were already beyond the pale, and had no reason to fear the Church's disapproval of their business practices. (That usury occupied an equally ambivalent position in the Jewish faith was of no concern to them.) In Orvieto, Jews had been employed as money-lenders for many years<sup>119</sup>, but in 1312 they were offered substantial incentives to settle in the town, because a large loan was required to pay the fine demanded by the papal Curia for absolution from Interdict<sup>120</sup>. From this time onwards, it is probably correct to assume, as Carpentier does, that the majority of professional money-lenders in the town were Jews. However, it now looks as though the *Liber Inquisitionis*, in conjunction with the 1287 document relating to the financial activities of Cambio Ricci Miscinelli and his brothers, provides new information about heretical Orvietan usurers active in the thirteenth century.

Caution needs to be exercised before making too glib a comparison between the marginal status of Jews and heretics. In the first place, although Jews and heretics may have been particularly active in money-lending, it is not true that loans were negotiated only with those on the fringes of society. Some time before 1247, the Commune had borrowed 70 *Lire* from a body no less reputable than the Consuls of the Merchants<sup>121</sup>, and although one of the three Consuls, Martinus Martini Guiduti, turned out later to have been a Cathar 'believer', this was no shady, back-street deal. Martino and his colleagues were respected members of society, doing business openly with the highest representatives of local government, the *podestà* and his chamberlain<sup>122</sup>.

Moreover, heretic or not, Cambio Ricci Miscinelli seems to have had no fears about conducting his business in the open, and the notaries whom he employed to make public, permanent records of his transactions, were quite willing to accept his business. Forbidding the practice of usury to someone like this may have been little more than a convenient



way of imposing an additional economic sanction upon him. This seems to be what d'Alatri is suggesting when he says that the Inquisitors' prohibition of usury reveals a misunderstanding of the extent of their own competence and authority'<sup>23</sup>. Usury, *per se*, should have been a matter for the secular courts, becoming heresy only if the practitioner maintained that his trade was legal'<sup>24</sup>. None of the Orvietan heretics was in fact charged with the offence of usury, although the three brothers already named were forbidden to continue practising it in future.

To a certain extent, then, it was possible for money-lenders in thirteenth-century Orvieto to engage openly in their trade, but it would be misleading to go the whole way with this line of argument and suggest that money-lending was simply a profession like any other. No medieval Christian could have practised it without some degree of ethical compromise, and it is certainly true that those who, like the Jews, were already on the margins of society, were more likely than others to exploit the financial potential of this line of business. It is therefore of considerable interest to find heretical money-lenders working in Orvieto alongside their Jewish counterparts, or perhaps even dominating the trade before the Jewish financial community had become properly established. Much of this is speculative, of course, but an association between Catharism and usury would not be entirely without parallel or precedent elsewhere. The prohibition of usury was one of the standard penalties for heresy, which in itself suggests that heretics were thought especially likely to lapse in this way; but Cathars and usurers are more explicitly linked in a Venetian document of 1256'<sup>25</sup>. Certain officials, probably the town's secular Inquisitors, were required to take an oath to pursue heretics and declare them to the *Doge*, and this obligation was laid down in a document entitled "*Capitulare super Patarenis et Usurariis*" '<sup>26</sup>.

The parallel between Jews and heretics in terms of their marginal position in society seems so obvious as to make comment superfluous, but in fact there is a subtle, but significant difference. If it is true that both were being used by the orthodox in a similar way, to meet their financial needs without harm to their Christian conscience, this may reveal a great deal about the attitude of the faithful to the deviant.

Jews, although subject to civil law like anyone else, could by no stretch of the imagination be said to come under the moral jurisdiction

of the Church. If they had been given opportunity for conversion, and had wilfully spurned their one hope of salvation, then their souls were in no further danger from immoral practices, such as usury, which might lead an erring Christian soul further into sin. Heretics, on the contrary, were by definition erring, or lapsed Christians, and the constant cry of the Inquisitors was that their aim in ruthlessly searching out all traces of the 'foul disease' of heresy, and punishing those contaminated by it, was to win back these endangered souls to the bosom of the 'Holy Mother Church'. Meanwhile, the Commune's endorsement of the Inquisitors' campaign is implicit in its acceptance of a two-thirds share of confiscated property<sup>127</sup>. The ban on usury would doubtless, like the other penalties and penances, have been justified by Church and State as being for the ultimate benefit of the heretic himself.

The credibility of this stance on the part of both authorities would be seriously compromised if it turned out to be true that the activities of heretical money-lenders had been tolerated, or even exploited by orthodox Christians until such time as the Cathar movement as a whole became too great a threat to social order, and more drastic action had to be taken against it. The *Liber Inquisitionis* on its own does not contain sufficient information for such a serious accusation to be levelled against the pious citizens of Orvieto, but, in conjunction with the external references cited, it opens the door to speculation of this sort, by its unmistakeable hints of a connection between Catharism and the money-lending trade.

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### c) Wealth of Orvietan heretics

Knowing the occupations of some of the Orvietan heretics goes some way towards identifying the sort of people attracted to Catharism, but there are limits to the value of this information. In particular, it goes only part of the way towards establishing the prosperity of the people concerned. One merchant, or shoemaker, or money-lender might be very much richer or poorer than another; and though citizenship may have implied a certain level of wealth, nobility carried no such guarantee. Thus it is necessary to look further, both in the *Liber Inquisitionis* and beyond it, for clues about the financial resources of the people accused of heresy.



### Monetary Fines

The most obvious guide to heretics' wealth, the confiscation of their property by the Inquisitors, is helpful only in a small proportion of cases, as the majority (63 cases, or over 70%) lost all their property without qualification:

*... bona omnia mobilia et immobilia, iura et actiones, ubicunque sunt seu reperta fuerint...*

There are a few cases, however, in which monetary fines are imposed, or a limit is placed on the amount of property to be confiscated, and in these cases the people seem to fall naturally into a 'big league' and a 'small league'. Apart from Iohannes Claruvisu, who had to pay the intermediate sum of 400 *Lire*, they were either fined less than 200 *Lire* or more than 1,000 *Lire*, with their numbers split more or less evenly between the two categories (see Table 8).

It is probably safe to assume that the size of the fines was governed by the person's ability to pay, rather than by the seriousness of the offence, as it was a sign of leniency to be given a fine at all, instead of blanket confiscation of everything one owned. Some of these people were indeed among those whose involvement in heresy was most superficial - approximately half had never given shelter to heretics, for example, an unusually high proportion considering that around two-thirds of all the Orvietan heretics were '*receptatores*'. However, this does not seem to have been what persuaded the Inquisitors to give them the lighter penalty of a fine, for there were still six '*receptatores*' among their ranks, as well as three men who had already committed perjury before Fra Giordano<sup>2</sup>. Rather, the deciding factor seems to have been their willingness now to co-operate with the Inquisition, and to make amends for their past misdeeds. This is borne out by the fact that, insofar as it is possible to tell, all the fines were paid<sup>3</sup>. And in at least two cases where an earlier fine had failed to act as a deterrent, full confiscation was now applied.<sup>4</sup>

Some of the people fined have been encountered already, and the size of the fines corresponds on the whole to what is known about their occupation and social status. Cambio and Miscinello Ricci Miscinelli, for example, were fined 1,200 and 1,500 *Lire* respectively, though the third brother, Petruccio, would only have to have spent 50 *Lire* in order to fulfil one of his penances: that of clothing one hundred '*pauperes indigentes*'<sup>5</sup>. The first two sums are quite consonant with the known

scale of the brothers' financial activities, but Petruccio, to judge by his property-holdings in 1292 (see Table 10), would hardly have noticed the loss of 50 *Lire*. Similarly, *domino* Rainerio Munaldi was well able to pay the 1,000 *Lire* penalty for failing to pick up his yellow crosses.

Also in the 'big league' are the various members of the Tosti and Blasii families involved in the attack on the Dominican convent in 1239/40, who were each fined 1,000 *Lire* for their part in the affair, and two of whom later received other, even larger fines when they persisted in heresy<sup>6</sup>. These men, like Amodeo Lupicini<sup>7</sup>, whose property was confiscated after his death to the value of 1,500 *Lire*, do fit into Fumi's category of wealthy ghibellines, and their fines, if not successful in modifying their behaviour, were clearly tailored to their resources.

Only one other man, Petrus Bonamsegne<sup>8</sup>, was penalised on this scale, and again, although nothing is known about the effect on his subsequent standard of living, his ability to pay is illustrated by the fact that the sum of 1,000 *Lire*, two-thirds of the total due, was received in due course by Iacobus Boniohannis, treasurer ('*depositarius*') of the commune<sup>9</sup>.

There are two familiar names among the people given fines of 400 *Lire* or less, and their presence gives credence to the view that the size of fines is an accurate guide to wealth. The young trumpeter, Petrus Guidi Becci was fined only 100 *Lire*, and Gezio Teoderici, nephew of Stradigotto the pelterer, only fifty *Lire* more<sup>10</sup>.

It would be dangerous to read too much into the 100 *Lire* fines imposed on Guarnerio de Cannano and his wife, as these figures were set by secular authorities forty-five years before the main Franciscan Inquisition<sup>11</sup>. In contrast, the fact that 200 *Lire* was reckoned a fair sum to claim from the estate of the late Nicola Melani<sup>12</sup> does probably place him as a minor artisan, as does the slightly larger fine of 400 *Lire* applied to Giovanni Claruvisu<sup>13</sup>. Oddo Caçalatro<sup>14</sup> also received a small fine, of 150 *Lire*, but no definite conclusions can be drawn from his name about the nature of his trade.

Finally, there is the interesting case of Domenico di Pietro Rosse, whose membership of the Franciscan Third Order had clearly not involved renunciation of personal wealth, as he was expected to be able to pay for twenty-five paupers to be given clothing to the value of forty *soldi* each<sup>15</sup>.

Assuming that fines were, in fact, graded according to the person's



wealth, this evidence confirms that support for the Cathars was drawn from all levels of society, from the very wealthiest citizens to people of far more modest means. This evidence is useful in the small number of cases in which fines were applied, but for a broader picture it has to be supplemented by indirect pointers to the financial means of the people accused of heresy.

#### Home Ownership

One of the commonest charges against Orvietan Cathar sympathisers was that of receiving heretics in their homes. Sixty-five of the eighty-eight people in the *Liber Inquisitionis* were so accused<sup>16</sup>, and others are known from external sources. Merely to know that these people had homes provides little information about their wealth or social status, however. Recourse must therefore be made to the much smaller number of cases where further details are given about the size or nature of the property.

Masseo Callatoris, for example, must have had a sizeable household in Carnaiola<sup>16</sup>. Not only did he employ domestic staff, but his house had an adjoining storeroom (*cellarium*) with a terrace or balcony (*solarium*), large and isolated enough for a stranger to enter unobserved and remain there undetected overnight.

There are also a few references to tower houses belonging to heretics, the earliest in canon Giovanni's biography of Peter Parenzo. This is important, because it gives a contemporary foundation for Luca Manente's much later statements about noble involvement in early Orvietan heresy<sup>17</sup>. According to canon Giovanni, it was after the rioting at the beginning of Lent 1199 that Parenzo ordered the demolition of the 'towers and palaces' from which stones had been thrown:

... palatia et turres, quibus pugnatum fuerat, pro parte fecit  
deici ad ruinam... (16)

Questions might be asked about the religious content of this all-too-typical civic skirmishing, but the method of fighting indicated here - the use of fortified towers, for offensive or defensive purposes<sup>18</sup> - shows clearly that the wealthy and high-born were involved alongside those less fortunate, who had to do their brawling face-to-face in the *piazza* below, with 'swords and lances' or without.

Later, when the specific Cathar element is more pronounced, and the houses in question were being used more often for clandestine religious assemblies than for organised rioting, there are again examples of

property which clearly belonged to people from the upper levels of society. Although few in number, they correspond on the whole to what is known about these families from other sources. It has already been noted, for example, that the nobleman *domino* Giacomo Arnuldi lived in a mansion ('palazzo') rather than a house, and it is no surprise to find the Tosti and Lupicini as owners of ostentatious homes.

The destruction of the Tosti property in particular seems to have aroused considerable local interest at the time, and to have lived on afterwards in the folk memory of the town. The *Liber Inquisitionis* itself gives more detail than usual about Christoforo Tosti's house:

*... domum ipsius Christofori cum Turri positam in Regione Sancte Pacis, iuxta viam a duabus partibus, et iuxta domum Forestani, et alios suos confines sine spe rehedificationis iudicamus funditus diruendam...* (20)

But more significant still is a short entry in one of the annals. Whether by the author's choice, or by constraint of the information available to him, the work of the Franciscan Inquisition in Orvieto in 1268/9 is summarised in a single sentence. Out of all the wealth of detail that could have been cited, the only event recorded is the condemnation of the Tosti family, and the destruction of their houses and towers:

*[1268] Eodem anno, illi de dono Tosta fuerunt condemnati heretici, et domus et turres eorum fuerunt dirute,* (21)

Thirteen years after the confiscation and demolition of much of their property, the name Tosti still figures prominently in the catalogue of property acquired by the Commune in 1281 to create space for the *Piazza del Popolo*<sup>22</sup>. This record is important here because it reveals the Tosti - and one other heretic, Barthus Francisci<sup>23</sup> - to have been property-owners of some substance. Much had been lost [*"la proprietà che fu de 'Tosti'"*], but the family still owned at least two neighbouring houses in the area<sup>24</sup>. Rainuccio, son of the late Christoforo Tosti, received compensation of 194 *Lire* for his house...

*...coi casalini, che facevano tutto un edificio confinante colla strada... avanti a casa 'Tosti',* (25)

Similarly, although Barthus Francisci had already lost his house to the commune<sup>26</sup>, probably as a result of the Inquisitors' sentence, his son, Bartuccio, still owned at least one house and another piece of property nearby <sup>27</sup>. In 1281, he sold the latter...

*il 'reitum' che fu fra la casa di detto venditore e la casa di Ranieri Filippi...*



for the sum of 20 *Lire* <sup>28</sup>.

If the memory of Tosti dominance of the *Santa Pace* quarter was still alive in 1281, it seems to have been unaffected by the further erosion of the family's actual property holdings caused by the creation of the *Piazza del Popolo*. Fourteen years after that event, a house which Ranuccio Tosti must have lost almost thirty years earlier was still associated with his name<sup>29</sup>. The year was 1295, and at that time the house in question belonged to the Augustinian friars. However, perhaps because the Augustinians by then owned so much property in the area, further specification seems to have been thought necessary, and the former owner is named as well. The document relates to the sale of a neighbouring house:

*... (una) domus... que posita est in Civitate urbisveteris iuxta  
rem olim Ranutii Tosti et nunc fratrum Sancti Augustini...* (30)

Later still, in Luca Manente's time (late 14th/early 15th C.), the memory of the Tosti losses lingered on, and although the main part of his entry for 1268 is either inaccurate or heavily dependent on earlier annals, Manente is on safer ground when he speaks about the present location of the former Tosti property, "*dovi hoggi è la piazza de la fontana de la torre*" <sup>31</sup>.

None of the other heretical families are as well documented as the Tosti in terms of the sort of property they owned, but there are a few isolated indications. Manente, for example, speaks about the restoration of the 'houses and towers' of the Lupicini family in 1287<sup>32</sup>; while the *Chronica Potestatum* records that a 'tower' belonging to Provençano Lupicini was damaged in 1303<sup>33</sup>. Lastly, since members of the 'Blasii' family were to be found plotting alongside the Ricci and Tosti as early as 1239<sup>34</sup>, it should come as no surprise to discover that Bivieno Blasii, like his Tosti associates, should have had extensive property in the town. This included several houses and one fortified tower, which had been armed with a variety of weapons against the Inquisitor and Podestà...

*...to the injury of God, and the shame of the Church, and the  
scandal of Catholic people, and the confusion of the Christian  
faith,* (35)

These are almost the only cases in which it is possible to add anything to the bare '*in domo sua*', which is usually all that is said about the homes in which heretics were received<sup>35</sup>. Nor can any conclusions be drawn about the domestic arrangements of people like

*domino* Raniero Munaldi, or Cittadinus Viviani, who went to meet the heretics in other people's homes<sup>37</sup>. This suggests prudence or timidity on their part, but says nothing about the size or ownership of their own homes. Indeed, it was not necessary to own a house in order to be able to give hospitality to the 'perfect', as at least four of the 'receptatores' are known to have lived in rented accommodation.

Amato and Stradigotto of Siena, both described as 'habitatores' of Orvieto, were each convicted of receiving heretics "in the house in which he was living" <sup>38</sup>, and the two brothers, Bonaccursus and Iannesbonus 'Lombardus', had earlier made a similar confession to Fra Iordano:

... Qui coram eodem fratre Iordano extiterunt manifeste confessi,  
quod receptaverunt patarenos pluries in domibus eorum, quas  
habebant ad pensionem... (39)

Obviously, these two men were also living in rented accommodation, and this provides an interesting insight into patterns of migration from one town to another. Comparison may be made, for example, with Guillelmo and Giovanni, the sons of Vivieno Blasii 'of Todi', second or third generation immigrants, who by this time owned their own property in Orvieto<sup>40</sup>. What it does not do is to give any useful guide to the prosperity of these four 'habitatores'. The fact that they did not own the homes in which they lived undoubtedly says more about their mobility than it does about their wealth.

Not all Orvietan home-owners were men, but there is some confusion between those women, most of them widows, who owned their own homes and those who did not (see Table 2c.). In the first place, the phrase '*in domo sua*' need not denote formal, or sole ownership of the house. In fact, there are two cases in which the same house is described at one point as the woman's house, and later in the same document as belonging to her husband<sup>41</sup>. Part of the problem is an understandable desire on the part of people accused of serious offences to shift responsibility on to someone else. In the case of a woman, particularly if her husband was already dead and unable either to defend himself or to suffer as a result of her betrayal, he was the obvious candidate<sup>42</sup>. Thus Vianese, charged with receiving heretics "*in domo sua*", admitted only to having seen heretics received by her husband "*in domo Iohannis, viri sui*". Similarly, Benamata confessed that she had 'seen' [vidit] Josep de Viterbio and his 'patarene' companion, "*in domo dicti sui viri, quos idem vir eius receptavit*"; while *domina* Verdenovella convinced one of the



Inquisitors for a short time with her confession that all she had done was to arrange for a 'consolation' to take place "*sub solario domus viri sui*" <sup>43</sup>.

There are other cases in which it sounds as though the alleged offences did indeed take place under someone else's roof. Martino Guiduti's home, for example, seems to have been a regular venue for heretical assemblies, and both his daughters, Mathea and Albasia, went there and to "someone else's house" to meet with the perfect, listen to their preaching and take part in their rituals<sup>44</sup>. Camera, likewise, claimed to have had her contact with the Cathars in the home of her son Rainerio<sup>45</sup>, and although she had been accused of receiving Ricca and others of the 'perfect' in her own home, her denial has a certain ring of truth. She did not deny the charge outright, but only that there had been more than one 'perfect' involved, and that the invitation had been to her home. Ildribandesca gave testimony about an incident which occurred in her childhood ("*tempore sue pueritie*") in the home of her late father, Giacomo Filippi.

In a sense, this is all irrelevant to the question of the financial resources of women such as these. There is nothing to suggest that any of them actually lived in the house where they met with the Cathars, and so the sentences provide no information about their own domestic arrangements.

Indeed, the only case in which there is any indication of the nature of the household is that of Bellapratu and Grana, two women living together in a single home [*"In domo ipsarum"*]<sup>46</sup>. What this adds by way of clarity, however, it immediately removes by way of illustrating yet again the unreliability of personal information in the *Liber Inquisitionis*. Bellapratu and Grana are described respectively as "*uxor Guiscardi*" and "*uxor Frederici*". There is no '*olim*' or '*quondam*': nothing, apart from the fact that their husbands were not independently charged, to show that the men were not both alive and well in 1268. It takes a separate document altogether to demonstrate, in the first place, the relationship between the two women, and, secondly, the fact that Guiscardo, at least, had died some years earlier<sup>47</sup>. This puts a different perspective on the whole situation. The likelihood is that both Grana and Bellapratu had been widowed by 1268, and it would then have been perfectly natural for mother- and daughter-in-law to set up home together. But apart from what this reveals about one Orvietan

household, it illustrates again that the *Liber Inquisitionis* cannot be taken as a totally reliable guide to such things as marital status or domestic situation.

#### Alms & gifts to the perfecti

Another clue to the wealth and social status of Orvietan Cathar sympathisers is to be found in those instances where people were accused of making gifts, in money or in kind, to the 'perfect', who depended for their livelihood on believers' generosity (see Table 9). More than that, the practice of almsgiving reveals something about the nature of the relationship between Cathar preachers and believers. From the believer's point of view, his giving was a symbol of his commitment to the sect, but was also a form of investment, from which spiritual, rather than financial return would be expected. This aspect was exploited by the Cathars, who deliberately ritualised these necessary economic transactions.

Something of this sort probably lies behind a rather obscure reference in Cambio Ricci Miscinelli's confession:

*... extitit manifeste confessus quod duabus vicibus ivit ad domum Stradigotti pelliparii, hereticis locuturus, quorum ibidem monitiones et predicationes audivit de erroribus eorundem; reverentiam fecit eis et caritias cum eisdem iuxta pravam consuetudinem eorundem; misit quam pluries helemosinas patarenis; credidit ipsos homines esse bonos et sanctos, (48)*

The 'caritias' is not one of the commonly recorded Cathar rituals<sup>49</sup>, and the root meaning of the word could conceivably imply no more than some symbolic expression of brotherly love and fellowship. Given the context, however, and the nature both of Cambio's profession and of his involvement with the Cathars, it is almost certain to have been associated with charitable giving. The word 'caritas' in mainstream Christianity was by this time inextricably linked to the practice of almsgiving<sup>50</sup>.

As in orthodox Christianity, eating and drinking, too, had special sacramental significance for the Cathars. If food was provided for the perfect, it would have to have met the strict dietary requirements of their ascetic régime<sup>51</sup>. The sharing of food among believers was also an important ritual occasion, parallel in many ways to orthodox celebration of the Mass, though the similarity would have been denied with equal fervour on both sides. In addition to those accused of providing food and drink for the heretics, seven Orvietans were found guilty of 'eating



and drinking' with them, and in several of these cases, the wording of the charge emphasises the sacramental nature of the offence. Petrus Guidi Becci, for example, "received food and drink from them" [*"Recepit ab eis comedere et bibere"*]. Since it was he who had brought the food to Castellonclo from his father's stores, the role of the *perfecti* can only have been to distribute it according to Cathar ritual. In the case of Dominicus Petri Rosse, the eating and drinking was only part of a wider, and, according to the Inquisitors, entirely culpable association [*"comedit et bibit et participavit dampnabiliter cum eisdem"*]. The meals were not purely symbolic, as the Christian Mass had long since become, but the religious element is made explicit in two of the Orvietan examples. Stradigotto of Siena and Locthus Guillelmi Surdi were both accused of accepting bread which had been blessed by the perfect [*"recepit... de pane quem heretici benedictum appellant"*].

In the case of monetary gifts, there is no question but that it was the believers who gave, and the perfect who accepted their charity. Here again, however, there was at least a symbolic element of mutual giving and receiving. Three of the Orvietan *credentes*, Stradigotto Ricci, Christoforo Tosti and Stradigotto of Siena, received what are called '*munuscula*' in return for their gifts. Etymologically, the word could refer to anything from a pastoral blessing to an ecclesiastical benefice<sup>52</sup>, but in this context the perfect probably gave their followers an object which they had blessed, or a small, religious token.

As far as the actual levels of giving are concerned, the first thing that stands out is that nearly all of the fifteen people accused specifically of giving 'alms' [*helemosina*], that is, financial contributions to the heretics, are known to have come from the upper levels of society<sup>53</sup>. All but three of these men, most of whom have been encountered already, were Orvietan citizens<sup>54</sup>. The three exceptions were no less eminent: one, Petruccio Miscinelli, was the brother of a citizen and a financier in his own right; another, *domino* Rainerio, was a wealthy nobleman; and the third, Stradigotto of Siena, may have been a successful skinner<sup>55</sup>. Citizenship, as has been seen, carried definite financial implications, and some of these individuals, such as Cambio Ricci Miscinelli and Martino Martini Guiduti, were probably operating well above that minimum<sup>56</sup>. If people such as these had indeed been giving money regularly and often [*pluries... multotiens*], then the sums involved are likely to have been substantial.

A second interesting feature is highlighted by the choice of language in the Inquisition record. This reveals a certain distance in the relationship between benefactor and recipient at the upper, financial level of almsgiving, which did not apply to those who made their gifts in kind. Alms were, in most cases, 'sent' [*"misit eis helemosinam"*] or 'allocated' [*"destinavit..."*] to the heretics. Food and drink, on the other hand, were 'given' [*"dedit eis manducare et bibere"*], and needs were 'ministered to' [*"servivit eis"; "necessaria ministravit"*]<sup>57</sup>. This points to a depersonalisation of charity among wealthy Cathar patrons, which probably applied to charitable giving in general. There is no exact parallel in orthodox circles, since approved institutions such as lay confraternities had no need to make a secret of their activities. This meant that gifts of money could be made openly, through the normal notarial channels. It also meant that there was not the same urgent need for practical support in the form of shelter and nourishment. It was not uncommon, however, for the wills of wealthy laymen to include a certain sum of money to be distributed among the poor, or, more specifically to be used to provide them with food and clothing<sup>58</sup>. In neither case would there have been any personal contact between pauper and benefactor.

The distinction is not a hard and fast one, of course. Many wealthy laymen would have been active members of the confraternities to which they gave their financial support, and in the same way there were wealthy Cathar supporters whose contact with the sect was by no means distant and impersonal. Two of its main financial backers, for example, Stradigotto Ricci of the Tosti family, and Stradigotto 'of Siena'<sup>59</sup>, not only provided food and drink for the heretics, but also sat down to share it with them. And although the provision of food and drink necessarily involves personal contact in a way that purely financial backing does not, more than half of the wealthy 'patrons' were also convicted as 'receptatores': in other words, they were open enough about their allegiance to allow the 'perfect' into their homes. Nonetheless, the proportion of 'receptatores' was significantly lower, and the proportion of citizens significantly higher among those who gave alms to the heretics than among those who provided "food, drink and necessities"<sup>60</sup>.

It would undoubtedly have been seen as part of every believer's duty to provide for the needs of the perfect, quite apart from the set



fees which were charged for special services, such as the administration of the 'consolamentum' to those who were ill or dying<sup>61</sup>. Nonetheless, there was a definite division of responsibility according to wealth and social class. Certain of the local sympathisers were responsible for feeding the heretics and attending to their personal needs<sup>62</sup>, while a smaller, élite group of rich citizens, some of whom were more circumspect than others about the extent of their personal involvement, operated in a more remote manner, akin to the methods employed by some of the wealthy benefactors on which medieval churches, religious houses and confraternities depended for much of their income.

#### External Evidence

Evidence from sources other than the *Liber Inquisitionis* about the personal wealth of the people named there is none too plentiful. Most of it is also late, which means that its chief value is to provide information about the implementation of the Inquisitors' sentences, and the effects of these sentences upon the people concerned. Nonetheless, every piece of evidence adds something to the overall picture.

The source closest in date to the *Liber Inquisitionis* is also the most informative in a number of ways. This is a short fragment from a larger codex, now lost, in which the sentences of the appeal judge known as the 'exgravator' were recorded<sup>63</sup>. It includes some important details about the lifestyles of one of the heretics and the sons of two others, only a year after their conviction.

In the early part of 1269, the nobleman, *domino* Rainerio Munaldi, was living in a joint household with his brother, *domino* Pietro: whether this had always applied, and was related to age and marital status, or whether it was a result of his newly straitened circumstances, it is not possible to tell<sup>64</sup>. The household boasted at least one servant, albeit an unruly one, for the exgravator had to consider an appeal from Benencasa, "*famulus domini Rainerii et domini Petri Munaldi*" who had been fined forty *soldi* for carrying a wooden sword ("*ensem palarii*") about the city by night<sup>65</sup>. He turned down not only this appeal, but also another from *domino* Pietro against a larger fine of six *Lire*, almost certainly imposed for his part in the same nocturnal fracas<sup>66</sup>.

Provençano and Amideo Lupicini had both been condemned posthumously in 1268, and so it was their sons who had to bear the brunt of the punishment. It was for precisely this reason that Provençano's son, Rainuccio, and Amideo's four sons, Provençano,

Alessandro, Pietro and Aldebrandino, complained to the *exgravator* about their treatment by the *podestà*<sup>67</sup>. The Inquisition sentences are specifically cited as the reason for their failure to pay the tax known as the *Lira*, payment having been demanded in the form of a certain number of horses<sup>68</sup>. When the time-limit expired, and the horses had not been produced, they were each sentenced to pay an additional fine of 30 *Lire*. Rainuccio maintained that this was unfair in his case. Since the assessment was made, his property had been confiscated ("*bona sua fuerint publicata*") and sold by the commune and the Inquisitors to Iohannes Andree Rubel and 'Rainaldus'. His cousins submitted a similar plea. They did not blame the Inquisition as such for their inability to pay the fine, but there can have been no other reason for the sudden decline in wealth which is the basis of their claim.

These appeals demonstrate not only that the sentences of 1268/9 were implemented with alacrity, but also that implementation was carried out with some attention to detail. Rainuccio's late father, Provençano, had had all his property confiscated, while Amideo's was to have been forfeit only up to a limit of 1,500 *Lire*. Sure enough, while Rainuccio claims here to have lost everything, his cousins say only that their resources have been "diminished". It is unfortunate that damage to the manuscript has occurred at the point where the extent of their loss is stated<sup>69</sup>, but the most likely reading is that they reckoned to have lost at least two-thirds ("*duabus partibus*") of their inheritance. If this is correct, even allowing for possible exaggeration, it gives a rough guide to the extent of their father's wealth: somewhere in the region of 2,000 *Lire*. Furthermore, the fact that both families were expected to take part in a muster of cavalry<sup>70</sup>, and to pay their tax from their stables, is a definite pointer to their wealth and their position in society.

Whatever the result of their appeal, it is clear that these men had suffered financially as a result of the Inquisition<sup>71</sup>. On the other hand, they are unlikely to have been left completely destitute, if for no other reason that medieval notaries and judges, like lawyers of all generations, would undoubtedly have charged handsomely for their services. The five cousins may have been forced to pool their limited resources in a single household<sup>72</sup>, but they were not so poor that they had to manage without domestic assistance. Four men banished from the town in March 1272 after failing to answer charges of assault, and



failing also to pay the fine imposed for their non-appearance, are described as "*servientes Ranucii Provençani et Ildribandini Amedei et fratrum*"<sup>73</sup>.

Similar conclusions must be drawn about other former heretics and their heirs, whose names appear on a list of nearly five hundred men who were charged in 1295 with failing to join the Orvietan cavalry for its muster in Bolsena<sup>74</sup>. Included on the list are such familiar names as Rainerius Çanfrangnini, Petrus d. Ranerii, Ninus Martinus Guiduti and the heirs of Andriotus Petrus Frascanocha [Santa Pace quarter]; Petrus Massel Collatoris and Andrucius Castelanni [SS. Giovanni & Giovenale]; Loctus Canbii and Johannes Clarembisii [Serancia]; and Aldrevadinus Ranerii Adelasie [Postierla]. The important thing, apart from the fact that these men were prepared to defy authority again by ignoring the summons, is that they were considered eligible for this type of service. (Recalcitrant foot-soldiers ('*pedites*') were named in a subsequent list.) Inclusion among the cavalry does not necessarily prove noble status, but it does at least show that the person was rich enough to own a horse<sup>75</sup>. Not all the Cathar sympathisers were so fortunate: Neri, one of the men from Carnaiola, had only a mule to lend to his friend for his journey to Orvieto some time before 1268<sup>76</sup>.

One of the fullest sources of personal information about some of the heretics and their descendants is the census conducted for tax purposes in 1292. If the civic authorities had only decided to compile their '*Catasto*' some thirty years earlier, then many of the currently unanswerable questions about Orvietan heretics could have been settled at a stroke. As it is, only a small proportion of the names from the Inquisition record can be identified in the *Catasto*, and then seldom with absolute certainty (see Table 10).

Indeed, there are several cases which illustrate the danger of reading too much into coincidental similarity of names. Even allowing for the possibility of repentance and restitution, it seems highly unlikely that Iannes Robba, who had been operating as '*episcopus patarenorum*' prior to 1268, should have been reinstated to the extent of enjoying a quiet living as a country priest - as *presbiter* Iannes Robbe - in the Orvietan *contado* by 1292<sup>77</sup>. If there had only been one '*Raynucettus Christofori*' or '*Petrus Guidi Becchi*', or '*Iacobus Phylippi*', they could have been greeted enthusiastically as former heretics grown respectable in old age; but when there are two or three, it not only

becomes impossible to know which, if any, is the correct one, but also casts doubt on other, apparently secure identifications.

A further possible reservation about the accuracy of this source is indicated by Mme. Carpentier<sup>79</sup>, who hints that there may have been deliberate discrimination against members of ghibelline or heretical families, such as the Tosti. She suggests that they were given a disproportionately high valuation for their remaining land-holdings, so that they would be liable to a higher level of taxation. If this was true, it would mean that none of the estimates relating to heretical families could be taken at face value. At the very least, there is no reason to assume that a valuation of their property made after 1268 is an accurate guide to their wealth before that crucial date.

Despite these substantial provisos, the *Catasto* is the best single source available from which to augment the personal information in the *Liber Inquisitionis*. There is sufficient correspondence between the two sources to make the exercise worthwhile, and even an approximate valuation is considerably better than none.

As might be expected, 'heretical' families are much more strongly represented in the town than in the *contado*. By the time the tax register was compiled in 1292, there were a maximum of four property-owners living in the *contado* who can be identified as relatives of the people condemned as heretics in 1268/9 (see Table 10). All had very small land-holdings. In the city, by contrast, almost twenty heretics are represented, up to seven of them in person, and the remainder through other members of their families<sup>81</sup>. Some of these people were among the town's wealthiest citizens, with property valued in thousands of *Lire*<sup>82</sup>.

Petruccio Ricci Miscinelli, for example, owned land valued at 3,043 *Lire*, while *domino* Rainerio Munaldi's valuation was at least 4,238, and possibly as much as 15,522 *Lire*<sup>83</sup>. If Provençanus Amidei was any relation to Provençano and Amideo Lupicini, then he, too, was very near the top level of society, with a valuation of 7,215 *Lire*, while Amideo's own grandsons were joint owners of property worth a substantial 1,871 *Lire*. The heirs of Aldrevanninu Raynerii Adelaxie (who may or may not have been the grand-nephews of the heretic Pietro) were operating at roughly the same level (1,895L.), with Bartholomeus Accommandi slightly lower (1,652L.) and Andrioctus Castellani slightly higher (2,515L.). Neither of the last two is likely to be the person mentioned by similar



name in the *Liber Inquisitionis*, the former being recorded as dead in 1268, and the latter one of the travelling *perfecti*, but some family relationship cannot be ruled out.

Lower down the scale, some of the 'heretics' had only very modest land-holdings<sup>84</sup>. For example, Iohannes Blaxii, and the three men who may have been sons of Domenico Toncelle, Iohannes Marini and Oddo Caçalatro respectively, all had valuations of less than 100 *Lire*. There was also a middle range<sup>85</sup>, including people like the two sons and one grandson of Petrus Bonamsegne (635L., 91L., & 216L.); the brother of Rainerius Stephani, the carpenter (105L.); Petrus Guidi Becchi (95L. or 138L.); and Iohannes Clarinvisu (800L.). Whichever of the three possible identifications is correct for Rainuccetto, son of Christoforo Tosti, it makes no difference, because any one of the three (473L., 325L., & 286L.) would place him, too, in this middle category of wealth.

In three other cases, there are inconsistencies which cannot be so easily accommodated or accounted for. Judging by names alone, the heretic Martino Guidutii had two sons, Nino and Conte, both living in the Santa Pace quarter in 1292, but one was so much wealthier than the other that it calls the identification into question<sup>86</sup>. Likewise, if Offredutius and Boniohannes were both sons of the same Petrus Ferra Locha, there was a vast difference in their wealth and social status. Not only did Bongiovanni have property worth 1,374 *Lire* to Offreduccio's 365 *Lire*, but he was also described as '*dominus*'. Finally, the distinctive name of Rainerius Çamfrongin appears at several points in the *Catasto*, spelt in a variety of ways, but there is no possibility of all the references applying to the same man, or even to the same family<sup>87</sup>.

From Table 10, it will be seen that some tentative conclusions do emerge, in spite of the problems of evidence. It is not insignificant that the value of property owned by people who can be associated in some way with the heretics of twenty-four years earlier covered the whole range, from 14 *Lire* to 16,000 *Lire*. It confirms the impression gained from the preceding discussion about people influenced at all by Catharism in Orvieto: that the phenomenon of heresy was not restricted to any one group or social class. Rather, it permeated society at every level, from wealthy nobleman to household servant; from cobbler to Merchants' Consul.

.....

d) Summary: Wealth, Occupation & Social Status

Orvietan heresy was thus an extremely complex phenomenon. People from a wide variety of social, political, economic and educational backgrounds were attracted to Catharism for a wide variety of reasons. They varied also in the extent to which they were prepared to risk allowing their interest to develop into definite commitment to the sect. It has been necessary up to this point to examine certain elements of local support in some detail, but it will be useful to conclude with a more general overview of the whole situation.

Ghibellines

One of the most prominent elements in Orvietan Catharism - the one which has tended to monopolise attention in the past - was the "ghibelline" faction, to which Christoforo Tosti and his many friends and relatives belonged. If nothing else has emerged from the detailed survey of people affiliated in one way or another to the Cathar movement, it should by now have become apparent that the theory which, in its crudest form, equates heretics with ghibellines, and religious deviance with political resistance to the papacy, requires radical revision.

This is not to say, of course, that there was not a strong political element in Orvietan heresy, or to deny that the Cathars had more ghibelline than guelf support. The presence of Tosti and Ricci and Miscinelli among those accused of heresy is ample proof of the ghibelline connection, and detailed chronological investigation would almost certainly reveal a correlation between times of political unrest and peaks on the chart of Cathar progress. The most obvious example is the opportunity which the Cathars seized with open hands when the town was put under Interdict in 1196 for one of its periodic attempts to usurp papal authority in the area of Acquapendente and the *Val del Lago di Bolsena*. The Bishop was withdrawn for nearly nine months, and in that time the heretics not only made many converts, but also did some future planning on a suitably grandiose scale. Orvieto was to be a Cathar citadel, to which heretics would come from all over the world:

*Iam enim mente conceperant conspirantes ut... civitatem ipsam,  
propter sui munitionem inexpugnabilem, ex omnibus mundi partibus  
convenientium, hereticorum domicilio deputarent ad catholicam  
Ecclesiam impugnandam...* (1)

The whole series of events surrounding Parenzo's martyrdom were



essentially a response to this threat.

There was, without question, an authentic Cathar component in the heretical movement in Orvieto at this early stage, but it is important to remember that the main historical source, although close in time to the events which it describes, is a piece of hagiographical writing, deliberately designed to portray Parenzo as an *alter Christus*, doing battle with the forces of evil<sup>2</sup>. Canon Giovanni almost certainly supplemented his personal knowledge of Orvietan heresy with information from standard text-books<sup>3</sup>, and the failure of subsequent attempts by local people to have Parenzo canonised may point to official scepticism about the accuracy of the canon's carefully-structured account. Official blocking of the campaign for Parenzo's canonisation suggests that the Church authorities were aware from the outset that more was involved in this incident than just a straightforward confrontation between orthodoxy and heresy<sup>4</sup>.

Similarly, with regard to the later period, Fumi may well be right when he says that the Church's decision to send in the Inquisitors to deal with the Cathars in 1268, in a more determined way than ever before, was related to the movements of Conradin, and the general ghibelline upsurge around this time:

*Lo stesso risveglio degli Inquisitori nel 1268 non tanto deriva da prevalenza d'idee nemiche alla fede quanto dal commovimento generale dei ghibellini nella discesa di Corradino.* (5)

This is no basis, however, for suggesting, as Fumi does, that the people on trial were "simply ghibellines; not heretics at all". The timing of the decisive orthodox reaction may have resulted from external political pressure, and there would be a natural affinity between all who were opposed to papal authority for whatever reason, but that is by no means the same as saying that the whole Cathar movement was no more than a front for Ghibelline subversion.

No-one would seriously try to deny that people already disaffected with the Church for reasons of family loyalty or frustrated political or territorial ambition would be favourably predisposed towards a rival religious system; nor, indeed, that members of the heretical sect would not be eager to make the most of any opportunities offered by political unrest. It is just that any simplistic identification of the two groups is untenable in the light of the full range of evidence available. The point needs to be stressed, because an oversimplified interpretation of

precisely this sort has been in circulation ever since a near-contemporary chronicler brushed aside the other seventy-four people involved, and recorded only that "those of the Tosti family were condemned as heretics" <sup>6</sup>.

The most influential perpetrator of the myth was Luca di Domenico Manente, writing in the early fifteenth century about the doings of the "heretical-imperial party" almost two centuries earlier<sup>7</sup>. Anyone who could discuss decisions taken by the "*Signori Sette*" half a century or so before that body came into existence (in 1292) must be regarded with some suspicion, but a myth, once established, has a tendency to be perpetuated indefinitely without adequate reference to the original sources. This, combined with the practical advantages of concentrating on those figures about whom most is known, and the preoccupation of most historians until recently with political history, explains why people like Fumi, Cherubini, and, to a lesser extent, Waley and Carpentier, should have stayed with the political side of heresy, implicitly accepting the assumption that Catharism drew most of its support from the politically disaffected.

The *Liber Inquisitionis* is full of people who simply do not fit the "prominent ghibelline" stereotype. E. Carpentier goes so far as to admit that there were no Filippeschi among the heretics<sup>8</sup>. This is quite a significant concession, since they, rather than the Tosti, were the obvious figurehead for the Orvietan ghibellines, just as the Monaldeschi family (to which one heretic *did* belong) were for the guelfs<sup>9</sup>. However, Mme. Carpentier seems remarkably unperturbed by the absence from the *Liber Inquisitionis* of other names from her "ghibelline list": names such as della Terza, della Greca and della Tasca<sup>10</sup>. Only about half of the families which she cites as examples of the close affinity between heresy and the imperial cause are, in fact, represented among the known heretics; and that takes no account of the many other heretical families with no obvious political axe to grind. Furthermore, there could quite conceivably have been 'ghibellines' who were attracted to heresy primarily for reasons of personal spirituality, just as there may have been non-ghibellines whose motivation was not purely religious.

The situation, in other words, was an extremely complex one. The territorial struggles between Orvieto and the papacy, and the constant internal feuding between local factions, must always be borne in mind as the backdrop against which the struggle between Cathars and Catholics



was being played out. However, precisely because so much attention has been given to this aspect in the past, it may be necessary now to focus attention elsewhere. It takes extra effort to find out about people whose lives are likely to be less well-documented, and whose motivation is less obvious, but this effort will have been amply rewarded if a more balanced view is achieved of the Cathar movement and its attraction for twelfth- and thirteenth-century Orvietans.

### Nobles

If Luca Manente is to be blamed for establishing the "ghibelline-heretic" myth, he must also take his share of responsibility for the confusion which has arisen over the social status of Orvietan heretics. He had no hesitation in describing families such as the Tosti, Miscinelli and Lupicini as 'noble', when the categories were never so clearly defined to merit this degree of confidence. Eighteen of the most prominent heretics were, in fact, 'citizens', a category from which noblemen were excluded, and only two men are unequivocally assigned the title '*dominus*'.

This dearth of high-ranking noblemen among the people sentenced in 1268/9, and the high profile of artisans, lend a certain attractiveness to Borst's theory that Catharism, in its later stages, drew its support increasingly from the "lower orders" of society<sup>1</sup>. He was, admittedly, referring mainly to a period even later still, but such hints as there are in the earliest Orvietan sources do seem to suggest a more obvious noble presence than is apparent later. The whole political scenario surrounding Parenzo's summons and murder allows the incident to be slotted very neatly into a theory which interprets heresy as a matter of strife between rival noble factions. Canon Giovanni's allusions to fighting from fortified towers only serve to confirm this impression<sup>2</sup>.

There are other factors, however, which weigh against Borst's theory in relation to Orvieto. In the first place, the limitations of the evidence must be borne in mind. Not only is there a vast qualitative difference between Giovanni's fulsome account of Parenzo's life and the notarial precision of the Inquisition record, but there is also a gap of nearly seventy crucial years between the two, filled mainly with retrospective references in the *Liber Inquisitionis*, many of which are hard to date with any degree of accuracy.

Secondly, there is evidence, even in the early period, for a mixed range of support for the Cathars. It is Manente, writing very much

later, who stresses the presence of the rich and influential, while Giovanni, who is no less biased but generally a great deal more accurate on detail, makes it clear that high- and low-born were both involved on both sides. He is, perhaps, a little too sweeping with his generalisations about the rapidly-changing loyalties of the "entire population", but crowds are notoriously fickle. As tension mounted, and the situation became more dangerous, the new rector was welcomed eagerly by "Orvietans, great and small":

*Vocato itaque Petro Parentii ab urbevitanis in dominum et rectorem... receptus est ab urbevitanis magnis et minimis cum olivarum et lauri ramis, cum gaudio et honore...*

Next, the "whole city" was drawn into the public rioting which developed out of the Lent festivities in 1199, and the weapons were as varied as the people who wielded them:

*Sed heretici... tantam sub pretextu ludi fecerunt primo quadragesime die oriri discordiam, ut in foro publico civitas tota pugnaret cum gladiis, lanceis et lapidibus per turres et palatia circumposita, concordie federe violato.* (13)

Then, when reaction against the murder began to set in, the "entire population" decided to take the law into its collective hands:

*Intera populus, exardescens in sui domini ultionem, quosdam cepit lese maiestatis crimine veraciter infamatos, ipsos in strada burgi sancte Christine pena debita puniendo.*

Following on from this, a third objection may be raised to the thesis that there was a downward shift in the social composition of the Cathar movement as time went on. Not only were there a great many 'ordinary' people - that is, non-nobles, minor artisans, and people who simply do not stand out for any particular reason - among the *credentes* sentenced in 1268/9, but some of these people had heretical roots going back two or three generations. It is true that a high proportion of the men who appeared before Fra Roggero, O.P., between 1239 and 1249<sup>14</sup> came from prominent families such as the Tosti and Ricci, but that is not the whole story. The parents of Cittadinus Viviani Avultronis had been part of the conspiracy to have Parenzo killed as early as 1199<sup>15</sup>. In 1239, Iohannes Carabone confessed to Fra Roggero that he had been a believer for twenty-five years, having heard the 'perfect' preaching in Viterbo and elsewhere<sup>16</sup>. As he is unlikely to have confessed to more than his actual level of involvement, he must have been a committed Cathar at least by 1214. Similarly, Phylippus Busse must have 'received' his first perfect around 1248, unless he was lying when he told Fra Benvenuto and



Fra Bartolomeo, after "*varias et prudentes interrogationes*", that he had regularly been allowing four named Cathars to stay in his home "by day and night" for approximately twenty years<sup>17</sup>. If he was lying, the date would be earlier, not later. Symeon, the woollen manufacturer, does not have quite such a long history of religious deviance, but he, too, admitted to having received many heretics at various times during the ten-year period in which he had believed their 'errors'<sup>18</sup>. These men, at least two of whom were citizens, were not from the very lowest level of society, but they were not high-ranking nobles either. They are evidence of a middle range of support stretching right across the Cathar period in Orvieto.

In the fourth place, to balance this, attention must be drawn to those members of noble households who were still actively involved with the Cathars when the Inquisition cracked down on them in 1268/9. *Domino* Rainerio Munaldi Rainerii Stephani is the only obvious example, as *domino* Giacomo Arnuldi was dead by then<sup>19</sup>, but the fluidity of social categories has already been demonstrated. Thus many of those not technically entitled to call themselves noble were to all intents and purposes indistinguishable from those who did enjoy this privilege.

Finally, even if it could be shown that the proportion of *popolani* to nobles among Orvietan Cathars increased around the middle of the thirteenth century, as heresy became more firmly rooted in the town, this would only confirm the importance of the Cathar movement. The star of the *Popolo* was quite definitely in the ascendancy at this time, and it was members of the hereditary nobility who were having to struggle to maintain their traditional authority<sup>20</sup>. Increasingly, it was the citizens of the town, prominent members of trade guilds, who had the real power. Thus, if it is true that later Catharism, whatever the nature of the movement's original appeal, had won support among this sector of society, then in all probability it had become very comfortably established.

#### Artisans

One of the problems involved in dealing with this subject is that many of the general studies of Catharism consciously or unconsciously take the south of France as their model<sup>21</sup>. In Provence and Languedoc, the support of the rural nobility may indeed have been the key to the success of the movement, but in Italy, what mattered more was the backing of townspeople in the independent communes. In Orvieto, there is evidence of a strong Cathar power-base among local citizens, and in

particular among members of the woollen and textile trades.

Mobility was essential to the lifestyle of merchants and traders such as these, but it was also, according to M.D. Lambert, a "keynote of the lives of many of those involved in Catharism", particularly in Italy<sup>22</sup>. Furthermore, if the "ghibelline noble" factor is temporarily set aside, these merchants, industrialists, citizens and public office-holders are precisely the sort of people who would be attracted to a new movement, within which the traditional social distinctions might not be so firmly rooted. They could enter such a movement on equal terms with members of the ancient power-bases such as the church and the nobility. Successful in business, and economically prosperous, these men must nevertheless have grudged the nobles their prestige and their presumption of social superiority. Autonomous within their own trades and professions, and increasingly influential in the public life of the town, they must have experienced some sense of exclusion from the Church, where lay participation was very restricted, particularly as the confraternal movement was still in its infancy.

It would be wrong to overemphasise this, or indeed any other aspect. There were hardly likely to be hordes of disgruntled artisans hammering at the doors of the churches, demanding to be allowed to celebrate the mass. At the same time, it would be equally misleading to be swayed by modern assumptions about the sort of person likely to be concerned about religious affairs. Religion in thirteenth-century Italy was very closely associated with civic pride and prosperity: patronage of local churches and chapels, for example, was regarded as a real enhancement of personal and civic status. It is perhaps taking imaginative reconstruction a little too far to suggest that Stradigotto the furrier, Symeon the wool merchant, and Cambio Ricci Miscinelli, the financial entrepreneur, were the "Young Upwardly-Mobile Professionals" of their day, but it may not be too far off the mark to suppose that Catharism offered these people something which was lacking from orthodox Christianity until a later period, when, partly in response to heresy, approved outlets for lay piety and patronage became more readily available in the form of Third Orders, lay confraternities and, in Orvieto from the end of the thirteenth century, the exciting new Cathedral project.

#### Women

Catharism was also extremely successful among a group of people



quite different from the successful businessmen described above: namely "pious women", mainly of middle age and beyond. Special reasons can be put forward for the success of the Cathar preachers among the female population of Orvieto - apart, that is, from the allegedly "notorious" susceptibility of women to heretical preachers<sup>23</sup>. In particular, there was the fact that some of the perfect were themselves women.

The concept of female leadership of a mixed religious sect would have been quite novel and possibly alarming for people raised on traditional Catholicism. That this was indeed seen by the orthodox as a real threat at the time, is demonstrated by St. Dominic's decision in 1206 to establish a female convent in Provence, as part of his anti-heretical campaign, and as a counter-attraction to the residential communities of *perfectæ* which were springing up throughout southern France<sup>24</sup>. On the other hand, it has to be remembered that the proportion of female among the 'perfect' was always small: most of the women who supported the Cathars did so in more traditional ways, such as providing food, drink and accommodation, and taking part as observers in religious rituals.

Women have figured at various points in the investigation so far: in relation to social and marital status, profession and home ownership, as well as with regard to the question of leadership. The fact that no very dramatic conclusions have been drawn suggests that their rôle may not have been markedly different from that of male believers, within the obvious constraints imposed by the restricted status of women in medieval society as a whole. If this is correct, then the fact that heresy could offer women a measure of equality denied to them in traditional Catholicism may help to account for its appeal.

Within the Cathar sect, there were all types of women: rich and poor, young and old, single and married (see Table 2). There was, however, a certain preponderance of older widows. This may be due in part to the long delay between the offences and the trials, but there may also be an element of the phenomenon observed in southern France, whereby women joined the sect after their husbands had died, rather as Catholic widows might take up the religious life<sup>25</sup>. The theory works better for *perfectæ* than for *credentes*, but even the latter may have found that their new faith compensated in some measure for their loss of function and status as a married woman.

It is not possible to give a detailed analysis here of the

treatment of female believers at the hands of the Inquisitors. In very general terms, it seems that whereas more women than men escaped punishment in the early stages of the movement, by 1268/9 there was little discernible difference in their treatment. As far as the 'perfect' were concerned, just as many *consolati* as *consolate* were mentioned in the *Liber Inquisitionis* (see Table 11). None, apparently, was ever brought to trial. Even if female *credentes* were found to have received more lenient sentences, it would still have to be demonstrated that their offences had been comparable in severity to those of the men.

One point worthy of note is the consideration shown by the Inquisitors for innocent female dependents of convicted believers. *Domina* Bellapratu had apparently been awarded a piece of land by Fra Giordano, as compensation for her dowry, before it became known that she, as well as her husband, had been a "*credens, fautor et receptatrix patarenorum*" <sup>26</sup>. Despite this betrayal of the Church's trust, the later Inquisitors were still prepared to make financial provision for the daughters of Adilascia and Barthus Petri Saraceni:

*Bona ipsius omnia mobilia et immobilia... sententialiter publicamus et confiscamus... Reservata semper nobis et aliis Inquisitoribus providendi de bonis predictis filiabus dicte domine Adilascie iuxta (?nati,) provisionem... (27)*

They behaved with similar charity towards the nieces of Provençanus Lupicini:

*Reservata semper Romane Ecclesie, nobis et aliis Inquisitoribus, successoribus nostris addendi, minuendi, mutandi et corrigendi et aliter sententiandi et procedendi contra bona ipsius et providendi nepotibus dicti Provençani filiabus (sic) Rainutii que non sunt heretica labe resperse de bonis predictis pro ut nobis melius videbiture et utilius expedire sine prolatione alterius sententie plenaria potestate,*

The girls, incidentally, got a much better deal than Provençano's male heirs, who were forbidden all "temporal honours and public offices" to the second generation:

*Filios autem et nepotes predicti per lineam descendentes usque in secundum generationem cunctis honoribus temporalibus et publicis officiis privamus eosdem, (28)*

#### Family and regional ties

It was not pure vindictiveness on the part of the Inquisitors that made them burden the most heinous offenders with sentences, such as the exclusion from public office-holding, which would still be affecting their innocent descendants long after the original heretics were dead<sup>29</sup>.



Rather, it was a tacit acknowledgement of the importance of the family in effecting the spread of heresy at any given time, and ensuring its continuance from one generation to another. Malcolm Lambert selects family influence as the single most important factor in persuading people in Languedoc to become heretics, but it is hard to see why he is so reluctant to apply the same conclusion to the Italian situation. There, he says, "family links seem to have been of lesser importance" <sup>30</sup>.

It is true that in Orvieto, as in most Italian towns, factors other than family loyalty were also in play: professional contacts, for example. Nonetheless, d'Alatri does not have to look far for evidence to back up his statement that in some Orvietan families, heresy was "an inheritance jealously handed down from father to son" <sup>31</sup>, or, in other words, part of the religious culture of a family, which persisted from one generation to the next. D'Alatri, naturally enough, takes as his examples the powerful "ghibelline" families such as the Ricci and Tosti, for whom quite complex family trees can be constructed on the basis solely of information in the *Liber Inquisitionis*. However, there are plenty other families he could have chosen (see Table 15).

There are several instances where heresy could, indeed, have been handed down if not from "father to son", then from "mother to daughter", "uncle to nephew", or "grandparent to grandchild". Within a single generation, there were three sets of brothers, one brother and sister, and at least twelve married couples. After that, things start getting more complicated, particularly when the ambiguous term 'nepos' is used for one or more of the relationships involved. For example, it is not clear whether Nerius was the nephew or the grandson of Barthus Francisci and his wife Belverdes<sup>32</sup>, and it is therefore impossible to say whether heresy, in this instance, had missed a generation. Geptius Teoderici, likewise, could have been either the nephew or the grandson of the influential Stradigottus Pelliparius, though in their case that is one of the lesser complications<sup>33</sup>.

By far the biggest and most important family constellation was the one associated with the Tosti. It included not only obvious allies such as the Ricci and Miscinelli, but also people like Barthus Francisci, whose name gives no hint of the connection. The relationship would probably never have come to light if the Inquisitors had not found it suitable fuel for their polemical fire:

... ut eorum duritia et obstinata malitia a Tostorum derivata  
progenie ad instar adamantini lapidis pene terroribus  
confrigatur, que gratie promissionibus nullatenus potuit  
emolliri... (34)

Allowance should be made for the possibility of other 'hidden' relationships, which would have required no elucidation at the time, but the same principle could apply equally to the smaller, less prominent families. Family relationships are a factor to be taken into consideration right across the range of heretical support, and it is important, here as elsewhere, not to be too dazzled by the impressive Tosti network.

Similarly, when it comes to regional affiliation, there is a tendency to concentrate on the wealthiest families, whose property interests can be most easily located. Thus, because the ghibelline power-base was in the Santa Pace quarter, it has been assumed that Catharism was just as firmly rooted to this area. There is, of course, a good measure of truth in the assumption. Most of the Ricci and Tosti, including Barthus Francisci, had their houses in Santa Pace, as did Accommandus Profecti<sup>36</sup>; and there was an area just outside the town, where the condemned Tosti were allegedly buried in unconsecrated ground, and which was known until recently, if not still, as "*Porta Patarena*"<sup>36</sup>. There were, however, other *credentes* who did not live in the same area as the Tosti. *Domina* Pacifica, for example, had a "new house" in the S. Angelo region in the quarter of Postierla<sup>37</sup>. Dominicus Toncelle and his wife Syginetta had lived in Serancia, while *domina* Bernardina, widow of Johannes Marini, and Phylippus Busse came from the regions of S. Giovanni and S. Giovenale respectively<sup>38</sup>.

The precise location of heretical activity is not, in fact, of major importance. What mattered to the Cathars themselves was that there should be a number of reliable homes in the city, where they could conduct their meetings and be sure of shelter. Obviously, the safety factor would be greater if there were a number of sympathetic households in the same district, but any quarter would have served as well as Santa Pace for this purpose. In the *contado*, the priorities were basically the same: refuge for the 'perfect' and safe places for public gatherings. Castellonclo was one of a number of places in the Orvietan *contado* where these requirements could be met (see Table 12).

From the Inquisitors' point of view, one of the most worrying features of close family networks, whose concentration in particular



areas made them harder to penetrate, must have been the fact that children were being indoctrinated in heresy from their earliest years. There is no evidence of young girls being formally vowed to the Cathar faith, as happened at times in France<sup>39</sup>, but there are three examples of people who committed their first offences while still children. The words "*ut puer*" are rather ambiguously placed in the sentence against Christoforo Tosti's son, Rainuccetus<sup>40</sup>, but they probably refer to his acting as guide to Iannes Tasca and his *socius*. This was one of the offences committed by Petrus Guidi Becci<sup>41</sup>, whose father used him to run errands between Orvieto and Castellonclo. Finally, *domina* Ildribandesca also blamed her father, Iacobus Filippi, for her early introduction to Catharism. She confessed that she had "seen" heretics in her father's house, "*tempore sue pueritie*" <sup>42</sup>.

It is worth reflecting for a moment on the implications of this solid family foundation underlying a movement which claimed to shun anything remotely associated with procreation, and regarded the married state as tantamount to damnation. If the believers understood the theological reasons for sexual abstinence, and if they shared their mentors' abhorrence for everything connected to the diabolical world of matter, then it is clear that most of them regarded the practical implications of their philosophy as applying only to the perfect. With the possible exception of Stradigotto of Siena, and his wife Benvenuta<sup>43</sup>, the pattern of the believers' own family lives seems to have been largely unaffected by their adherence to the Cathar faith.

#### Wealth

A similar conclusion may be drawn with regard to the question of private wealth. Money is a universal symbol for material possessions and attachment to them, and so the obvious consequence of saying that matter is corrupt is to have absolute poverty as the ultimate goal. However, if poverty was their acknowledged ideal, then there must have been many wealthy Cathar sympathisers who believed that it could be achieved by proxy. They were willing to sustain the 'poor' perfect with generous alms, but were not prepared, or saw no need to relinquish their own wealth. People had become used to the idea of commuting crusading vows into cash payments, and it was not such a large step from that to suggesting that a rich man could pay other people to do his "simple living" for him. In the area of Catholic spirituality, too, the same principle underlies the concept that sanctity, often associated with

asceticism, was achievable only by the outstanding few. Spiritual benefit could, however, accrue to those who made it possible for the few to do what the many could not themselves be expected to achieve. Nonetheless, it is interesting (and a phenomenon not confined to heresy) to find enthusiasm for a poverty-centred cult among hard-headed businessmen, whose normal aim in life was to make as much money as possible.

It may be taking too cynical a view of the Holy Inquisition to suggest that the Church might not have been so diligent in its pursuit of heretics if some of them, at least, had not been wealthy. Be that as it may, there were considerable profits to be shared out among the orthodox from the confiscation of heretics' property<sup>44</sup>. Popular myth has all heretics being burnt at the stake: in reality there is very little evidence for the use of capital punishment in Orvieto, and the most common penalty by far was for all the person's property to be sold, and the proceeds shared out, "*in pecunia numerata*", between the civic authorities and the Church. Private individuals also stood to gain, because with so much property up for sale in a short period, prices were likely to be low, and much would also be available for disbursement by those in authority as rewards for loyalty.

A large enough number of the Orvietan *credentes* were sufficiently wealthy to make such a theory tenable. Some had inherited wealth; others had earned it by legitimate trading; and a significant number seem to have acquired it by the rather suspect means of money-lending. There is also irrefutable evidence that the sentences of confiscation were implemented within a very short space of time, and in a few cases it is possible to monitor precisely who it was that benefitted financially from the Cathars' demise<sup>45</sup>.

In this whole area, there is once again a strong temptation to concentrate on the rich, powerful citizens to the exclusion of others whose commitment to Catharism is every bit as important from a sociological, as well as a religious point of view. The economic status of Cathar supporters has been assessed according to a number of different criteria - citizenship; home ownership; monetary fines; public office-holding; almsgiving; money-lending etc. - but in each of these areas it is the same few names that keep coming up time and time again. Many of the eighty-eight people sentenced in 1268/9 were, in fact, omitted from the preceding discussion altogether, for the simple reason



that nothing is known about their wealth or social status.

One woman, Bonadimane<sup>45</sup> stands as the symbol for this forgotten body of Cathar support. She, too, would almost certainly have been one of the anonymous, uninteresting cases, had it not been for the chance illness of her grandson, which took her in desperation to seek the help of a local saint, whose hagiographer recorded the incident for posterity. It is inevitable, given the nature of the evidence, that attention has to focus for much of the time on the prominent local citizens in the Cathar movement, many of whom also belonged to traditionally ghibelline families. There is no harm in this, provided that one is not carried away with enthusiasm about these people to the extent of forgetting Bonadimane, and the many other humble "believers" whom she represents.

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## A.2 PEOPLE ASSOCIATED WITH HERESY: FOOTNOTES

1. In Eph, Urb., vol. 11.
2. L. Fumi, "I Paterini in Orvieto", in A.S.I., ser. 111, vol. XX11, Firenze, 1875. Also his summary and partial transcription of the whole of Lib. Inq., in C.D., pp. 258ff., and his footnotes there.
3. C.D., p. 261 fn.
4. Wanda Cherubini, "Movimenti Patarinici in Orvieto", in B.I.S.A.O., Ann. XV, 1959, pp. 3-42. She also draws attention to the case of Stradigotto of Siena (Lib. Inq., f. 28), but is clearly following Fumi very closely in her selection of material.
5. Daniel Waley, Medieval Orvieto: the political history of an Italian city-state, 1157-1334, Cambridge, 1952, pp. 49-50. See also Appendix.
6. C.D., p. 261 fn.
7. P. Mariano d'Alatri, "Orvieto: il crollo del catarismo nell'Italia centrale", in L'Inquisizione Francescana nell'Italia centrale nel sec. XIII, Roma, 1954, pp. 64-78.
8. cf. d'Alatri, "'Ordo Penitentium' ed eresia in Italia", in Collectanea Francescana, vol. XLIII, Roma, 1973.
9. cf. Waley, Medieval Orvieto..., p. xvi. Since publication of his book, more work has been done on the smaller communes such as Orvieto, which he describes as "so peculiarly characteristic of Italy", but at that time "extremely little studied".
10. Even this is an approximation, as there are several duplicate and ambiguous entries, as well as cases where a person is named in the course of proceedings against someone else, and it is not clear whether he or she is also being charged.
11. Eleven such people (one still alive) are mentioned in the course of proceedings against other members of their families. Six local people were also accused of attending unspecified 'consolations'.
12. Published by P. Egidi, in Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano, no. 27, Roma, 1906, pp. 206-209 (hereafter Viterbo fragments 1 & 2). Egidi (wrongly, I believe) dates it a year later, to 25 January 1269.
13. Arch. Duomo, Pergamene 60a), 31 October 1296.
14. M.D. Lambert, Medieval Heresy: Popular movements from Bogomil to Hus, London, 1977, p. xiv.

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### a) 'Noble' and 'Popular'

1. It is important to remember that both nobles and '*popolani*' were privileged members of society. The Popolo consisted of all non-noble citizens, but not every non-noble was a citizen. For general discussion of social categories in Orvieto, see D. Waley, Medieval Orvieto..., pp. 37-39, and E. Carpentier, Orvieto à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: ville et Campagne dans le Cadastre de 1292, Paris (CNRS), 1986, pp. 225-231.
2. Carpentier, op. cit., p. 225.
3. In the case of the Bulgarelli, to 1115.
4. The figure is considerable larger if sons of '*domini*' are included.
5. Simone Raynerii Guidonis, S. Giovanni region, [1292 Catasto, vol. 1, ff. 92v-98v]
6. e.g. Ugolino Lupicini, see Carpentier, Orvieto à la fin..., p. 226.



7. John Larner, Italy in the Age of Dante and Petrarch, 1216 - 1380, (Longman History of Italy, vol. 2), London, 1980, p. 83.
8. *ibid.*, p. 113.
9. D. Waley, Medieval Orvieto..., p. 38.
10. *ibid.*, p. xxiv.
11. Luca di Domenico Manente (ann. 1268), in Eph. Urb., p. 311.
12. *ibid.* (ann. 1290), pp. 322-4. Matteo Toncelle had been *Capitano del Popolo* in 1268; [D. Waley, Who was Who in Orvieto (manuscript notebook on loan from author).], and his notorious brother Domenico had been at various times Chamberlain of the Commune, Rector of the *Popolo* and Prior of the *Arti*:  
     1235: *Consigliere*, formerly *camerlengho* [C.D., p. 143]  
     1244: one of five '*rectores populi*' [D. Waley, Who was who...]  
     1255/6: *Priore delle Arti e delle Società* [C.D., pp. 206 & 209]  
 He was murdered the following year (1257) in *Piazza S. Andrea*, eleven years before his father, son and widow were denounced as heretics [Lib. Inq., f. 9<sup>1</sup>].
13. Rif., vol. 81, 1314 - 31 (Libro Rosso), f. LXXIIIIv, 8 February 1322.
14. Carpentier [Orvieto à la fin..., p. 227] suggests that it was precisely because of their ghibelline or heretical affiliation that certain families, such as the Provenzani-Amidei, Miscinelli, della Terza and Tosti, "*qui faisaient certainement parti de la noblesse*", were denied the title '*dominus*'. There may be some truth in this, but it is not the whole story.
15. Not, however, from the most ancient, hereditary nobility. There are no '*comites*' or '*militēs*' in the Lib. Inq., and the Monaldeschi family was only ennobled around the turn of the 12th/13th centuries.
16. Lib. Inq., ff. 4<sup>2</sup> & 27<sup>2</sup>.
17. A. di S., Rif., vol. 81, 1314-31 (Libro Rosso), f. LXXIIIIv., -8 February 1322.
18. E. Carpentier, Orvieto à la fin..., p. 268 (from 1292 Catasto, vol. 1, f. 393v).
19. 1292 Catasto, vol. 1, f. 452r.
20. '*terreni stimati*', which excluded 'moveable property', such as houses and mills.
21. 1292 Catasto, vol. 1, f. 387r.
22. for example, the disparity between his and his brother's wealth could be seen as a consequence of his heretical past.
23. G. Pardi, "Il Catasto d'Orvieto dell'anno 1292", in B.R.D.S.P.U., vol. 2, 1896, p. 233.
24. Pardi (*ibid.*, p. 245) wrongly gives the total as 205.
25. Only six of the other Orvietan men still alive when their cases were heard in 1268/9 had not received heretics in their homes. They were: Oddo Caçalatro (f. 15<sup>2</sup>); Cambius & Petrus Ricci Miscinelli (ff. 21<sup>1</sup>f & 29<sup>2</sup>); Blancus Pelliparius (f. 24<sup>2</sup>); Accommanus Prefecti (f. 30<sup>1</sup>); and Locthus Guillelmi Surdi (f. 32<sup>2</sup>).
26. Viterbo fragment 2. "...dixit quod circa .xii. annos receptavit in dicta sua domo Andrean Castellane et Bonamicum patarenos... et dixit interrogatus quod tunc venit ad eosdem hereticos duabus vicibus Monalducus Raynerius Stephani, et fuit eis amicabiliter locutus, et audivit inibi una cum eodem teste predicationes dictorum hereticorum...".
27. an entry added later in the margin reads, "*satisfactum est comuni*".

28. *"Reservata Ecclesie Romane, nobis et aliis Inquisitoribus successoribus nostris, aliter procedendi contra eum et bona sua, et penas alias, ac penitentias imponendi, plenaria potestate, pro ut exigerit humilitas vel procervitas delinquentis."*
29. 16 June 1201. Letter of Innocent III to the clergy, consuls and people of Viterbo. *De persecutione et poena hereticorum*. In J.P. Migne, *Patrologie Coursus Completus*, Series Latina, vol. 214, 1855, p. 539.
30. E. Carpentier, *Orvieto à la fin...*, p. 268 & 1292 *Catasto*, vol. 1, ff. 393v. & 452r, cf. discussion above.
31. It is for this reason that Carpentier [*Orvieto à la fin...*, p. 225] leaves women out of her discussion altogether.
32. Lib. Inq., f. 25<sup>v</sup>. *"domina Verderosa uxor olim Guidetti olim domini Guidonis de Gradul."*
33. Lib. Inq., f. 19<sup>v</sup>.
34. in Eph. Urb., pp. 322 - 4.
35. Lib. Inq., f. 23<sup>v</sup>. Also indirect reference, f. 21<sup>v</sup>.
36. The exact nature of this office is unclear. In May 1266, Amideo was named as one of seven rectors [A. di S., Fond. Giud., *Busta 1*, Fasc. 1, f.1.], but by the end of June he was one of a group of five [Rif., 29 June 1266. In C.D., p. 252, doc. CCCV1]. These rectors were probably independent of the *Popolo*, as the office of rector of the *Popolo* (of whom there were, in any case, no more than four) had fallen into abeyance around 1251. Also, the *Popolo* as a whole was particularly weak during this period of Angevin dominance. "The Seven" (the Seven Consuls of the Seven Arts) did not come into existence until c. 1292. [D. Waley, , *Medieval Orvieto...*, pp. 40-41; p. 53 & p. 81.]
37. 30 June 1243. *ibid.*, p. 171, doc. CCLVIII. The office of Chamberlain was not an exclusively noble appointment. Provençano Lupicini was *Capitano del Popolo* (1247/8) between two terms of office as Chamberlain (1239 & 1240). Similarly, Domenico Toncelle, who had been Chamberlain in 1235, was Prior of the *Arti* in 1255/6.
38. Lib. Inq., f. 34<sup>v</sup>. The manuscript is scarcely legible at this point, though, if anything, the word looks more like 'faber' than 'Fabri'. The marginal entry is of no assistance, as the whole name is in the genitive: *sententia Rainerii Stephani Fabri.*
39. see D. Waley, *Medieval Orvieto...*, pp. 38 - 39.
40. Rif., vol. 81, 1314-31 (*Libro Rosso*), f. LXXIIIIv, 8 February 1322.
41. possibly also the sons of Petrus 'Pecore'.
42. Arch. Duomo, *Pergameni* 60a), 31 October 1296.
43. 20 of the 29 women charged directly with heresy. This total includes those who are named as 'domina' at least once in the main text of their sentence, but excludes those who are assigned the title only in the marginal summary.
44. The proportions are very similar to those found by Mme. Carpentier [*Orvieto à la fin...*, p. 22] in the 1292 *Catasto*. 80 out of 118 women in the city [70%] were described as 'domina'. For the city and *contado* combined, the proportion falls to 51% (142 out of 274).
45. The two exceptions are Matthea, widow of Nicola Melani (f. 23<sup>v</sup>) & Albasia, widow of Petrus Frascambocca (f. 8<sup>v</sup>). See Table 2a).
46. Unmarried women need not, of course, have been young girls. The two referred to here may indeed have been older spinsters, as their fathers were both dead. The two 'ladies' in question are *domina* Ymilga, daughter of the late Ardiccione of Orvieto (f. 26<sup>v</sup>).



(f. 26<sup>2</sup>), and *domina* Ildribandesca, daughter of the late Iacobo Filippi (f. 22<sup>2</sup>). The only evidence of their single status is the fact that they are identified by their father's, rather than their husband's name.

47. Albasia, daughter of Martino Guidutii, might have been an exception [her father is also described by the Inquisitors in particularly virulent terms - Lib. Inq., f. 20<sup>1</sup>], were it not for the fact that her mother and sister are both addressed as '*domina*'.

48. *domina* Adilascia's husband, Barthus Petri Saraceni, & *domina* Vianese's husband, Iohannes Claruvisu, were both citizens. On citizenship in general, see Table 3 and later discussion.

49. Most of the entries in Lib. Inq. have a short title in the margin, giving the name of the person sentenced, and in some cases a note of the outcome. The form of the person's name is not always the same in the margin as it is in the main text.

50. cf. Daniel Waley, The Italian City-Republics, London, 1978, p. 97.

51. Carpentier [Orvieto à la fin..., p. 225] seems to assume that the female title is used too frequently to be of any significance.

52. Lib. Inq., f. 16<sup>1</sup>. The distinction is not maintained in the marginal summary, where all three women are described as '*domina*'.

53. D. Waley, Medieval Orvieto..., pp. 40ff.

54. D. Waley, Who was who in Medieval Orvieto (manuscript notebook). The first identification is a tentative one; the third based on Eph. Urb., pp. 128-9; 145; 154.

55. C.D., p. 175, doc. CCLXVII, 28 February 1247.

56. Lib. Inq., f. 20<sup>1</sup> & f. 19<sup>2</sup>.

57. Rainerius Stradigocti Ricci de Tostis. *ibid.*, f. 2.

58. witnesses, 31 May & 1 June 1262. C.D., pp. 233 & 234; docs. CCCLXVII & CCCLXXVIII.

59. Only women were excluded from this condition, which was also, naturally enough, omitted from the posthumous convictions. If Manente is right [Eph. Urb., *ad. an.*] that heretical families in 1200 were banned from public office-holding for 100 years, the ban cannot have been effectively enforced.

60. C.D., pp. 143, 206 & 209. Eph. Urb., pp. 128-9, 145 & 154.

61. Eph. Urb., p. 150. C.D., pp. 161-6 (1239) & p. 182 (1249).

62. Sentences of May 1266. A. di S., Fond. Giud., Busta 1, Fasc. 1, f. 1. Peace negotiations of 29 June 1266, in C.D., p. 252, doc. CCCVI.

63. But not only theirs. For example, Iohannes Carabone and Iulanius Blasii, neither of whom was a '*civis*' according to the Inquisition records, appear as witnesses in 1219 and 1233/39 respectively. [C.D., *ad. an.*].

64. For this, and what follows, see D. Waley, The Italian City-Republics, London, 1978, pp. 51 - 54. In relation to Orvieto, see E. Carpentier, Orvieto à la fin..., pp. 47 - 48.

65. C.D., p. 246, doc. CCCXV, February 1265. Discussed in E. Carpentier, Orvieto à la fin..., p. 48.

66. Despite the similarity in their names, this was not the man convicted of heresy [Lib. Inq., ff. 4<sup>2</sup> & 27<sup>2</sup>]. This man was d. Rainerius d. Munaldi d. Rainerii d. Ildribanini, whereas the fourth name of the heretic was Stephani. This illustrates yet again the difficulties involved in making positive identification of individuals.

67. D. Waley, The Italian City-Republics, p. 53.
68. In 1292, there were 58 *habitatores* out of a total of 2,816 landowners [c. 2%]. Others who had originally come from other towns were now accepted as Orvietans, while a higher proportion still were descendants of *contadini*, or had recently moved into town from the country, cf. Carpentier, Orvieto à la fin..., pp. 236 - 7.
69. In C.D., pp. 733 ff, cf. Carpentier, op. cit., p. 48.
70. On the same principle, it can probably also be assumed that the designation '*de Urbeveteri*' did *not* relate to citizenship, as *domino* Rainerio Monaldeschi was one of the six people described in this way. The total number of citizens would be 19 if Domenico Iampulcini's wife, Amata, was in fact a citizen in her own right. The wording of the entry in Lib. Inq. would seem to suggest this, but it could certainly have been no more than an honorific title as a woman would not have been eligible for public office.
71. see Table 4. For the list of 25 *Arti*, c. 1300, see D. Waley, Medieval Orvieto, p. 158 [from G. Pardi, Comune e Signoria, pp. 18 - 19.]
72. Discussed more fully below. See also Table 4.
73. It is a little strange that neither of his brothers, Petruccio [f. 29<sup>2</sup>] or Miscinello [f. 11] was a citizen.
74. His sister Mathea was married to Cambio's brother Miscinello, Lib. Inq., f. 10<sup>1</sup>.
75. Ugolino dei Lupicini. The Will has been published by Lucio Riccetti in B.I.S.A.O., vol. XXXVIII (1982), Orvieto, 1985, pp. 9-56.
76. *ibid.* There are two entries under the name of Matheus (Petri Bonansegne), and one for Mathiutius Nini.
77. D. Waley, The Italian City-Republics, p. 51.
78. *ibid.*, p. 53.
79. D. Waley, Medieval Orvieto, p. 40.
80. e.g. Tosti, Blasii, Frascambocca, Amodei and Toncelle, [A. di S., Fond. Giud., Busta 2, Fasc. 10, ff. 3r - 5v (duplicated ff. 6r - 7v), 31 May - 25 June 1298]. It is a measure of the continuing confusion concerning noble and popular status that several of the same names appear on a cavalry muster three years earlier [*ibid.*, Fasc. 9, ff. xxviii, - xxxii, 23 Feb. 1295]. Council membership was the prerogative of the *popolani*, whereas cavalry service was traditionally, though not exclusively associated with the nobility [see D. Waley, The Italian City-Republics, p. 96].
81. Lib. Inq., f. 16<sup>2</sup>. In this respect he may have been following in his father's footsteps, if his father was the 'Guido Becci' named as syndic of the commune in a document of 1251 [C.D., p. 187, doc. CCLXXXVII, 21 January 1251].
82. Trumpeters were among the 860 civic posts held by Sienese citizens in 1257. [Waley, The Italian City-Republics, p. 53.]
83. This is one of only a handful of cases in which the witness has given the Inquisitors a detailed account of the 'heretical errors' by which he had been deceived. This does not necessarily mean that these people had greater theological awareness than the others, however. They may simply have been more concerned to impress the Inquisitors with their sincerity.
84. A. di S., Fond. Giud., Busta 1: Fasc. 3, f. 7r (1272); Fasc. 13, f. 1r (1285); Fasc. 16, f. 1r (1285); Reg. 1287-9, f. 64v (1287); Busta 2: Fasc. 4, f. 8v (1291).
85. in Fumi, C.D., p. 776, Carta del Popolo, §LIII.



86. Their number is not specified. There must have been at least three town trumpeters in 1268, because two of Pietro's colleagues, Rasclia and Orbetano, turned up to hear his sentence pronounced on 20 June, but '*buccinator*' was almost certainly a less senior position than '*preconis*' or '*exbannitor*'.
87. "... *habere debeant quinqueginto libr, pro quolibet et unum par pannorum pretii xxv libr, cum omnibus fornimentis.*"
88. see Table 10. The *Catasto* lists only one '*banditor*' - Iacobellus Angelicti, of S. Biagio region, who owned one piece of land, valued at 10 *Lire*. [Carpentier, *Orvieto à la fin...* pp. 134 & 136, Tables VII & VIII.].
89. Someone has added in the margin, "*Satisfactum est comuni*".
90. Both Fumi [C.D., p. 280, doc. CCCXXXIX] and Riccetti [*Chiese e Conventi*, 3,27, p. 93] say that he was present, but the original text is quite clear: "...*absentibus prefatis mulieribus et dicto Petrutio, citatis tamen peremptorem ad sententiam audiendam per Jannutium Nuntium dictorum Inquisitorum et inquisitionis*"
91. One of the six people accused of this offence, Rainuccetus Christofori, was specifically said to have been a child at the time.

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#### b) Trades and Professions

1. The title '*magister*' is never used in Lib. Inq., and yet most of the citizens and artisans would probably, in other circumstances, have been given this designation. It was used 101 times in the 1292 *Catasto*, of people who tended to have lower than average property valuations [see Carpentier, *Orvieto à la fin...*, p. 227].
2. 18 April 1247. He and two other Merchants' Consuls receive, from the present chamberlain, Guido, repayment of a loan of 70 *Lire* made to a previous podestà, Andrea, and his chamberlain, Rainerio Adilascie. (C.D., p. 176, doc. CCLXXI.)
3. Lib. Inq., f. 27'. Even if he was not a consul, Ingilbertus belonged to one of the most prestigious guilds. The art of *mercatores* was listed in second place in the *Carta del Popolo*, and comprised men whose work went beyond the bounds of simple commerce: "*l'art des grand marchands, dont les activités, non seulement commerciales, mais bancaires et artisanales, devraient dépasser le cadre de la ville*" [Carpentier, *Orvieto à la fin...*, pp. 228 - 9].
4. Above *magister* and *compagnus*, see E. Carpentier, *Une ville devant la Peste: Orvieto et la Peste Noire de 1348*, Paris, 1962, p. 54.
5. The version of 1323, published by L. Fumi in C.D., pp. 733ff. 5LXVI, *Quod nullus nobilis eligatur nec esse possit Consul alicuius artis.*
6. Only two *mercatores* are listed in the 1292 *Catasto*, and Carpentier [*Orvieto à la fin...*, p. 230] suggests that this may be because much of the town's commercial activity was conducted by members of noble families, such as the Monaldeschi, who could not belong to a guild.
7. Cambio Ricci Miscinelli, Lib. Inq., f. 21'.
8. M. D. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy...*, p. 117.
9. Lib. Inq., f. 20'. "...*Lucam de Castellonclo et Nicolam de Casalveri hereticos consolatos in domo propria receptavit quorum predicationes audivit inibi et in exercitu Urbevetano supra Tudertum ultima vice facta contra fidem catholicam et ecclesiastica sacramenta...*"
10. According to Carpentier (*Une Ville...*, p. 54), the textile trade was the only commercial activity in Orvieto which could conceivably justify the title 'industry', although it was on a much smaller scale than, e.g., in Florence, Milan or Venice.

11. Carpentier, Une Ville..., p. 54. Her discussion is based mainly on the *Colletta* of 1334, but the basic framework of the industry would have been established well before this date.
12. *ibid.*, p. 62.
13. R.I. Moore, The Origins of European Dissent, 2nd. edn, Oxford, 1985, pp. 194-5.
14. Lib. Inq., f. 15'.
15. E. Carpentier [Orvieto à la fin..., p. 230] again offers this as an explanation for the fact that only one *lanaiolus*, with very modest land-holdings, is listed in the 1292 *Catasto*.
16. 11 trade corporations were included in the 25 Arts: wool manufacturers; shoemakers; smiths; tanners; tailors; masons; carpenter; plasterers; manufacturers of quicklime; potters; tile-makers; manufacturers of millstones. E. Carpentier, Une Ville..., p. 54. cf. D. Waley, Medieval Orvieto, p. 158.
17. also spelt 'Dellaltre' or 'Domedellaltre' [Lib. Inq., f. 16']. She was the wife of Egidio Seccadinarii, who was Symeon's uncle (or grandfather).
18. Eleven *pelliparii* were listed in the 1292 *Catasto*, with an average of four pieces of land each, at an average valuation of 212 *Lire* (Carpentier, Orvieto à la fin..., p. 135, Table VII).
19. Lib. Inq., f. 24<sup>2</sup>.
20. "*unum piscem sapillitum*". This could be a specific type of fish, or the word might be derived from *salitum* ('salted') or *saporatum* ('seasoned/flavoured').
21. Lib. Inq., f. 28. His testimony includes a detailed statement of Cathar beliefs; possibly the recitation of a formal creed.
22. W. Cherubini, "Movimenti Patarinici...", pp. 34-35. L. Fumi, "I Paterini...", pp. 67ff.
23. "*Sententia Stradigotti Pelliparii Senensis et publicationis bonorum eis. Satisfactum*," The marginal addition cannot have been too much later than the main text, since its purpose was to record the fact that the terms of the sentence had been met. There is other evidence to suggest that the sentences were fairly speedily implemented, and the information would in any case have lost its relevance after more than a few years.
24. Lib. Inq., f. 23'. His first name is spelt in a variety of ways: Gecçius; Geptius; Geçius; Getius.
25. It is assumed here, and will be assumed throughout, that the word '*nepos*' could as easily mean 'grandson' as 'nephew'. The term could even be used of more distant relationships, such as 'cousin'.
26. Lib. Inq., ff. 24' & 24<sup>2</sup>.
27. Viterbo fragment 2. "... *conduxit dictum Benecasam Trencaloliu et eius sotium patarenos a domo Stradigotti Pelliparii usque ad Gradulem*."
28. Lib. Inq., f. 9'.
29. Mariano d'ALATRI ["Orvieto: il crollo del catarismo...", p. 73] suggests that Amato of Siena was given the disproportionately harsh sentence of imprisonment because the guelf commune was unhappy about his association with a ghibelline, i.e. Stradigotto Tosti. This man's sentence is recorded in Lib. Inq., f. 3'. He is also mentioned in the 1249 Process, by Fra Roggero, O.P.
30. Lib. Don., 1 July 1253. (summary in C.D., p. 288fn. The original document has not been consulted.)



31. Lib. Inq., f. 28. "...Iacobo patareno ad se venienti hospitium procuravit... fecit dictum hereticum conduci usque ad Colleserenum, et quandam pecuniam quantitatem transmisit cuidam olim heretice ut recederat de Civitate Urbevetana, ne credentes hereticorum et malitie sue complices incusaret."
32. Lib. Don., f. 88v, 31 January 1265; f. 90r, 11 February 1270.
33. Lib. Inq., f. 34<sup>2</sup>.
34. Lib. Don., f. 88v, 31 January 1265.
35. The notary is, in fact, named as Andriotto Boniohannis, who was present at four of the sixteen days' proceedings in 1268/9, including the day on which *domina* Bellapratu and *domina* Grana were sentenced.
36. In 1265, Bellapratu was described as '*uxor quondam Viscardii Pelliparii*'.
37. In the sentences of 1268/9, the destruction of houses seems to have been related to this particular offence, though this was not true at an earlier period, for example when the Lenten rioters were punished by having their houses destroyed.
38. This is not explicitly stated, but is the most likely explanation for the fact that the house is no longer there: "... *casalinum super quo edificata fuit olim domus...*"
39. There are two parallel instances in Lib. Inq., where the Inquisitors undertake to provide for the daughters of Albasia and Martino Guidutii (f. 12') and for the niece of Provençano Lupicini (f. 13).
40. "... *quoddam casalinum super quo edificata fuit olim domus dicti Viscardi...*".
41. "*Bona... ipsarum omnia, mobilia et immobilia, dotes iura et actiones ubicumque sunt seu reperta fuerint...*".
42. This clause usually referred to all contracts made "at the time the offences were committed", so this deed would be excluded only in the very unlikely event of Bellapratu's involvement in heresy having begun after 1265.
43. Lib. Don., f. 90r.
44. Lib. Inq., f. 6<sup>2</sup>.
45. After intensive interrogation (*propter varias et prudentes interrogationes*), he confessed that he had been a believer for three years, and had been receiving heretics in his home for around twenty years.
46. Filippo had been present at an unspecified number of "*consolationibus quin potius desolationibus... hereticorum*", and his house is described as the place "*ubi manos impositio facta fuit hereticorum*".
47. The location of the house is confirmed in both sources; Lib. Inq., f. 6<sup>2</sup> & Lib. Don., f. 90r.
48. *domina* Grana '*uxor Frederici*' (Lib. Inq., f. 34<sup>2</sup>). There is no reason to believe that her husband was anyone other than Frederico pelliparius.
49. Lib. Inq., f. 9'.
50. Lib. Inq., f. 24<sup>3</sup>.
51. This seems likely from the fact that Verdenovella is described as '*uxor...*', and not '*uxor olim...*'. He was certainly alive at the time of Dyambre's consolation, which Verdenovella claimed was performed '*sub solario domus viri sui*'.
52. Lib. Inq., f. 10<sup>2</sup>.
53. Lib. Inq., f. 31.

54. A, di S., Fond, Giud., Busta 2, Fasc. 9, f. 30v.
55. *ibid.*, Busta 1, Fasc. 12, ff. 3v - 7v.
56. In this case, the 'tutors' were Ugolinus *quondam* Johannis Rubei, and the boy's mother, *domina* Adelaxia.
57. 25 June 1235, 'In C.D., p. 147, doc. CCXVIII.
58. A similar case is that of Oddo *Caçalatro* [Lib. Inq., f. 15<sup>2</sup>], but although his name probably does mean 'thief-catcher', this is more likely to be a nickname, or a reference to some isolated incident in the family history than a genuine description of this man's occupation. Neri di Turri is described as '*miles urbevitanus*', but it was his father-in-law, not Neri himself, who had been guilty of heresy.
59. Lib. Inq., f. 17<sup>2</sup>.
60. Lib. Inq., f. 27<sup>3</sup>. This trade could be seen as another offshoot of the woollen industry, particularly close to the *pelliparii*.
61. All that is legible of the notary's name is "... *de Tuscan*.", but there was one *magistro* Lituardo de Tuscania among the notaries of the Inquisition who witnessed some of the other cases. With the exception of the two entries for 14 May 1268 (ff. 1 & 2), which were recorded by Uguiccio *quondam* Matthei, all the rest are in the hand of Orbetanus Nicole.
62. Lib. Inq., f. 30<sup>2</sup>.
63. This is suggested by one clause in particular: '*...Riccam patarenam in domo propria receptaverit...*'.
64. in ed. Langlois, Régistres de Boniface VIII, Paris, 1904, doc. 2740.
65. "*confessus fuerit quod in crimine hereseos in adulta etate deliquerat...*"
66. Fra Ado must have held office more than once. He is mentioned at this point, between Fra Leonardo and Fra Angelo *de Colleveteri*, but his is also the Inquisitor to whom the 1298 Bull is addressed.
67. "...*eo tempore quo inter Romanam Ecclesiam et comune Urbevitanum occasione terre Vallislacus vigeat discordia...*"
68. D. Waley, Medieval Orvieto, p. 35.
69. *ibid.*, pp. 62 - 67.
70. see M. D. Lambert, Medieval heresy..., p. 118, who cites Violante & Borst.
71. Viterbo fragments 1 & 2.
72. Lib. Inq., ff. 16<sup>1</sup> and 26<sup>1</sup>.
73. 30 March 1223, A, di S., Orvieto, Fond. Dipl., Cod. Tit. A (matric. 865), f. 37.
74. 21 January 1251. He was a witness when Guido Becci, syndic of the commune, was nominated to collect the sum of 400 *Lire* from Sig. Manfredo (C.D., p. 187, doc. CCLXXXVII). 'Benvenuto Peponis' was also witness to a settlement between Orvieto and Bagnorea on 30 March 1250, but his profession is not mentioned in this case (C.D., pp. 184-5, doc. CCLXXXII).
75. E. Carpentier, Une Ville..., p. 70.
76. "...*extitit manifeste confessa quod iam sunt xviii vel xvi anni quod ipsa vidit Iosep de Viterbio et eius sotium patarenos in domo dicti sui viri, quos idem vir eius Receptavit,*"



77. It is just possible that one of the male *perfecti*, Benencasa Sclavelle (or Scravelle or Scronella) may also have been a servant. The first spelling of his name is the one which suggests this most strongly.
78. Viterbo fragment 1. The relevant portion is barely legible: "... *stetit postea in dicta domo de conscentiam ipsius Massei per .l.iii. dies et (... Guidoctutio fratre dicti Massei et dixit quod Francesca famula ipsius Massei per (...)) et alia necessaria,*"
79. Lib. Inq., f. 24<sup>3</sup>, Mariano d'Alatri, "Orvieto: il crollo...", p. 73.
80. *Domina Verdenovella* confessed, "*quod ad petitionem et preces Dyambre olim familie sue fecit venire duos patarenos ad domum suam per consolatione dicte Dyambre tunc infirme qui heretici consolaverunt eam sub solario domus viri sui iuxta pravam hereticorum consuetudinem detestandam...*".
81. "... *dixit tamen quod nullo tempore fuit credens hereticorum erroribus, nec Reverentiam fecit alicui patareno, nec aliter participavit cum aliquo heretico scienter...*"
82. ed. V. Natalini, S. Pietro Parenzo: la leggenda scritta dal M. Giovanni, canonico di Orvieto, Roma, 1936, pp. 175-6 (c.1199).
83. Lib. Inq., f. 32<sup>1</sup>. Published by P. Mariano d'Alatri in "'*Ordo Penitentium*' ed Eresia in Italia", Collectanea Franciscana, 1973, vol. XLIII, pp. 196-7, doc. 6j).
84. d'Alatri, art. cit. Also discussed in less detail in his earlier article, "Orvieto: il crollo del Catarismo nell'Italia Centrale", in L'Inquisizione Francescana nell'Italia centrale nel sec. XIII, Roma, 1954, pp. 64-78.
85. Fra Benvenuto was acting alone on this occasion; 22 January, 1269, the last day of sentencing in Orvieto.
86. D'Alatri ["'Ordo Penitentium...'..."] reads the word as '*insania*' (<sup>insens</sup> ill-health), but it could also be read as '*infamia*', which might fit better with the verb '*derogare*', meaning to slander or speak ill of.
87. According to d'Alatri, Fra Benvenuto inveighed against Domenico "with particular vehemence", but strong language was used in other sentences too.
88. For example, Stradigotto of Siena [f.28] had been sentenced by Fra Giordano to the wearing of crosses and "*pluribus aliis penis*", while the four men from Castellonclo [f.17<sup>2</sup>] had been "*corretti*" and "*puniti*".
89. Lib. Inq., ff. 21<sup>1</sup>, 29<sup>2</sup> & 32<sup>2</sup>.
90. Cambio was judged "*credens, fautor et benefactor*", while Petruccio and Lotho (who claimed that he had only been a believer for two years) were both "*credens, fautor et complex*". The one element which does not fit with this theory is the fact that Petruccio seems to have been involved in a plot to murder the Inquisitors ("*cum nonnullis credentibus hereticorum complicibus suis nequie operariis, datus in reprobum sensum contra nos et ordinem nostrum, machinantes perfidas machinaverit, mortem nostram cominando amaram,*"), a very serious charge.
91. In view of this, it is perhaps surprising that Domenico was the only one of the four to obey the Inquisitors' summons to be present for the public proclamation of their sentences. Their absence may have been due to something as simple as fear of mob violence.
92. "...*ex propria confessione...* coram nobis sponse facta ab eodem..."
93. "*Post hac autem, ad cor reddiens, extitit manifeste confessus quod...*"
94. "... *a fratre Bartholomeo coinquisitore nostro a vinculo excommunicationis quam occasione/*

*occasione premissorum incurrerat, extitit absolutus sibi imponendi et iniungendi penitentiam salutarem reservata plenarie potestate...*"

95. Lib. Inq., f. 11. He had received numerous heretics in his home, and allowed his wife to receive the '*consolamentum*' there. He denied all the charges at first, and then, under duress, made what the Inquisitors claimed was a false confession, which was never amended. Unlike his brothers, he was excommunicated and denied the right to Christian burial, and his house was ordered to be destroyed.

96. Lib. Inq., f. 30<sup>2</sup>. Also in the canonisation process for B. Ambrogio di Massa, May 1270; original in the *Archivio di Stato*, Orvieto; published in *Acta Sanctorum*, November 1V, pp. 566-608.

97. in V. Natalini, *S. Pietro Parenzo: la leggenda...*, 53.

98. There are a few other names which sound as though they might refer to trades, but whose meaning is obscure, see Table 5.

99. The wording varies slightly in each case, but it is usually to the effect that the person must stop lending money at interest, and must repay any money thus 'extorted' within the space of a year. Those who have borrowed money from him are released from their obligation to pay.

100. see, for example, M.D. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, p. 113.

101. R.W. Emery, in a private letter to M.D. Lambert, discussing A. Borst's treatment of the subject. (cited in *Medieval Heresy*, p. 113fn.)

102. Lib. Inq., ff. 11; 21<sup>1</sup>; 29<sup>2</sup>.

103. '*quietanza di denaro*', A. di S., Siena, *Calef. Vecchio*, c. 348, 11 October 1257. In C.D., pp. 217-8, doc. CCCXLIV.

104. "Cathars sometimes did retain wealth even as perfect, but they found few adherents amongst the leading businessmen of their time, and in Languedoc they were not active in the biggest commercial centres." (M.D. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy...*, p. 113)

105. Although 'Johanuzzi' is given as Masseo's\* surname, the two are in fact described as nephews (or grandsons) of Giovanuzzo of Siena. [\*Fumi has 'Maffeo']

106. When Masseo and Paganello took out their original loan, they were acting "*per se, per loro eredi, per la loro società, e per... Guido, come loro mallevadore...*"

107. 'Septembene' is also a common Orvietan name, but there is nothing to say whether Pietro Septembrini was from Orvieto or Siena.

108. Licensed usurers were generally permitted to exact 30% interest on loans granted under full security, and 40% against a public instrument, as in the case of the original loan here. There were no such controls on the activities of unlicensed money-lenders. [John Larner, *Italy in the Age of Dante and Petrarch, 1216 - 1380*, London, 1983, p. 207.]

109. It should be noted, however, that Petruccio still had a considerable fortune when property was assessed in the *Catasto* of 1292 - see Table 10.

110. Lib. Inq., f. 16<sup>2</sup>. "*Conduxit Benvenutum Zachai et eius socium patarenos ad plura loca, Nec non Benvenutam hereticam apud Castrum Gradulensem et Receptavit pretium pro conductionibus supradictis.*"

111. Lib. Inq., f. 23<sup>1</sup>. "... *eosdem conduxerit ad diversa loca...*"

112. E. Carpentier [*Une Ville...*, p. 60 + *Pièce justificative n° XLV*] cites an entry in the *Riformanze* of 1349, which links usurers and merchants quite explicitly: "... *nullus campsor vel de arte mercatorum aut persona que moretur cum ipsis ad ipsam artem*"



*artem exercendum...* It should be noted, however, that neither of the two heretics known to have been merchants, Ingilberto and Martinus Martini Guidutii, was forbidden by the Inquisitors to practise usury.

113. Lib. Inq., f. 9<sup>1</sup>.

114. Lib. Inq., f. 18. Also d'Alatri, Orvieto: Il Crollo..., p. 72 n.35.

115. For this, and what follows, see J Larner, op. cit., pp. 206 - 7. Also J.H. Mundy, Europe in the High Middle Ages (esp. pp. 174-89, "The Church and Usury" and pp. 544ff., "Heresy and Usury"). For the Orvietan situation, E. Carpentier, Une Ville..., pp. 59 - 61. Also d'Alatri, Orvieto: Il Crollo..., p. 72 n.35.

116. Cod. V.E. 528, f. 5v.

117. E. Carpentier, Une Ville..., p. 61.

118. Usurers and pawnbrokers were given an outstandingly unfavourable assessment in the *Collecta* of 1334. The 'judge' of the Collect was empowered to impose anything from 10 to 100 *Lire* on each individual money-lender. As Carpentier points out (Une Ville..., p. 61), a usurer was thus being taxed on his own account at the same level as an entire corporation.

119. From the 12th century, according to Carpentier [op. cit., p. 60].

120. C.D., pp. 418 - 9. Summary in E. Carpentier, Une Ville..., p. 61.

121. 18 April 1247. C.D., p. 176, doc. CCLXXI.

122. Petrus Rainerii Adilascie [Lib. Inq., f. 19<sup>2</sup>]. The chamberlain who accepted the original loan on behalf of the commune, when Andrea was podestà, was called Rainerius Adilascie.

123. "Orvieto: Il Crollo...".

124. H C Lea, A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages, vol. 1, pp. 358 - 9 & p. 400.

125. cited in H C Lea, op. cit., vol. 11, 1887, p. 250.

126. There is a similar Orvietan example, although usury as such is not mentioned. In 1239, certain noblemen from the *contado* were obliged to promise that they would not give shelter to heretics ("patarenes or believers"), and forgers ("makers of false money"). [A. di S., Cod. Tit. A, f. 74v.]. Here again, religious deviance was associated with financial malpractice.

127. This was the share permitted by ecclesiastical legislation for the Papal States (elsewhere the State received one third and the Church two thirds). Usually, all that is recorded in Lib. Inq., is whether the money from the sale of confiscated property was ever received, but in two cases (ff. 8<sup>2</sup> & 10<sup>2</sup>), the marginal summary reads: "*satisfactum est comuni de duabus partibus*".

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### c) Wealth of Orvietan heretics

1. Lib. Inq., f. 10<sup>2</sup>.

2. Petrus Bonamsegne, Miscinellus Ricci Miscinelli & Oddo Caçalatro (Lib. Inq., ff. 6<sup>1</sup>, 11 & 15)

3. In seven cases, there is a marginal note to the effect that the Commune had received its share of the property or the fine; two have the symbol 'j' and the remaining three have nothing in the margin.

4. (a) Raynerius Bartholomei Raynutii de Tostis (Lib. Inq., f. 5') had been fined 1,500 *Lire* by Fra Giordano; (b) Bartholomeus Ranuctii Tosti, who had been fined 1,000 *Lire* after the attack on Fra Roggero (1249 Process), appears again in Lib. Inq. (f. 18). There are at least two other possible cases; (i) Christoforo Tosti (Lib. Inq., ff. 1 & 8) was almost certainly fined along with the others in 1240 (1249 Process), though he is not specifically named at that point; (ii) The Stradigotto Tosti who appears in the 1249 Process may well be the same as Stradigotto Ricci de Tostis (Lib. Inq., f. 3').
5. Lib. Inq., f. 29<sup>2</sup>.
6. Bivienus Blasii was fined a further 2,000 *Lire* in 1249 (1249 Process). Rainerius Bartholomei Ranuctii 'de Tostis', probably the same man as Rainerius Bartholomei Ranuctii 'Magistri', was fined 1,500 *Lire* in 1263 (Lib. Inq., f. 5').
7. Lib. Inq., f. 23<sup>2</sup>.
8. Lib. Inq., f. 6'.
9. marginal note: *"satisfactum est de mille libris contingentibus comune Iacobo Bonjannis depositario comunis"*.
10. Lib. Inq., ff. 16<sup>2</sup> & 23'.
11. 30 March 1223. A. di S., Fond. Dip., Cod. Tit. A., f. 37.
12. Lib. Inq., ff. 23<sup>4</sup> & 10<sup>2</sup>.
13. *ibid.*, f. 15<sup>2</sup>.
14. *ibid.*, f. 32'.
15. Five of these [Bernardina (f. 24<sup>4</sup>; Verdefontana (f. 25<sup>2</sup>; Bonadimane (f. 30<sup>2</sup>); and Guglielmus & Iohannes Viviani Blasii (f. 33<sup>2</sup>)] are not actually named as 'receptatores', but it is clear from the account of their activities that they had in fact had heretics in their homes.
16. Viterbo fragments 1 & 2.
17. In Eph. Urb. Late 14th/early 15th C. Manente's '*Cronaca*' ends in 1413.
18. ed. V. Natalini, S. Pietro Parenzo: La Leggenda...
19. The impression is usually conveyed of missiles being hurled from the safety of such towers, but Waley [The Italian City-Republics..., pp. 100 - 1] points out that they were more often used for defence, if not for sheer ostentation.
20. Lib. Inq., f. 1.
21. Annales Urbevetani; B) Chronica Potestatum, \*\*\*1255 - 1322. In Eph. Urb., p. 157.
22. A. di S., Istrumentum IX [matric. 878], ff. 1 - 10. Adequately summarised by L. Fumi in C.D., pp. 324 ff (Doc. DXXIV & notes).
23. Lib. Inq., f. 5<sup>2</sup>.
24. Possibly also a third, as '*i figliuoli di Tosti*' are named as neighbours in another case.
25. Lib. Inq., f. 14.
26. Rannuccio Christofani's house is described as "*confinante... con Barto 'Francisci', ora del Comune...*".
27. Barto's 'heirs' also owned a field in the S. Christofano region in 1268 [Arch. Cap., Codice di S. Costanzo, f. 171r].



28. I have been unable to find the exact meaning of the word '*reitus*' or '*reitum*'. The closest possibility was '*reitas*', but the tentative suggestion in Du Cange, that this meant 'property' or 'ownership' [a piece of land held '*in Reitate*'], is of little assistance.

29. It is not entirely clear who this 'Ranuccio' was. It could have been Rainuccetus Christofori Tosti (Lib. Inq., f. 14), or the father of Rainerius Rainutii Tosti (ibid., f. 18), or another member of the clan not named in the Inquisition records. It is possible, too, that the property might have changed hands by sale or gift, and not as a result of confiscation, but it cannot have been the house sold by Rainuccio Christofani in 1281, since that would have been demolished to make way for the new *Piazza*. By far the strongest possibility is that it was acquired by the Augustinians soon after 1268 as a result of the Inquisition.

30. Arch. Cap., Codice di S. Costanzo, f. 267v., 19 December 1295.

31. Like the author of the Chronica Potestatum, Luca Manente picks out the condemnation of the Tosti as the salient feature of the Inquisition, but he wrongly identifies the Inquisitors as Dominicans, not Franciscans: "... detto anno fu condenata casa la Tosta de nobile sangui per heretica, in Orvieto, dalli patri predicatore et dato bando fuora de Orvieto et scarcati loro case dovi hoggi è la piazza de la fontana de la torre."

32. in Eph. Urb., p. 320.

33. Annales Urbevetani. B) Chronica Potestatum \*\*\*1255 - 1322, in Eph. Urb., p. 174: "Eodem anno (1303), propter quadam coadunantiam factam ad capiendum Balneoregium, devastata est pars turris Provenzani Lupicini..."

34. A. di S. Cod. Tit. A, f. 95f. 12 January 1249. Sentence of Fra Roggero, O.P.

35. "...condempnans eum in destructione omnium domorum suarum et Turris, sine spe rehedificationis, quia ibi receptati sunt heretici, et predictam turrim contra Potestatem et me Inquisitorem gratibus, lapidibus, custodibus munivit in iniuriam dei et Ecclesia ignominia et scandalum catholicorum et confusionem fidei Christiane," [1249 Process]

36. One further possible example is the case of *domina* Bellapratu and her son Frederico (discussed above), who seem to have had an alternative place to stay after the family home had been destroyed.

37. ibid., ff. 4<sup>2</sup> & 9<sup>2</sup>.

38. Lib. Inq., ff. 24<sup>1</sup> & 28.

39. ibid., f. 3<sup>2</sup>.

40. ibid., f. 33<sup>2</sup>. cf. f. 25<sup>2</sup> & 1249 Process. 80 of the landowners listed in the 1292 *Catasto* came from towns other than Orvieto. 26 of these are described as "*olim de...*". [Carpentier, Orvieto à la fin..., pp. 236 - 7]. From 1290 onwards, the proportion of 'foreigners' would have been increased by the number of craftsmen coming from other cities to work on the Cathedral.

41. Verdenovella & Vianese (Lib. Inq., ff. 24<sup>3</sup> & 31). There is also inconsistency in the case of Belverdes (ibid., f. 5<sup>2</sup>). The first reference is to a single house owned jointly by husband, wife and nephew/grandson. Later, when the demolition of their property is being ordered, there seems to be more than one house belonging only to the two men.

42. The same thing could also happen in reverse. The witness from Carnaiola, for example, admitted to receiving five named 'perfect', "by day and night", and then proceeded to implicate his wife, Aldruda, in such a specific way that it sounds authentic. She had been involved with only two of the five heretics: "...aliquando interfuit/

*interfuit domina Aldruda uxor dicti testis, et una cum eodem testis recepit dictos Iacobum Florentinum et Guidoctutium patarenos,...*

43. Lib. Inq., ff. 31, 26<sup>1</sup> & 24<sup>3</sup>.

44. *ibid.*, ff. 8<sup>2</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup> & 20<sup>1</sup>.

45. *ibid.*, f. 26<sup>3</sup>.

46. *ibid.*, f. 34<sup>2</sup>.

47. Lib. Don., f. 88v, 31 January 1266.

48. Lib. Inq., f. 21<sup>1</sup>.

49. Summary of the main Cathar rituals (based on Provençal sources) in W. L. Wakefield & A. P. Evans, Heresies of the High Middle Ages, N.Y. & London, 1969, pp. 465-8. More detailed account in C. Thouziellier, Rituel Cathare, Paris, 1977.

50. see, for example, J.F. Niermeier, Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus, Leiden, 1976.

51. In the two cases where the type of food is specified, these requirements would have been met. Pietro Guidi Becci brought "bread wine and fish" to the heretics in Castellonclo, and Bianco the skinner brought a "(?)seasoned fish" [see Table 8c]. Fish were exempted from the standard prohibition on food produced by coition, as they were thought to be a direct product of water itself. [M.D. Lambert, Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from Bogomil to Hus, London, 1977, p. 109; citing A. Borst, Die Katharer, Stuttgart, 1953, p. 184.]

52. "*munus*" = grace/ blessing/ gift/ favour/ benefice. "*munuscularius*" = person responsible for accepting gifts. [see R. E. Latham, Revised Medieval Latin Word-List, London, 1965; Lexicon Latinitatis Mediaevi (CORPUS CHRISTIANORUM), Turnholt, 1975].

53. Only two of them cannot be fitted into this pattern on the basis of available evidence are Benvenuta *de contrata Putei* (Lib. Inq., f. 23<sup>3</sup>) and *domina* Stephanía (*ibid.*, f. 21<sup>2</sup>).

54. Two of the five women [*domina* Mathea and *domina* Stephanía] were citizens' daughters; and the father of a third [*domina* Ymilga] is described as "*de Urbeveteri*". See Tables 2 & 3.

55. Lib. Inq., ff. 29<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup> & 28. Also discussion above.

56. *ibid.*, ff. 21<sup>1</sup> & 20<sup>1</sup>, and discussion above.

57. The same phrase ("*necessaria ministrare*") is used in Canon Giovanni's account of the cure of Pietro, brother of *presbiter* Lambertus de Plano [ed. Natalini, B. Pietro Parentii...]. It has nothing to do with Lamberto's heresy, but refers to his desire to provide for his handicapped brother and his wife and children.

58. Most of the Wills are in Lib. Don. & Arch. Not. Some are cited in C. & C.

59. Stradigottus Ricci de Tostis and Stradigottus *Senensis*, Lib. Inq., ff. 3<sup>1</sup> & 28.

60. a) Those who gave alms: 8 out of 15 [53%] were '*receptatores*'; 7 out of 10 [70% - men only] were '*cives*'. b) Those who gave "food, drink & necessities": 35 out of 38 [92%] were '*receptatores*'; 7 out of 28 (men only) were '*cives*'. c) Heretics in general: 60 out of 88 [68%] were '*receptatores*'; 18 out of 59 [30% - men only] were '*cives*'. N.B. Many of those who were not themselves citizens came from the same families, and moved in the same circles as those who were.

61. Bonparens Ursi, for example, paid twelve *solidi* to the heretic, Iacobus, who consoled his wife, Benvenuta, on her deathbed, as well as offering the man food and overnight accommodation (see Table 8). According to d'Alatri ["*Orviato; Il Crollo...*"]



*Crollo...*, p. 68n.1, this fee was unusually low, and proves Bonparens to have been a poor man, but he gives no examples of the "*forti somme*" usually demanded by the perfect for their services,

62. The people listed in Table 9d) should probably be included in this category. They were accused of giving the heretics 'counsel, subsidy and favour' [*"consilium, subsidium et favorem"*], as opposed to the more common 'help, counsel and favour' [*"auxilium, consilium et favorem"*].

63. A. di S., Fond. Giud., Sentenze dell'Exgravator, February - May 1269.

64. By 1277, the two brothers had separate households, each with their own staff. *Domino* Pietro had a servant called Petrucius, and *domino* Rainerio had one called Vengatus (A. di S., Fond. Giud., Busta 1, Fasc. 6, f. 8v.).

65. Sentences of the Exgravator, f. 21v.

66. *ibid.*, f. 22r. He had been carrying a knife.

67. *ibid.*, ff. 24r.-v. The entry here is damaged, so that it is unclear whether Amideo had three sons or four, but all four are listed clearly in Fond. Giud., Busta 6, Fasc. 1, f. 4v. (1271).

68. Three in the case of the brothers, and an unspecified number (possibly the same) in the case of Rainuccio.

69. "*bona ipsorum diminuta sint pro d(.....) partibus et ultra*".

70. The men also claimed that they had been unjustly treated when they were fined 15 *Lira* each "*occasione cavalcata facta in Teberina*".

71. This is confirmed rather than called into question by the *exgravator's* apparent unwillingness to consider their appeal. A man in his position would not want to be compromised by appearing to favour heretics.

72. A similar situation may have applied to the noblemen, d. Rainerio and d. Pietro Munaldi Rainerii Stephani.

73. A. di S., Fond. Giud., Busta 1, Fasc. 3, ff. 1-2.

74. Fond. Giud., Busta 2, Fasc. 9, ff. 30v. 23 February 1295.

75. Rainerius Rainerii Camfrongnini did not even manage to meet this requirement. He was one of 19 men from the Santa Pace quarter expected to hand over one horse each to the commune in 1266, for some reason not specified in the section of the document which remains [Fond. Giud., Busta 1, Fasc. 1, f. 5v]. He was eventually excused when he "proved that he did not have a horse" [*"probavit equum suum non habuisse"*].

76. "*equitavit mulam ipsius testis*" [Viterbo Fragment 1]

77. A. di S., Archivio Storico Comunale, matric. 399.

78. Lib. Inq., f. 25<sup>a</sup>, and Catasto, vol. 2 (*contado*), f. 184r. *Domino* Rainerio Munaldi is another case in point (see discussion above, 5a).

79. E. Carpentier, Orvieto à la fin..., p. 227, n. 274. "...on entrevoit ici un nouveau rôle du Cadastre; à l'encontre des Miccinelli, des Della Terza et des Toste, il joue, par des estimations surfaîtes, un rôle discriminatoire."

80. especially Castellonclo. Some of the heretics and their heirs still owned land in this area in 1292 (e.g. *heredes* Aldrevanninu Amodei Lupicçini (f. 257v); Cinus, *filius olim* Raynucii Provençani (f. 268r); Provençanus Amodei (f. 303r); d. Petrus Munaldi Rainerii Stephani (f. 387r); Rainerius d. Munaldi (f. 393v)); but so did many people with no heretical leanings, while many of the 'heretics' had land-holdings spread over a wide geographical area.

81. There are also many more general examples of family names familiar from Lib. Inq.: Tosti, Ricci, Miscinelli, Blasii, Frascambocca, Bencivenne, Anodei, Provençani, Lupicini, Toncelle, Accommandi, Adelascie, Nicole, Marini, Bonaccursi, and so on. Table 10 includes only the most probable identifications. Again, the hazardous nature of the process of identification needs to be emphasised. For example, three of the names which appear in the Catasto in exactly the same form as in Lib. Inq. [Rainerius Çamfrongin; Barthus Accommandi; Iacobus Phylippi] belong to people who were already dead by 1268.

82. 225 out of the 2,751 people listed in the city [8%] had property worth more than 2,000 *Lire*, and a further 243 more than 1,000 *Lire*, bringing the percentage up to 17%. Figures from G Pardi, Il Catasto..., pp. 244 - 5.

83. See discussion above (5a) on problems of identification.

84. 905 of the city valuations [c.33%] were less than 100 *Lire*.

85. By far the largest proportion of those surveyed - 1,531 out of 2,751 [c.56%] - owned land worth between 100 *Lire* and 1,000 *Lire*.

86. Nino had property worth 1,287 *Lire*, while Conte was co-owner with his wife (or sister) Contatine of property worth only 25 *Lire*.

87. Two were in the *confado*. The original heretic, Rainerius Çamfrongin, was already dead by 1268, but even if the 'Raynerius Çanforginge' in Santa Pace quarter is taken to be one of his sons, there is no correspondence between his fortune of 1,848 *Lire* and the meagre 165 *Lire* of the man who might have been his brother, *Celle Raynerii Çanforgrani*.

.....

d) Summary: Wealth, Occupation and Social Status

1. ed. V. Natalini, Leggenda B. Petri Parentii..., *Lectio* 2, §3, pp. 155-6.

2. This motif is particularly apparent in the account of Parenzo's betrayal. He was betrayed, after a meal, by a member of his own household, who is specifically likened to Judas: "*Radulphus, Iude similis, immo alter Iuda*" *ibid.*, *Lectio* 5, §8 & §9, pp. 161-21.

3. He concludes his list of items of Cathar doctrine with the phrase, "*addens alia nefanda que in libello contra hereticos edito possunt collegi manifeste*". (ed. V. Natalini, Leggenda B. Petri Parentii..., *Lectio* 2.)

4. It has to be admitted, though, that problems were also encountered in the campaign for the canonisation of B. Ambrogio di Massa [d. 1240].

5. C.D., p. 261 fn.

6. Eph. Urb., p. 157.

7. in Eph. Urb., vol. I.

8. E. Carpentier, Orvieto à la fin..., pp. 231-2 & 267-8.

9. Dante's famous lines are the clearest pointer to this association:

*Vieni a veder Montecchi e Cappelletti*

*Monaldi e Filippeschi, uom senza cura;*

*Color già tristi e questi con sospetti.*

[*Purgatorio* VI.]

10. It is possible that Iannes Tasca, one of the *perfecti* mentioned in Lib. Inq. (f.14) may have belonged to the Orvietan "della Tasca" family.

11. A. Borst, Die Katharer, Stuttgart, 1953, pp. 138f.

12. ed. V. Natalini, Leggenda B. Pietri Parentii...



13. *ibid.*, *Lectio* 3, § 4 & § 5, p. 157; & *Lectio* 7, § 12, p. 167.
14. see 1249 Sentence + retrospective references in *Lib. Inq.* At least ten people, from varying social backgrounds, were tried by Fra Giordano in 1263, but this is too close to 1268/9 to say much about earlier trends.
15. *Lib. Inq.*, f. 9'.
16. *ibid.*, f. 4'. "...correctus extiterat et punitus anno domini ,m.CC.xxx.viii,... et postmodum interrogatus coram eodem Fratre Rugerio extitit manifeste confessus pro spatio ,xxv. annorum fuit credens patarenorum,..."
17. *ibid.*, f. 6<sup>2</sup>. "Receptavit circa ,xx. annos in domo sua hereticos supradictos [Gualdinus de Viterbio, Nicola de Casalveri, Benevenutum Cacheus et Guido Rubeus] per dies et noctes, quibus Reverentiam fecit pluries,..."
18. *ibid.*, f. 15'. "idem Symeon credens extiterit hereticorum erroribus ,x. annorum spatio, receptaverit pluries in domo sua diversis temporibus per dies et noctes,..."
19. *ibid.*, ff. 4<sup>2</sup> & 27<sup>2</sup> & f. 19'.
20. for full account see D. Waley, Medieval Orvieto.
21. see, for example, M.D. Lambert, Medieval Heresy, p. 114: "In Languedoc favour by the rural nobility provided the matrix for Catharism,..."
22. *op. cit.*, p. 117.
23. Brenda Bolton, "Mulieres Sanctæ", in Studies in Church History 10, 1973, p. 81.
24. M.C. Barber, "Women and Catharism" in Reading Medieval Studies, 3 (1977), p. 51.
25. *ibid.*, p. 48.
26. *Lib. Don.*, f. 88v, 31 January 1265, & *Lib. Inq.*, f. 34'.
27. *Lib. Inq.*, f. 12' [domina Adilascia].
28. *ibid.*, f. 13.
29. The most common sentence of confiscation of all of the heretic's property would, of course have the same effect, though the intention is not quite so explicit.
30. M.D. Lambert, Medieval Heresy, pp. 114 - 117.
31. M. D'Alatri, "Orvieto: Il Crollo...", p. 67. "Vi erano in Orvieto delle famiglie nelle quali l'eresia era divenuta una eredità che si trasmetteva gelosamente di padre in figlio".
32. *Lib. Inq.*, f. 5<sup>2</sup>.
33. *Lib. Inq.*, f. 23'.
34. *Lib. Inq.*, f. 5<sup>2</sup>; & W. Cherubini, "Movimenti Patarinici...", pp. 36 - 37. This is Fumi's reading [C.D., doc. CCCCXXIII, p. 270]. The original is not 100% clear.
35. *Lib. Inq.*, f. 30'.
36. see W. Cherubini, "Movimenti Patarinici...", p. 36.
37. *Lib. Inq.*, f. 21<sup>3</sup>. "... in domo sua nova posita in Regione Sancti Angeli,..."
38. *ibid.*, ff. 9<sup>2</sup>, 24<sup>4</sup> & 6<sup>2</sup>.
39. M.C. Barber, "Women and Catharism", p. 45.
40. *Lib. Inq.*, f. 14.
41. *ibid.*, f. 16<sup>2</sup>.
42. *ibid.*, f. 22<sup>2</sup>.

43, *ibid.*, f. 28,

44, In Orvieto, the commune received a two-thirds share of the price of confiscated property, and the church one-third. Outside the Papal States, the proportions were reversed.

45, The commune, for example, had taken over Barto Francisci's house by 1281, when the Piazza del Popolo was being built (A. di S., matric. 878, Istrumentum IX, ff. 1-10); while the canons of S. Giovanni had charge of Matteo Romei's property in 1291, when his son-in-law Neri di Tura attempted to claim it back (Arch. Duomo, Perg. 60a.)

46, Lib. Inq., f. 30<sup>2</sup>, & Canonisation Process for B. Ambrogio di Massa.

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### A.3 LEADERSHIP: 'PERFECTI' AND 'CREDENTES'

There is no difficulty in identifying the leaders of the Cathar community in Orvieto, because the lifestyle of the full-time 'perfect', the evangelists and pastors of the sect, was quite different from that of ordinary 'believers' and adherents. Their status as "consoled heretics" was attained by receiving ritual 'consolation' ('*consolamentum*'), which, they believed, effected the liberation of their true spiritual being from the corrupt world of matter', but which the Inquisitors preferred to describe as 'desolation':

*Nec non prodolor in quadam sua infirmitate per impositionem manuum Iosep et socii patarenorum consolari se fecerit, quin potius desolari, iuxta hereticorum consuetudinem detestandam, (2)*

The above extract is from the Inquisitors' judgement on Symeon Lanarolo, an Orvietan wool merchant. It describes the normal procedure for becoming one of the 'perfect', but at the same time illustrates one complicating factor: the fact that two quite different types of people came into the category of "consoled heretics". On the one hand, there were the full-time, itinerant preachers, most of whom came from towns other than Orvieto, and on the other hand there were local people who, like Symeon, had received the '*consolamentum*' on what they believed to be their deathbed, only to recover from the supposedly terminal illness. Theoretically, the status of the two groups was identical, but in practice, they were quite distinct. The local people who had been 'hereticated' in time of illness were not even necessarily those most deeply committed to the sect. Although there was an internal hierarchy of a sort among Orvietan Cathar sympathisers, it was not headed only by those who had been 'consoled'.

.....

#### a) Itinerant Preachers

The real leaders of the sect were those 'perfect' who, after careful thought and preparation, had received the *consolamentum* while still young and in good health, deliberately committing themselves to the ascetic way of life which it entailed. The remainder of their lives would be spent travelling around, usually in pairs, from one town to another, preaching, teaching and performing their rites; and looking to local people for shelter and sustenance. The Orvietan evidence is limited, because none of the Cathar leaders were sentenced in Orvieto, at

least in the trials of 1268/9, the outcome of which was recorded in the *Liber Inquisitionis*. Their names were mentioned only in the course of proceedings against the local people who had sheltered them. Such evidence as there is, however, suggests that their mode of operation here was broadly the same as that recorded in other areas, including southern France.

They accepted the "adoration" of their followers<sup>3</sup>, some of whom later admitted, using characteristic Cathar terminology, that they had believed the Cathars to be "good and holy" <sup>4</sup>. They preached, and taught doctrines "contrary to the Catholic faith and sacraments", in public places away from the centre of town, and in private homes in the heart of it (see Table 12). Many of them were strangers to the area, who could not be expected to find their own way, undetected, to these meeting-places, and there would also be occasions on which speedy escape was essential. Thus local guides, often youngsters, were used, providing a service so important that they might even be paid for it<sup>5</sup>. Most of the gifts and services which the perfect received were, of course, simply accepted as their due. They were given overnight hospitality in many homes; and invariably it was local sympathisers who provided them with food and drink, and met their other material needs. The 'perfect' offered general advice (*munitiones*), and were consulted for more specific medical advice in case of illness<sup>6</sup>. Where the illness was believed to be terminal, and death imminent, they were called in to administer the 'consolamentum' by the laying-on of hands, charging a fee for this service<sup>7</sup>. They shared meals with their supporters, in some instances giving ritual significance to the occasion by saying a blessing over the bread. Blessing might also be bestowed in the form of "*munuscula*", although the precise meaning of this unusual term is difficult to apprehend.

There was nothing in the rôle of the perfect that could not be undertaken equally well by women as by men, and this equality of status has often been cited as the principal reason for the appeal of Catharism to medieval women, frustrated by their exclusion from leadership within the Catholic Church. There was certainly more scope for active female participation in the Cathar sect than in the Church at this time, but it is important to remember that changes were taking place within Catholicism too. Female spirituality was coming to be valued more, and the confraternities were already opening up new opportunities for



religious expression for women as well as men. Furthermore, even within the Cathar movement, where the *perfectæ* in theory enjoyed equality of status with their male counterparts, there were always considerably more men than women in actual positions of leadership. Leaving aside the very early period, about which little is known, there were perhaps thirty or forty *perfecti* working in the Orvietan area<sup>10</sup>, compared to only four or five *perfectæ* (see Table 11). At the very top of the Cathar hierarchy, leading positions such as 'bishop' were, like their Catholic equivalents, exclusively male. The only known "*episcopus patarenorum*" in the Orvietan area was a man named Iannes Robba, who was received "many times" by a local widow, *domina Verderosa*<sup>11</sup>.

Another difference between male and female heretics, is that the latter were much more frequently received in the homes of female sympathisers. Of the fourteen local people who gave hospitality to *perfectæ*, eight [57%] were women. Fifty-five local people opened their homes to male Cathars, but only seventeen [31%] of these *receptatores* were women. The distinction is not an absolute one, but it seems to have been the case that women believers preferred to deal with female *perfectæ* where possible.

All this was common practice, and in no way particular to Orvieto, but Orvietan evidence does provide one counter-example to W. L. Wakefield's observation, repeated by M. D. Lambert<sup>12</sup>, that members of the nobility were reluctant to humble themselves before female *perfectæ*, as required by Cathar ritual. *Dominus Iacobus Arnuldi* received not one, but two *perfectæ* in his 'palace', and not only listened to their preaching, but also acknowledged their status in precisely the same way as he did that of their two anonymous male colleagues:

... *receptaverit in Palatio suo Riccam etiam Benvenutam patarenas, et alios duos hereticos, audiverit inibi predicationes ipsorum de erroribus eorundem, Reverentiam fecerit eisdem, adorando ipsos iuxta hereticorum ritus abusum...* (11)

Ricca and Benvenuta were not the first, nor were they the last Orvietan *perfectæ* to engage in a ministry of preaching. Two women were among the earliest Cathar propagandists in the town<sup>13</sup>; and some time between 1263 and 1268, the brothers Bonacursus and Iannesbonus Lombardus were favourably impressed by the words of a "certain woman" whose preaching they heard, and with whom they had "friendly conversation" in *Castrum Rie*:

... ad Castrum Rie voluntarie iverunt hereticis locuturi, et ibidem amicabiliter locuti fuerunt cuidam mulieri heretice consolate, cuius predicationem audiverunt inibi de erroribus hereticorum contra fidem catholicam et Ecclestica sacramenta; fecerunt ei Reverentiam, adorando eam juxta hereticorum ritus abusum, et placuit eis dicta predicatio, et crediderunt verba ipsius bona esse... (13)

Women preachers were, of course, outnumbered by men, but the fact that there were any at all is an important comment on the rôle of women in the Cathar movement<sup>14</sup>. It is hard to think of a contemporary Catholic context in which they would have been allowed this degree of public responsibility.

With regard to the sort of people who became Cathar leaders, it is simply not possible, on the basis of Orvietan evidence, to confirm or refute Malcolm Lambert's assessment of the "characteristic temperament of the perfect". He sees them as tense, literal-minded perfectionists, on whose preaching and example the success of the movement nonetheless depended<sup>15</sup>. The 'perfect' in Orvieto are shadowy figures who flit across the pages of the *Liber Inquisitionis*, accessible at best third-hand; their own motives and actions having been distilled, first of all, through the limited comprehension of the accused, and, secondly, through the blatant prejudice of the Inquisitors. It is almost impossible to flesh out their personalities in any way.

There are only two possible exceptions to this generalisation: both examples refer to women, and both are hedged around with ambiguity. In the first place, there is Altagratia, who becomes only slightly less insubstantial by virtue of such information as is provided about her brother, Masseo Cavardelli of Castellonclo, whom she visited:

*Predictus vero Masseus in domo sua Altagratiam sororem suam receptaverit patarenam, dederit ei de rebus suis manducare et bibere.* (16)

The charge is couched in the standard terminology reserved for those who gave shelter to heretics, and the underlying incident was enough to have Masseo branded a "receptator patarenorum"; but there is nothing else to suggest that she was more than a 'believer' like himself, or that Masseo would have interpreted the incident as more than a straightforward family visit. Altagratia may, indeed, have been an active Cathar missionary, but, if so, the evidence for such a conclusion is lacking from this one reference, which could apply equally well to someone who had been "perfected" in time of illness. In any case, there



is so little personal information about her brother, beyond the fact that he came from Castellonclo and was apparently part of a small Cathar cell there, that the question of whether she was or was not one of the active *perfectæ* will have to be left open.

The second example is an extremely interesting one, though again it is impossible to be certain whether the woman in question was one of the true *perfectæ* or not. One of the many charges against Stradigotto of Siena was that he had attended the 'consolation' of his wife, Benvenuta, sometime between his first abjuration of heresy, before Fra Roggero (c. 1239/40), and his second, before Fra Giordano (c.1263):

*Consolationi interfuit Benvenute uxoris sue, heretice consolate,  
quin potius desolate...* (17)

On most occasions where a consolation is mentioned in passing in this way, it can be assumed that the person was ill or dying, but in this instance there is no indication that any such circumstances applied. Furthermore, the case of Stradigotto of Siena is such an unusual one, particularly if he was the same man as Stradigottus *pelliparius*<sup>10</sup>, that any such irregularity acquires more significance than it might otherwise have had. The question which springs to mind is whether this woman might not have been the same Benvenuta who, with Ricca, her fellow-'patarene', was welcomed by *domino* Giacomo into his *palazzo*<sup>11</sup>, and whom Pietro Guidi Becci was paid to conduct safely to Gradoli<sup>20</sup>. The name, which was a common one, appears at two other places in the *Liber Inquisitionis*, but Benvenuta "*de contrata Putei*"<sup>21</sup> had not been consoled, while the late wife of Bonparens Ursi, also Benvenuta, was undoubtedly consoled on her deathbed<sup>22</sup>.

Those two eliminated, the interesting possibility of Stradigotto's wife remains. The thesis cannot be proved, but it is not inconceivable that someone as deeply committed as this man was to a religion which, by his own stated understanding of it, equated marriage with damnation<sup>23</sup>, should have separated from his wife, by mutual agreement, for the sake of the faith which they shared. The situation was not uncommon in the Catholic Church, but rather than either or both spouses entering a monastic house, Benvenuta, if this theory is correct, had taken the vows of a *perfecta*, and was moving secretly from one place to another in the course of her duties, while Stradigotto retained his 'lay' status and stayed at home, which involved working energetically for the movement in an administrative capacity, co-ordinating the activities of

perfect and believers alike.

These two women apart, only two of the perfect seem, from the *Liber Inquisitionis*, to have had any strong local connections. Iacobus 'Urbevetanus' was, presumably, from the town itself, while Luca, like Altagratia, was a native of Castellonclo, a small village about 7 km. from Orvieto, on the eastern border of the *contado*<sup>24</sup>. By no stretch of the imagination could either of these two men be described as prominent among the local leadership, being mentioned only once each in the entire course of the proceedings<sup>25</sup>. Altagratia may or may not have been a 'genuine' *perfecta*, in the sense of one who had voluntarily adopted the rigorous asceticism of an active missionary. In fact, of the four, only Benvenuta, if the very tentative hypothesis outlined above is correct, could be represented as a person of major importance. Even in her case, her significance would derive from her husband's rôle rather than from the very limited record of her own activities.

Internal evidence thus strongly suggests that the normal pattern was for Cathar preachers to come in from outside - from major centres like Viterbo, Narni, Spoleto and Florence, and from smaller places like Regno, Gradoli and 'Casalveri'. In other words, they were peripatetic missionaries, passing through Orvieto for short periods of time, and then moving on to perform the same functions of teaching and proselytisation elsewhere.

However, there are three later entries in the judicial archive, which, if relevant, may give a slightly different perspective. All three relate to men whose names suggest that they may have been the sons of *perfecti*. As early as 1271, Petrus Guidonis Rubei, of the region of Santa Maria Episcopatus, was denounced by Ildribandinus Ranaldi Macçi for some offence not specified in the text<sup>26</sup>. Nine years later, in 1280, Jacobinus Lombardus, of S. Martino region, was banished from the city, *contado* and district until such time as he should pay a thirty Lire fine and any other outstanding debts<sup>27</sup>. And finally, in 1295, Andrucius Castellani, of the Quarter of SS. Giovanni and Giovenale, was one of those expected to join a large cavalry muster in Bolsena<sup>28</sup>.

Any argument based primarily on similarity of names is instantly suspect, and this one does not even have the virtue of uncommon names to increase its plausibility. Nonetheless, if any of these three men were, in fact, the sons of *perfecti*, it would confirm that the Cathar leadership had a stronger local base than had previously been suspected.



This new evidence would also add significantly to what is known about the ultimate fate of the itinerant *perfecti*, by providing information about the subsequent lifestyle of their children.

The three putative fathers were by no means on the fringes of the Cathar leadership. Jacobus Lombardus was received on at least three occasions in local homes; Guido Rubei was also named by three independent witnesses; and Andrea Castellane was one of the most active of all the male perfect, having received hospitality on at least seven, and possibly nine occasions.

These *perfecti* must have been seen as presenting the greatest possible threat to the stability of society, rejecting, as they did, all its rules and conventions in favour of their own quite different standards. If it were possible to prove conclusively that their sons had not only been allowed to stay on in the town, but had been free even from pressure to change their names, then this would have been revealed something of considerable importance about how second-generation heretics could be re-integrated into the community. Such proof is lacking, but the suggestion should at least be recorded, to balance the only other pointer to the fate of the perfect (and, incidentally, the only reference in the whole codex to the use of capital punishment for the crime of heresy). Some Cathars may have been put to death in the very early stages of the movement<sup>29</sup>, but from then on, the only heretic known to have been executed was one of the perfect. The body of Iosep, "*dampnatus hereticus*", was retrieved from the scaffold and given decent burial by the brave, if reckless Symeon *Ianarolo* and his companions in crime<sup>30</sup>.

.....

#### b) Local 'Consolati'

It is common knowledge that few Cathar sympathisers were willing to carry their faith to its logical extreme by accepting the *consolamentum* while still in good health. The dietary restrictions alone would have required immense self-discipline, and the requirements of poverty and celibacy would have made it impossible for anything resembling a normal lifestyle to be maintained. Any breach of these

regulations would, of course, have rendered the consolation invalid. It was for this reason that most believers preferred to wait until they were dying to be consoled, treating the ceremony in much the same way as Catholics did the sacrament of extreme unction, or burial in monastic habit. In Southern France, there were instances of Catholic priests and Cathar 'perfecti' wrangling openly over the right to minister to a dying person<sup>31</sup>. No such cases are recorded in Orvieto, perhaps because the Cathar way of life was never quite so openly practised there, but the superficial similarity between the two sets of ritual must have made it easier for ordinary people to make the transition from orthodoxy to heresy.

The total number of recorded consolations in Orvieto is, in fact, relatively small - eighteen in all - but all the indications are that these documented cases were only the tip of a much larger iceberg. Seven of the eighty-eight people whose sentences are recorded in the *Liber Inquisitionis* had themselves been consoled, and a further eleven *consolati* are named in the course of proceedings against other members of their families (see Table 13). Six other people, however - four women and two men - were charged with attending unspecified "consolations of heretics" (always in the plural), and it is unlikely that all of these are covered by the eighteen known cases.

There was, furthermore, a definite connection between the administration of the *consolamentum* and the destruction of the house in which it had taken place. Sometimes, the link is made explicit, for example in the case of Miscinello's wife, Mathea:

*Domum quoque in qua dicta domina Mathea fuit per hereticos  
consolata, quin potius desolata, sine spe rehedeficationis  
iudicamus funditus destruendam...* (32)

Always the implication is the same: that the house has been irrevocably contaminated by the rituals performed in it, and must be razed to the ground, so that "that which once was a refuge for unbelievers might henceforth be a shelter for filth":

*... ut sit decetero receptaculum sordium que fuit latibulum  
perfidorum.*

Orders were given for sixteen houses to be destroyed in this way, eleven of which can be linked to specific ceremonies of consolation. One of the remaining five was the home of Filippo Busse, who had been present at certain "*consolationibus hereticorum*", and who might very well have allowed one or more of these ceremonies to be held in his own



home. Three of the five cases relate to posthumous convictions, and all of the people concerned had been willing for their homes to be used by members of the sect. Martino Guidutii had given hospitality to two of the perfect, Idribandino Ricci to more than three, Barto Francisci and Filippo Busse to four each, the latter on 'many occasions', and Christoforo Tosti had sheltered no fewer than eight named heretics, plus "*alios quosdam patarenos*" <sup>33</sup>. The implications of this are clear. It looks as though there were at least five, and probably many more consolations in the Orvietan area which are not explicitly mentioned in any of the sentences recorded in the *Liber Inquisitionis*.

This does not account, however, for the fifteen Cathar 'believers', who died in Orvieto without benefit of consolation. Death can, of course, strike suddenly, and many good Catholics must also have died unshriven through no fault of their own, but fifteen out of twenty posthumous convictions is rather a high proportion to be explained in this way. Some cases may have escaped the attention of the Inquisitors, but again it is unlikely that all fifteen would have come into this category.

The Inquisitors were selective in the number of prosecutions which they brought against people who had already died. For reasons which it is hard to determine, at least eleven consoled heretics, whose names were known to the authorities, seem to have escaped prosecution<sup>34</sup>, and this suggests that when a person was posthumously condemned, the case had been carefully investigated first. In these circumstances, a deathbed consolation is unlikely to have gone undetected, and if known to the Inquisitors, it would certainly have been taken into account when the sentence was being passed. Assuming that the 'perfect' were able to attend, where necessary, to administer the ritual to the dying person (and they may have faced practical difficulties in this respect, particularly in the later stages of the movement), there seem to have been some local people, with a strong Cathar commitment, who chose not to be consoled before death.

Some sick or dying *credentes* may have been reluctant to submit to consolation because of the 'endura', which they would then have been expected to undergo, if the principles of their faith were being strictly applied. The *endura* was a literally suicidal régime of fasting, which no-one could survive for more than a fortnight<sup>35</sup>. It is possible that some of the Orvietan *consolati* died in this way, though there is no

record of the fact. What is clear, however, is that in Orvieto the *endura* was not an automatic requirement for those who were hereticated when seriously ill<sup>36</sup>. This is proved by the fact that at least three people who had received the *consolamentum* subsequently recovered from the illness which they had feared might be fatal. Reluctance to embark upon the *endura* cannot therefore have been the sole reason for the decision of some believers not to be consoled.

Another possible explanation is that ordinary Cathar believers and adherents simply did not understand the full significance of the *consolamentum*, or feel it essential to their own salvation. There was at least one local man, Filippo Busse, who understood that the perfect conferred salvation specifically by the laying-on of hands<sup>37</sup>, and Pietro Guidi Becci almost certainly had the same thing in mind when he said that none who were "in the faith of the Roman Church" would be saved, but only those who "lived the life of the patarenes" <sup>38</sup>. Others spoke more vaguely of salvation being 'in' the *perfecti*, or simply "praised their life and faith". Many more showed no clear understanding of Cathar doctrine, and were accused in very general terms of having listened to the heretics' preaching, or believed their "errors".

Whatever the reasons, it is evident that the practice of ritual consolation was not only more widespread, but also a great deal more complicated than is suggested by the seven cases which follow the supposedly 'normal' pattern. These people - four men and three women - had taken ill, called for the 'perfect' to administer their final rites, and then died, whether from natural causes or as a result of deliberate abstinence from food and drink. When the evidence against them came to light, they were publicly condemned in no uncertain terms, and their houses were destroyed to the foundations. In addition to these textbook cases there were, on the one hand, Cathar believers who were apparently not afraid of dying unconsolated, and, on the other hand, *consolati* whom the Inquisitors did not take the trouble to prosecute. Neither of these discrepancies can readily be accounted for, as there are no obvious differences between the individuals concerned.

Women were perhaps more likely than men to ask for consolation when dying. Exactly fifty per cent (9 out of 18) of those known to have been hereticated were women, compared to only thirty-three per cent (29 out of 88) of the total number of believers convicted. At least three women had died without consolation, however, and the Inquisitors were



just as likely to institute proceedings against women as against men.

There is nothing to indicate that those who were consoled before death had been more deeply committed Cathars than those who were not. On the contrary, only three of the seven *consolati* - Provençano Lupicini, Symeon *Lanarolo* and *domina* Pacifica - had received heretics in their homes. One of the others, *domina* Matthea, was described as '*credens*' and '*fautor*', but the remaining three were merely '*consolati*'. By contrast, the list of fifteen people who died without consolation includes ten '*receptatores*'. Furthermore, of the four people whose bodies were to be exhumed and publicly burnt<sup>29</sup>, only one, the notorious Provençano Lupicini, had been consoled before death.

Equally, there is no reason to believe that those *consolati* who were convicted of heresy had been guilty of more serious offences than those whom the Inquisitors ignored. It is harder in this case to make a meaningful comparison, for the obvious reason that there are no records relating to people who were not personally brought to trial, but several of those in the latter category were members of the most prominent heretical families, and the very fact of submitting to the ritual *consolamentum* represents a degree of commitment which one would have expected the Inquisitors to regard very seriously indeed. The fact that they appear to have been willing to let at least eleven such cases go unpunished may have to do with problems of implementation, but the question cannot finally be resolved on the basis of present evidence.

It would be interesting also to be able to undertake a detailed study of the small, but very special category of '*consolati*', who recovered from the serious illness which had persuaded them to undergo the ritual at all: Matthea, wife of Miscinello; Symeon *Lanarolo*; Benvenuta, wife of Stradigotto of Siena; an unnamed brother of Rainerio Stradigotti; and possibly also a son of Stradigotto Ricci. One would have expected these people fairly soon to have broken one or other of the strict dietary and sexual conditions which were necessary for them to retain their status as '*perfecti*', but so little concrete information is given about their subsequent lifestyle that it is not possible to be sure. On the one hand, neither Matthea nor Symeon can have embraced a life of absolute poverty, as both had property left to be confiscated, and houses left to be destroyed, by 1268, when sentences of this nature were passed upon them. But on the other hand there is a possibility that Symeon may have continued to occupy a position of leadership within

the sect after his recovery from illness. This arises from the fact that it was he who conducted burial rites over the body of the dead perfectus, Josep:

*... prohanum (sic) corpus Josep dampnati heretici deposuit de furcis et devotissime sepellivit...* (40)

In general terms, however, the situation of those who received the 'consolamentum' as a form of 'last rites' was entirely different from that of the much smaller number of men and women who chose to be hereticated in order to become full-time missionaries of the sect.

.....

### c) Levels of commitment

Analysis of leadership patterns within the sect is hampered by the fact that the same terminology is used for these two very different categories of people. Once consoled, Oddo Ildribandini and Benvenuta of Castellonclo were as much 'perfect' as the 'heretics' who had consoled them. There was no intermediate status. Nonetheless, the wording of Benvenuta's sentence makes it quite clear, and the wording of Oddo's sentence strongly suggests that it was only the established leaders and not the newly-perfected locals who were 'adored' by the congregation of friends and relatives<sup>41</sup>. Some of the perfect, were, it appears, more 'perfect' than others; but this was not the only effective distinction within a movement which in principle acknowledged a difference only between those who had received valid consolation and those who had not.

An edict issued in 1239 on behalf of the *podestà* points to a much broader spectrum of support, amounting almost to a three-fold hierarchy within the Cathar movement. Not only were the 'perfect' dependent on 'believers' for practical and moral support, but both relied also on the tacit support of others, such as the three rural *signori* to whom this edict is addressed, who were tolerant of their views, and would not betray them to the authorities, but who preferred not to become actively involved. The *podestà*'s edict forbade the three *signori*, Rainerio di Rocca, Rustico de Flaiano and Rainerio Sicco, to give shelter to heretics, or to allow them to be sheltered anywhere in the territory under their control:

*... quatenus aliquo tempore non receptetis nec receptari faciatis nec teneatis per vos vel per aliquam a vobis submissam personam in domibus et terris vestris hereticos, patarenos sive credentes et falsarios false moneta factores, et ecclesias et hospitilia non offendatis nec offendi faciatis.* (42)



The reference to "'patarenes' and believers" is an interesting one. 'Patarene' is the term used in the Orvietan sources for the 'perfect', and its use here shows that the civic authorities were aware not only of this distinction within the Cathar movement, but also of the threat represented by people, like the *signori* in question, who were neither 'perfect' nor 'believers', but who might very well provide cover for heretical activities for reasons of their own, which are just as likely to have been political as religious. It is significant in this respect that the edict refers not only to heretics, but also to "forgers of false money", and then goes on to deal with general matters of public order, urging the *signori* to be vigilant in the prevention of crimes of theft and violence in their district. If men like these did give shelter to the Cathars - and the edict would not have been necessary if the threat had not been a real one - it would say as much about their dislike of Orvietan control as it would about their commitment to the Cathar faith. However, this was precisely the sort of background which made the area around Orvieto such a fruitful one for the growth and diffusion of heresy. Large public meetings of heretics, which could not be held openly in the town, were organised in parts of the *contado*, where the local *signori* must have been prepared at the very least to turn a blind eye to what was happening on their land.

Thus, although the Cathar movement was centred in the town of Orvieto, and in the *Santa Pace* quarter in particular, it was dependent to a large extent on practical support and co-operation from people in the *contado*. Another example dates from the later stages of the movement, when pressure from the Inquisition was making it more difficult, not to say more dangerous for support of this kind to be given<sup>43</sup>. This example is different from the previous one, in that the two men who provided shelter for Neri, a Cathar believer who was wanted by the Inquisitors for questioning, were not powerful *signori*, but ordinary *contadini*, and their motivation was not political, but personal. Çanno was Neri's friend, and Masseo was his brother. Neither was keen to take the risk of giving him shelter, but both were persuaded to do so, for reasons of friendship and family loyalty. There is nothing to suggest that either Çanno or Masseo was himself a Cathar believer, though their actions would certainly have implicated them in the eyes of the Inquisition.

The facts of the story can be reconstructed from the testimony

given by Neri to Fra Benvenuto in 1268, in the period leading up to the public heresy trials. Neri must have decided to co-operate with the Inquisition, but even so, he could not be sure of a favourable reception or safe passage into town. His first move was therefore to enlist the help of his friend Çanno, who rode by mule to Orvieto to negotiate with the Inquisitor's *nuncio* on his behalf. For the first night, Neri slept in Çanno's house in Carnaicia, but despite the lengths to which he had gone already to help his friend, Çanno must have felt that it was too dangerous to allow him to stay there any longer. He agreed, however, to act as intermediary again, this time between Neri and his brother Masseo. Masseo was summoned secretly to the house but refused Neri's request for shelter until such time as the *nuncio* arrived from Orvieto with news of the Inquisitor's response. In desperation, Neri broke into his brother's home and hid there until Masseo finally relented, and agreed to let him stay a further four days. The final outcome is not known, but the whole atmosphere was one of fear and suspicion. Much as they may have wanted to help Neri, his friend and his brother were constantly aware of the danger to themselves. Regardless of their own faith or lack of it, their willingness to aid and abet a suspected heretic would have been quite sufficient to implicate them. Earlier in the thirteenth century, when heresy was strong and the Inquisition had not yet mustered its forces efficiently, it may have been possible for *contadini* to give shelter to heretics without too much personal risk, but by 1268, when the net was closing around the Cathars, this was no longer a matter to be taken lightly.

Despite the fear which their tactics inspired, the one thing that cannot be said about Fra Benvenuto and Fra Bartholomeo is that they did not do their best to be fair when it came to matching their verdicts and sentences to the evidence before them. There are one or two instances of people who had, for example, received heretics or relapsed into heresy without being described as "*receptator*" or "*relapsus*" <sup>44</sup>, but by far the majority of the verdicts are entirely appropriate to the particular offences recorded (see Table 14). The *Liber Inquisitionis* thus goes a considerable way towards indicating the different levels of involvement among the supporters of Catharism: those who believed and favoured heretics, but did not allow them into their homes; those who invited them in during the day, but not overnight; those who not only believed and favoured heretics, but also received, defended and conspired with



them, and whose deviance had survived numerous encounters with the forces of orthodoxy; and, at the other end of the scale, one woman who had "favoured and loved" the heretics without, apparently, believing their errors<sup>45</sup>. The verdicts should, in other words, be taken seriously. They were not simply flung out as random terms of abuse, but related, as far as the Inquisitors were aware, to the offences committed.

The proviso, however, is an important one: "as far as the Inquisitors were aware". The verdicts reflect the Inquisitors' view of events, distorted both by their own biased perspective, and by the vested interest of the accused in revealing as little as possible about themselves and as much as possible about each other. Each person on trial would be doing his or her utmost to be convicted on the least serious range of charges, and although some might retain a sense of loyalty towards their fellow-offenders, there were others who would not hesitate to paint as black a picture as they could of the offences of their friends and neighbours, if it would make their own repentance seem more sincere. Furthermore, the verdicts are presented in Catholic, not Cathar terminology. It is hard to say, for example, whether the word '*credens*' should be taken at face value, as referring simply to those who found the Cathars' teaching persuasive, or whether it represented a distinct rank within the movement, attained by some sort of ritual parallel to the *consolamentum*<sup>46</sup>.

Despite these unanswered, and probably unanswerable questions, it is clear that some people, whether perfected or not, were more deeply involved than others. To this extent, Malcolm Lambert is overstating the case when he stresses the very limited functions open to those in the sect who were not 'perfect', "whether fringe sympathiser or committed believer" <sup>47</sup>. It is true that the 'genuine' *perfecti*, that is, the full-time evangelists, were in a class of their own. The distinction between them and the ordinary believers was roughly equivalent to the distinction between clergy and laity in the Catholic church. It is also true, in terms of Cathar belief, that the '*consolamentum*' was of fundamental spiritual importance. Nonetheless, it was possible for non-*consolati* to exercise real leadership within the sect, while those who received the '*consolamentum*' were not necessarily those whose commitment was the greatest. The application of this sacrament, as has been seen, had as much to do with the state of the person's health as with his or her heretical zeal.

Thus, as far as local people are concerned, it is not particularly helpful to know who had, and who had not been 'consoled'. Nor, in the Orvietan context is there any useful distinction to be made between those who were 'believers' and those who were not. In fact, only one woman, *domina Syginetta*, could be described as an adherent, rather than a full believer.<sup>48</sup> She was the only one of the sixty-nine people still living at the time of their trial who was not described as '*credens*', but only as "*fautrex et amatrex patarenorum*". It may be, of course, that the less serious cases received different treatment, and that the sentences against such people were recorded in a separate codex, but as far as the *Liber Inquisitionis* is concerned, '*credens*' and '*fautor*' are the standard designations, and it is only beyond that point that meaningful distinctions can be made. Sixty of the eighty-eight people on trial had been guilty of "receiving" heretics in their homes<sup>49</sup>; the remainder, with the exception of the *consolati*, were dismissed in relatively mild terms as '*conductor*', '*benefactor*', '*amatrix*' or '*complex*'<sup>50</sup>. By far the commonest designation, accounting for nearly half the total [42 out of 88], was "*credens, fautor et receptator*".

Up to this point, there are no obvious differences in the male and female totals: women were proportionately as likely as men to shelter the heretics or to "conspire" with them. At the very deepest level of complicity, however, men seem to have reigned supreme. There were no women among the "relapsed heretics", and it was two men who enjoyed the doubtful distinction of being convicted on five separate counts. The "nefarious" Christoforo Tosti<sup>51</sup>, who had already been condemned by Fra Roggero in 1249 as "*credens, fautor et receptator atque defensor hereticorum*", had the first three charges confirmed in 1268, with the additional clause, "*ac etiam in hereticam pravitatem... relapsus*"; and another member of the same family, Bartholomeus Ranuctii Tosti<sup>52</sup>, who, like Christoforo, had already been sentenced at least once before, was described in very similar terms, as *credens, fautor, complex, receptator* and *relapsus*.

The absence of women from the ranks of the 'relapsed' may, in fact, reflect a change in Inquisitorial policy rather than any reticence or lack of interest on the part of Orvietan women in the early days of heresy. That is certainly the impression given by canon Giovanni's contemporary account, which stresses the impact made by two female preachers on the pious women of the town. If more women were not



brought to trial earlier<sup>53</sup>, it was probably because the Inquisitors regarded them as less of a threat; a fact which suggests a qualitative, rather than a quantitative difference in their rôle. Other factors point towards a similar conclusion: the large number of widows in the sample; the high proportion of women present when people other than close family and friends were being 'consoled' <sup>54</sup>; and the fact that the sentences against women tend to be bunched together towards the end of the *Liber Inquisitionis*, where, generally speaking, the less serious cases were recorded.

None of these circumstances is convincing on its own, but together they begin to suggest a certain type of woman to whom Catharism, or indeed any popular religious movement, might appeal. The Inquisitors would hardly have approved the designation, but it may be useful to speak of a class of heretical *mulieres sanctae*<sup>55</sup>: women, such as widows, who had no pressing family commitments, and were therefore free to organise their lives around the activities of their religious community, devoting their considerable energies to worship and charitable works. Bonadimane is a clear case in point<sup>57</sup>. She was liberal with her veneration of those whose way of life marked them out as 'holy', but was too unsophisticated, or too indiscriminating to be able to distinguish orthodox holiness from its heretical counterpart. The phenomenon of the "pious woman" is not confined to any one culture. The Inquisitors may have been underestimating the influence of these women, but they were understandably more concerned about the powerful men whose heretical affiliation was such an obvious threat to the fabric of society.

It looks as though the Inquisitors' sentences were published roughly in order of severity, and on that basis, the *Liber Inquisitionis* offers some further clues to the relative gravity of the offences of the accused, seen, as always, through the eyes of their accusers. The sentences against men were, for the most part, made public before those against women, and therefore appear first in the register. Similarly, more of the *relapsi* and *receptatores* appear towards the beginning of the codex, and more of the simple *credentes*, *fautores* and *complices* towards the end, where the posthumous sentences are also clustered.

Stradigotto of Siena is no exception to this rule, although superficially he might seem to be so. The fact that his sentence is recorded so far on in the codex can probably be attributed to the same sort of scribal or administrative oversight that caused Cristoforo

Tosti's sentence to be proclaimed and/or registered twice<sup>77</sup>. The date of Stradigotto's sentence is, in fact, much more significant than its place in the codex. He was tried alone, on 17 April, almost a month before the main diet of trials began on 14 May. This special treatment makes it clear that the Inquisitors regarded his case as one of the most important. It also adds weight to the theory that Stradigottus Senensis and Stradigottus Pelliparius were one and the same person<sup>78</sup>, but whether or not this theory is correct, he must have been a man of considerable prominence locally. Fra Benvenuto and Fra Bartholomeo were experienced Inquisitors, and would certainly have given careful thought to their first public prosecution. If this was to serve as an example to others, then the first subject would have to be someone whose fall would be spectacular enough to awe others into submission. The detailed record of Stradigotto's case suggests that he was just such a person, and the fact that he was present to hear the judgement pronounced must have given added dramatic impact to the occasion.

Christoforo Tosti and his son, Raynerio were the next to be tried, on 14 May. Unlike Stradigotto, they had managed to escape, and were absent when their sentences were read, but Christoforo was in his own way just as outstanding a character. Whereas Stradigotto's uniqueness lay in his clear understanding of the theoretical principles of Catharism, and possibly also in his organisational skills, Christoforo stands out not only for his sheer persistence in heresy, but also as representative of all those from ghibelline families like his own, whose religious deviance was only part of a broader social and political dissent. His family's embroilment in heresy went back a long way: they had, allegedly, been infamous for it since "ancient times". Christoforo had been schooled in heresy by his own parents, but his first personal brush with ecclesiastical authority came in 1239, when he ostensibly renounced the Cathar faith before Fra Roggero. The contempt of the later Inquisitors knew no bounds for someone who, within a decade of swearing an oath of loyalty to the Dominican Inquisitor, could take part in a violent attack on him and his convent. It was at this point that Christoforo was described as "malicious and stiff-necked", having compounded his many perjuries with numerous instances of contumacy. A sentence of excommunication, confiscation and prohibition of office-holding in 1249 resulted in a second, temporary submission to authority, but he soon reverted to form, "like a dog returning to its vomit", intent



on immersing himself in the "profoundest depths of depravity". Called three days previously (11 May 1268) to answer charges of receiving and aiding heretics, he had put the final seal on his "treaty with death", spurning his one hope of salvation and revealing his "luciferian pride", when he contumaciously allowed the time-limit to expire without presenting himself for trial.

Stripped of the Inquisitors' emotive language, Cristoforo's offences were no more heinous than those of many other local people. Even his early attack on the Dominican convent was not planned or executed alone<sup>63</sup>, and for the later stages the "trustworthy witnesses" were able to come up with only a very commonplace set of accusations. He had, they said, given hospitality to eight named heretics, revered them and given them food and drink. That was all. The tone of the sentence, however, and the severity of his punishment, make it clear that Cristoforo was intended to be an example, if not a scapegoat<sup>64</sup>. Perhaps this related not so much to what he had done as to who he was: namely, a member of the Tosti family. No fewer than fourteen known heretics were members of his direct family circle, but the Tosti were also close kin to the four "Ricci" and three "Ricci Miscinelli" convicted in 1268, and were related by marriage to other heretical families, such as that of Martinus Guiduti and Barthus Francisci. Thus, in a very different way from Stradigotto of Siena, Cristoforo Tosti occupied a key rôle in Orvietan heresy, particularly as far as the Inquisitors were concerned. He symbolised a whole network of clans, whose power had to be crushed visibly and decisively if social and political order were to be re-established.

One further area remains to be discussed: namely, the extent to which local Cathar believers had understood and assimilated the doctrines of their new faith. This provides a suitable criterion for assessing the extent of a person's commitment to Catharism as a religion, rather than as a way of life or a means of political protest.

Here again, Stradigotto of Siena was in a class of his own, as has been seen already<sup>65</sup>. He was able to give a concise account of the six essential tenets of Catharism, in a form which suggests a creed learnt carefully by rote<sup>66</sup>. Although the Inquisitors would have had access to data of this sort in the manuals published for their guidance<sup>67</sup>, there is no reason to doubt that the credal statement attributed to Stradigotto is an authentic record of his own testimony, and he thus

demonstrates that it was possible for someone who was not one of the 'perfect', but a mere 'believer', to achieve a very high level of understanding of Cathar doctrine. His is an exceptional case, but at least one other man, Petrus Bonamsegne, must have had some theological awareness. He may not have been an active participant in the lively debates which he had observed in Cremona, but he was at least sufficiently interested to take note of what was going on:

*... fuerit subdole et dolose confessus quod vidit patarenos in  
Crimona loquentes et disputantes, Accessit ad dulcia loca  
locuturus hereticis et hereticorum predicationes audivit. (64)*

Stradigotto was quite outstanding as far as his understanding of Cathar theology was concerned. None of the other retrospective confessions of faith is remotely comparable to his in terms of detail. Nonetheless, some of the other witnesses did display more than minimal knowledge of the principles of their faith. Seven of them, in particular, had grasped what must have been one of the main thrusts of Cathar preaching: the fact that salvation could only be attained through the 'perfect', whether by means of their teaching, or by following their way of life, or by the laying-on of hands. A further nine admitted, in one form of words or another, that they had believed the 'perfect' and/or their teaching and lifestyle to be "good and holy", while seven others simply expressed their admiration of the 'perfect' and of their way of life in very general terms<sup>65</sup>.

Despite the very restricted range of this evidence, and the limited comprehension to which it testifies, there are sufficient minor variations in wording from one example to the other to give these statements a ring of authenticity. Nonetheless, the overall impression given by the *Liber Inquisitionis* is that the faith of most Cathar believers had a very weak theoretical base. Despite the central rôle of preaching and teaching in the Cathars' missionary programme, the initial attraction of the movement for most people lay in the personal charisma of the evangelists rather than the content of their preaching. The believers' own subsequent obligations consisted mainly in attendance at meetings, participation in rituals and the provision of material support, rather than in the comprehension of difficult doctrines. This makes the case of Stradigotto of Siena all the more unusual, and provides yet another reason for believing him to have been one of the most influential of the Orvietan heretics.



It has become increasingly apparent in the course of this discussion that there was more than one type of internal hierarchy within the Cathar movement. The distinction between 'perfect' and 'believers' was only one of several which marked out different levels of commitment within the sect. Those who were prepared to receive heretics in their own homes, for example, were in general more deeply involved than those who associated with the 'perfect' elsewhere. The movement was dominated to a large extent by a few powerful families, membership of which amounted to proof of guilt as far as the Inquisitors were concerned, but many other people were drawn into the wider orbit of heresy for a variety of personal and political reasons. Women, too, were a key factor in the Cathar organisation, although the Inquisitors saw them as less of a threat than some of the male sympathisers whose actual involvement was more superficial. Finally, although only a small proportion of 'believers' were able to give a clear account of what precisely they did believe, some were better informed than others.

A few people, such as Stradigotto of Siena and Cristoforo Tosti, figure in more than one of these categories. It was probably these people, rather than the itinerant missionaries from other towns, who were the effective leaders and administrators of heresy in Orvieto and the surrounding area.

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1. Any of the standard textbooks will give a description of the proceedings involved in administering the *consolamentum*, and an account of its practical implications for the person concerned. See, for example, M D Lambert, Medieval Heresy, pp. 108 - 113 ["The Status of the Perfect and the Rites of the Sect"], or W L Wakefield, Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in southern France, 1100 - 1250, London, 1974, pp. 36 - 41.
2. Lib. Inq., f. 15'. There are many similar examples (see Table 13).
3. The Cathar term for this ritual, the "*Melioramentum*", does not appear in Lib. Inq., but the Inquisitors more frequently described it as 'adoration'. The word used in Lib. Inq. is "*reverentia*": "*reverentia fecit eis, adorando ipsos iuxta pravam consuetudinem eorundem...*".
4. e.g. Lib. Inq., f. 6<sup>2</sup> [Filippus Bussel], "*credidit patarenos esse bonos et sanctos*". The same formula is used, with slight variations, in f. 3' [Stradigottus Ricci de Tostis]; f. 21' [Cambius Ricci Miscinelli]; & f. 28 [Stradigottus Senensis]. The same belief is reflected, indirectly, in many other instances.
5. Petrus Guidi Becchi [f. 16<sup>2</sup>], "*receptavit pretium pro conductionibus supradictis*".
6. Dominus Rainerius Munaldi Rainerii Stephani [f. 4'] confessed in 1263, "*quod locutus fuit Stephano Narnense, heretico, et socio in Monte-Marano, et recepit ab eo consilium pro sua infirmitate*".
7. f. 17<sup>2</sup> [Bonparens Ursil]; "... *Benvenutam uxorem suam... in morte sua fecerit consolari, ipso presente, et ipsi heretico Reverentiam faciente, dederit ipsi patareno manducare et bibere inibi et pro ipsa consolatione solidos xii<sup>1</sup> minutos*".
8. see Table 11. The figures are very approximate, partly because of the overlap of names [e.g., was "*Iacobus Lombardus*" the same man as "*Iacobus Florentinus*?]; and partly because of the practice of naming only one of the pair ["*x et socius eius*"]. The list might even have to be doubled, if each person named was accompanied by an unnamed associate.
9. Lib. Inq., f. 25<sup>2</sup>.
10. M.D. Lambert, Medieval Heresy, p. 116.
11. Lib. Inq., f. 19'.
12. Militta de Monte-amato, and Julitta Florentina, ed. V. Natalini, Leggenda B. Petri Parentis..., *Lectio* 2, & discussion above.
13. Lib. Inq., f. 3<sup>2</sup>. The incident occurred after the brothers had confessed and abjured their heresy before Fra Giordano. The nearest equivalent place-name in the 1292 *Castasto* is "Castrum Ripe", which lies about 11 km, north-east of Orvieto, just south of Prodo. See maps in E. Carpentier, Orvieto à la fin...
14. M.C. Barber, "Women and Catharism", in Reading Medieval Studies 3 (1977), p. 49.
15. M.D. Lambert, "The motives of the Cathars; some reflections", in Studies in Church History 15, Oxford, 1978, pp 54 - 55 & p. 51.
16. Lib. Inq., f. 17<sup>2</sup>.
17. *ibid.*, f. 28.
18. Lib. Inq., ff. 9', 23', 24', 24<sup>2</sup>; and discussion above, 5A.1b) Cathar Lifestyle & 5A.2a) Noble & Popular (Petrus Guidi Becchi).
19. Lib. Inq., f. 19'.



20. *ibid.*, f. 16<sup>2</sup>, "*conduxit Benvenutum Cacheum et eius sotium ad pluria loca, Nec non Benvenutam hereticam apud Castrum Gradulensem, et recepit pretium pro conductionibus supradictis*".
21. *ibid.*, f. 23<sup>2</sup>,
22. *ibid.*, f. 17<sup>2</sup>, "... *per impositionem manuum ipsius heretici (Iacobus) Benvenutam uxorem suam iuxta pravam hereticorum consuetudinem detestandam in morte sua fecerit consolari, ipso presente...*".
23. *ibid.*, f. 28, "...*matrimonialiter viventes in statu fore dampnationis...*".
24. see maps in E. Carpentier, Orvieto à la fin...
25. *Iacobus Urbevetanus* was received by Christoforo Tosti (Lib. Inq., f. 1) and Miscinello Ricci Miscinelli (f. 11). Luca of Castellonclo is mentioned only in the case against Martinus Martini Guidutii (f. 20<sup>1</sup>) who was alleged to have given him overnight hospitality in his house in the *Santa Pace* quarter.
26. A. di S., Fond. Giud., Busta a, Fasc. 2, f. 1v, cf. *perfectus* Guido Rubei.
27. *ibid.*, Busta 1, Fasc. 8, f. 8v, cf. *perfectus* Iacobus Lombardus.
28. A. di S., Fond. Giud., Busta 2, Fasc. 9, f. 29v, cf. *perfectus* Andrea Castellane.
29. According to Canon Giovanni's *Leggenda* of Parenzo [ed. Natalini, *Lectio* 2, pp. 154 - 51, Bishop Riccardo had many heretics put to death in a variety of ways: "...*in tantum est hereticos persecutus, ut alii penam suspendii sustinerent, alii capite punirentur, alii traderentur flammis comburendi...*".
30. Lib. Inq., f. 15<sup>1</sup>, & discussion above.
31. E. Le Roy Ladurie, Montaillou: Cathars and Catholics in a French village, 1294-1324, Penguin Books, 1978, p. 223.
32. Lib. Inq., f. 10<sup>1</sup>.
33. Barthus Francisci (f. 5<sup>2</sup>), Ildribandinus Ricci (f. 7) and Martinus Martini Guidutii (f. 20<sup>1</sup>). The fourth was Christoforo Tosti (f. 1).
34. It is always possible, of course, that there were other Inquisition registers which have not survived. The case of Matteo Romei, whose property had been confiscated for heresy, but who does not appear in Lib. Inq., suggests that this may have been so. (Arch. Duomo, Perg. 60a, 31 October 1296).
35. E. Le Roy Ladurie, Montaillou, p. 225 fn.3. The records for survival in a state of *endura* in Montaillou were 13 days and 13 nights, and a fortnight respectively.
36. Le Roy Ladurie (Montaillou, p. 229) notes that people in surrounding villages, where heresy was less deeply entrenched than in Montaillou itself, were much more reluctant to submit to the *endura* or to impose it upon dying relatives.
37. Lib. Inq., f. 6<sup>2</sup>, "...*credidit patarenos esse bonos et santos, et per impositionem manuum eorundem posse salvari...*".
38. Lib. Inq., f. 16<sup>2</sup>, "...*audivit... predicationes ipsorum... quod... omnes qui erant in fide Romane Ecclesie non salvabuntur nisi solum qui faciunt vitam et tenent vitam patarenorum...*".
39. Barthus Francisci (f. 5<sup>2</sup>); Ildribandinus Ricci (f. 7); Provençanus Lupicini (f. 13); Raynerius Stephani (f. 34<sup>1</sup>).
40. Lib. Inq., f. 15<sup>1</sup>.
41. Lib. Inq., f. 17<sup>2</sup>, "... *reverentiam fecerunt predictis hereticis...*"; "... *ipsi heretico reverentiam faciente...*".

42. A, di S., Cod. Tit. A, f. 74v.

43. Viterbo Fragment 1. Like many other believers and adherents, he arranged for food supplies to be sent to the perfect; "... *dixit quod misit per Raynaldum Canninellum apud Castellonclum Guidoctutio patareno panem et vinum pro elemosina*..."

44. e.g. Petrus Bonamsegne (f. 6<sup>v</sup>); Ildribandinus Ricci (f. 7); Rainuccettus Christofani (f. 14) should all be *relapsi*. Verdefontana (f. 25<sup>2</sup>); Bonadimane; and Guglielmus and Iohannes Viviani (f. 33<sup>2</sup>) should be *receptatores*.

45. Lib. Inq., f. 9<sup>v</sup>. *Domina Syginetta* was condemned as "*fautrice et amatrice patarenorum*", but she was not described as "*credens*".

46. The question is discussed by M.D. Lambert [Medieval Heresy, p. 112], with acknowledgement of assistance from W L Wakefield; but despite their combined deliberations it remains unresolved: "Was the believer... one who had passed through special training and had the right to say the *Pater Noster*... or was he or she simply a heavily involved supporter of the sect?... The matter is not clear."

47. M.D. Lambert, Medieval Heresy... pp. 112-3; "... it is apparent that all who were not perfect, whether fringe sympathiser or committed believer, had very limited functions in the sect, and could not have more so long as they were still attached to Satan's creation".

48. Lib. Inq., f. 9<sup>2</sup>. The only other people not described as *credentes* were *consolati* who had already died.

49. No distinction is made between those who provided overnight hospitality and those who did not, although the relevant information was available. Twelve people in total received heretics "by day and night", some as a regular habit, others on a single occasion, often when the ceremony of consolation was being performed.

50. Terms such as these were probably interchangeable to some extent. *Domino Rainerio*, for example, is described as "*credens, fautor et benefactor*" in f. 4<sup>v</sup>, and as "*credens, fautor et complex*" in f. 27<sup>2</sup>, although both verdicts relate to the same range of offences.

51. Lib. Inq., f. 1. [identical copy at f. 8].

52. *ibid.*, f. 18<sup>v</sup>. Also 1249 Sentence.

53. The only early case of which records survive is that of Benvegnata, who was sentenced with her husband, Guarnerius de Cannano, on 30 March 1223 [A di S., Cod. Tit. A, f. 37.].

54. see Table 13. Two women and four men attended unspecified "*consolationibus hereticorum*".

55. cf. Brenda Bolton, "*Mulieres Sanctae*", in Studies in Church History 10, 1973.

56. Lib. Inq., f. 30<sup>2</sup> and Canonisation process for B. Ambrogio.

57. Lib. Inq., f. 28 (*Stradigottus Senensis*), *ibid.*, fol. 1 & fol. 8 (*Christoforus Tosti*). The wording of the two entries concerning *Cristoforo Tosti* is very nearly identical, and the only thing to suggest that the sentence might actually have been publicly proclaimed a second time is the fact that two different dates are cited: 14 May & 7 June.

58. If the two names do refer to the same person, then this man was very heavily involved indeed in the Cathar movement. The arguments are discussed more fully above. 5A.1b) Trades & Professions

59. Eight men are named in Fra Roggero's sentence of 1249 [A, di S., Cod. Tit. A, f. 95], which refers back to this incident. They are, *Christoforo* and his brothers *Ildribandinus*/



Ildribandinus, Riccius and Stradigottus; Iulianus and Bivienus Blasii; Bartholomeus Ranuctii Tosti; and Rainerius Bartholomei Ranuctii Magistri.

60. see discussion above, 5A,1b) Cathar lifestyle & beliefs

61. The sentence against him was as follows; excommunication & perpetual infamy; banishment from Orvieto & the papal states; no business or personal contact with others; loss of all legal rights, including right to hold public office, to second generation; exclusion from sacraments and Christian burial; confiscation of all his property; destruction of his house and tower; revocation of all his legal contracts. [Lib, Inq., f. 1]

62. Lib, Inq., f. 28. See fuller discussion above for contents of this creed.

63. see, e.g., Bernard Gui, Manuel de l'Inquisiteur (2 vols), ed. & transl. G. Mollat, Paris, 1926.

64. Lib, Inq., f. 6'.

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#### A. 4 INQUISITION AND AFTERMATH

It would be quite feasible, on the basis of information in the *Liber Inquisitionis*, to undertake a detailed study of the operation of the Franciscan Inquisition in Orvieto in 1268/9: its organisation and methods of working; the charges which it made against local people; the verdicts pronounced on them; and the sentences imposed. This would be a sizeable task, however, and unlikely to reveal much that is new. From the early decades of the thirteenth century, when the task of Inquisition was entrusted to the Mendicant Orders, standard procedures were laid down for Inquisitors to follow, and all the indications are that these were implemented in Orvieto in the usual way. Thus, a few general observations about the way in which the Inquisitors carried out their duties will be sufficient to introduce the more important subject of the extent to which their sentences were actually enforced, and the long-term effects on 'believers' and their descendants of a conviction for heresy.

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##### a) Inquisition in Orvieto, 1268/9

There are a few hints in the *Liber Inquisitionis* about the detailed investigations which must have preceded the public trials held in the square outside the church of S. Francesco between 17 April 1268 and 22 January 1269. These would originally have been recorded in a separate register, two small fragments of which are preserved in the Cathedral archive in Viterbo<sup>1</sup>.

A campaign on the scale of the one conducted by the two Franciscans, Fra Benvenuto of Orvieto and Fra Bartholomeio of Amelia, in 1268/9 could not possibly have been achieved without a sizeable administrative staff. The name of the notary who recorded all but one of the Orvietan trials, Orbetanus Nicole, is, of course, known, because he had to authenticate each day's proceedings with his mark, but most of his colleagues in the "office of the Inquisition", where testimonies were received, have left no historical trace of their efforts<sup>2</sup>.

The work of one important official is known only from a few incidental references in the *Liber Inquisitionis* and in the first "fragment" from Viterbo. This was the "nuncio", who was responsible for summoning people for questioning or sentencing, and who might also act



as intermediary between the Inquisitors and local people in the preliminary stages of their investigations.

Neri, a witness from Carnaiola, described the detailed precautions which had to be taken to ensure his safety while he was waiting for the "nuncio" to return from Orvieto with news of the Inquisitors' response to his first approaches to them. What comes across most forcibly from his account is the atmosphere of fear and suspicion in which this man and his friends were living. Neri must have decided to co-operate with the Inquisitors, and may even have volunteered to testify, in the hope of reducing his punishment. Even so, he did not have the confidence to negotiate with them directly, and his friends showed a distinct reluctance to offer him shelter:

*... quando ipse Nerus testis stabat in domo prefati Ganni misit dictum Gannum pro Masseo Callatoris ut veniret ad eum, et cum venisset, rogavit eum ut deberet eum receptare in domo sua quousque nuntius rediret ab Urbeveteri et sciret voluntatem inquisitoris; et dictus Masseus noluit ipsum receptare...* (3)

Although responsibility for the Inquisition had passed from the Dominicans to the Franciscans some time between 1254 and 1260<sup>4</sup>, its basic organisational structure had remained the same. Fra Roggero was employing at least one "nuncio" in 1248, and Fra Giordano at least two in 1263. Reference is made to them in the sentences against Raynerio Stradigotti and the brothers Bonacursus and Iannesbonus Lombardus respectively<sup>5</sup>. The "nuncio" is mentioned once more in the *Liber Inquisitionis*, and on this occasion the man's name is given. On 20 June 1268, the three women and one man whose trials were being heard that day failed to attend the public hearing, despite being personally summoned by Iannutius, "nuncio of the Inquisitors and the Inquisition":

*... absentibus prefatis mulieribus et dicto Petrutio, citatis tamen peremptorem ad sententiam audiendam per Iannutium Nuntium dictorum Inquisitorum et Inquisitionis...* (6)

Although there are no other specific references to the "nuncio", it would almost certainly have been Gianuccio or one of his colleagues who summoned domino Rainerio from his home ("ad domum") on 7 June to stand trial for a second time<sup>7</sup>, and indeed it can safely be assumed that his services were required in the majority of cases.

The question most frequently asked about the medieval Inquisitors is whether or not they used torture in order to extract "confessions" from local suspects. The nearest the Orvietan record comes to admitting that pressure was exerted upon suspects is when it describes how the

crimes of three of them were brought to light. Symeon Lanarolo, Rainucettus Christofani and Cambio Ricci Miscinelli had all denied the charges against them at first, but the truth was "disclosed" ("reserare") after "various and prudent interrogations" in the first case, and "skilful interrogation" in the second two<sup>9</sup>.

The nature of these "interrogations" must be left to the imagination, but there is known to have been a "prison" in Orvieto, where suspects could be detained until such time as they saw the error of their ways. Filippo Busse, for example, had been "kept and detained for the crime of heresy", and part of his punishment was to be kept in prison until the Inquisitors were convinced of his "conversion and good life":

*... et tam diu squalore carceris eum sententialiter decernimus  
macerandum, quam diu secum per Romanam Ecclesiam, vel per nos aut  
alios Inquisitores, iuxta sue conversionis et vite merite fuerit  
misericorditer dispensatum...* (9)

Similar provision was made in four other cases: those of Symeon Lanarolo (who had, of course, been interrogated); Amatus Senensis; and *domina Verderosa*<sup>10</sup>. Imprisonment would probably have been used more often if so many of the suspects had not died or fled the area before the trials took place.

Some of the methods used by the Inquisitors were morally questionable by modern standards, and the fear aroused by their presence has already been noted. One of the least attractive features of the Inquisition was the way in which people were encouraged to betray their friends and relations, during a specified period of 'grace' at the start of the enquiries. This must have taken place in Orvieto, although the only firm pointer to it occurs in the case of the three women sentenced together on 20 June 1268. It is made quite clear that only two of them, Benvegnata and Domedell'altra, had confessed, and the conclusion has to be that the third woman, *domina Greca*, was implicated by the testimony of her friends<sup>11</sup>.

But despite their determination to eradicate heresy once and for all, and despite the fear which they deliberately provoked and exploited, Fra Benvenuto and Fra Bartholomeo were not entirely intransigent. Whatever one might think of their rules of procedure, they did at least adhere strictly to them, and they were even prepared, on occasion, to bend their own rules, in the hope that a suspect might yet be persuaded to repent. For example, there was a certain prescribed period in which



people had to pay their fines, or collect the yellow crosses for their clothing, but when *domino* Rainerio failed to collect his crosses in time, he was given a second chance to do so<sup>12</sup>. The Inquisitors' leniency may have had something to do with this man's high social rank, but any sign of clemency on their part is significant in itself.

Perhaps the strongest evidence for the underlying humanity of these men comes in the two cases where financial provision was made for the innocent dependants of the people convicted. Provençano Lupicini was one of the most serious offenders as far as the Inquisitors were concerned, and although he was dead by 1268, no clemency was shown to him personally: His bones were to be burnt, his house destroyed, his entire estate confiscated, and his male heirs denied all public honours and temporal appointments to the second generation. Nevertheless, even in a case such as this one, it was recognised that the man's nieces did not deserve to suffer, and special provision was made for them:

*... et providendi neptibus dicti Provençani filiabus Rainutii que non sunt heretica labe resperse, de bonis predictis prout nobis melius videbitur et utilius expedire...* (13)

Similarly, although all the worldly goods of *domina* Adilascia were confiscated, they were to be kept aside and used, at the Inquisitors' discretion, to provide for her daughters. In this case, where the offences had been less serious, there is even a hint that Adilascia herself might, at some time in the future, be given opportunity to make amends:

*... Reservata semper Romanam Ecclesiam nobis et aliis Inquisitoribus providendi de bonis predictis filiabus dicte Domine Adilascie iuxta nostram provisionem, et penam aliam et penitentiam dicte Domine imponendi plenaria postestate.* (14)

Four of the people sentenced in 1268/9 were, in fact given canonical penances in addition to the usual forms of punishment, and this also indicates that there was some chance of their being restored eventually to full communion with the Church. Special circumstances applied in at least one of these cases, for the penances imposed on Domenico di Pietro Rossi were directly related to his status as a Franciscan tertiary. Locthus Guillelmi Surdi may well have come into the same category<sup>15</sup>. In the case of Cambio Ricci Miscinelli and his brother Petruccio, however, the fact that they were given the opportunity to go on pilgrimage in order to expiate their sins probably reflects the limited nature of their involvement in heresy, and, more importantly,

their willingness now to submit to the Inquisitors' authority'<sup>6</sup>.

There are thus some small indications in the *Liber Inquisitionis* that when people showed themselves willing to co-operate, Fra Benvenuto and Fra Bartholomeo were prepared to meet them halfway. For the most part, however, there was no genuine communication between the two sides. Many of the heretics who were still alive had already left the town, and regardless of whether they appeared in person or not, most were found guilty of being "*credentes, fautores et receptatores hereticorum*" <sup>17</sup>, and then subjected to the full range of penalties. These included permanent banishment from Orvieto and the surrounding area; destruction of those houses where the "*consolamentum*" had been performed; and confiscation of all their property, which would then be sold, and the proceeds divided between the commune (½ share) and the Church (½ share). Those who were permitted to stay in the town had to wear large yellow crosses on the front and back of their clothing every time they went out in public. They were, of course, excluded from the sacraments of the Church, and would be denied Christian burial when they died. Furthermore, they were not allowed to draw up legal documents or to hold public office, and no-one else was allowed to do any business with them.

It is hard to see how anyone could have been expected to live for any length of time under such harsh restrictions, and this is why it will be important to try to assess the extent to which these measures were, in fact, implemented, and to follow up such leads as there are on the small number of heretics who did stay on in Orvieto after their conviction.

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#### b) Effectiveness of the Inquisition

The first point which has to be made about the effectiveness of the campaign undertaken by the Franciscan Inquisitors in 1268/9 is that virtually nothing is heard about the Cathar heresy in Orvieto after this date. Inquisitors continued to be appointed (Fra Angelo, Fra Leonardo, Fra Ado and Fra Francesco are the only four whose names are known)<sup>1</sup> and Orvieto continued to receive papal circulars warning about the dangers of heresy in general<sup>2</sup>. It was not unreasonable, given their experience over the past century, for the authorities to be afraid that heresy might recur, but in the event, from 1269 onwards, their fears proved to be groundless.



The question which remains is how much of the credit for this undoubted success from the Church's point of view should be attributed to Fra Benvenuto and Fra Bartholomeo, how much to their predecessors in office, and how much to the natural decline of the Cathar movement as alternative outlets for religious devotion became more readily available to lay people.

By 1268, the Inquisition had already been active in Orvieto for at least thirty years, excluding the strenuous efforts made by successive bishops and *podestà's* to punish heretics and destroy their hold on the town prior to 1239, when responsibility was handed over to the Mendicant Orders. With the exception of occasional glimpses into the work of two of the earlier Inquisitors, Fra Roggero, O.P. (1239 & 1249) and Fra Giordano, O.F.M. (1263), and papal Bulls which mention the names of two of their colleagues, Fra Guido, O.P. (1254) and Fra Andrea, O.F.M. (1260)<sup>3</sup>, very little is known about the details of this thirty-year campaign. It was unsuccessful to the extent that heresy continued to be practised in the town, but it may not have been entirely without effect.

In fact, there are a number of indications in the *Liber Inquisitionis* that Fra Benvenuto and Fra Bartholomeo may largely have been engaged in tying up loose ends, or stamping out the ashes of a fire which was already effectively dead. Almost a quarter of the heretics (nineteen out of eighty-eight) were literally dead by the time their cases came to trial, and only thirteen of the remaining number were present to hear their sentences proclaimed (see Table 1). The thirty-seven or more who "contumaciously" refused to attend must have decided that voluntary exile was preferable to prosecution, but this decision could have been taken earlier than 1268, at least in those cases where the Inquisitors had to depend on the testimony of "reliable witnesses" because the suspect was no longer available for questioning.

The fear which caused people to leave the area rather than face trial could itself be regarded as a measure of the Inquisitors' success. However, there is one more positive guide in the *Liber Inquisitionis* to the extent to which their policies were effective. It has already been seen that the confiscation of personal property was one of the chief weapons at the disposal of the Inquisition. The money raised from the sale of the property had to be divided between Church and commune, and in approximately nineteen cases, the symbol " ] " was added in the margin, presumably by one of the town's financial officials, to indicate

that the commune had received its share<sup>4</sup>. The meaning of the symbol is occasionally spelt out in words: "*satisfactum est comuni de duabus partibus*". In view of the fact that so many of the heretics were no longer there to defend their property rights, there is a strong probability that an even higher proportion of the confiscations were, in fact, put into effect. Apart from anything else, this was the one penalty which was of material, as well as moral benefit to the orthodox.

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### c) Aftermath

Property confiscations were the most tangible, as well as the most lucrative of the sentences imposed upon heretics in Orvieto. For that reason, they are also the most useful when it comes to tracing the long-term impact of heresy and its repression on Orvietan society. There are several references in sources other than the *Liber Inquisitionis* to property which had once belonged to heretics. None is particularly significant on its own, but taken together, they begin to form a picture of the scale of the Inquisitors' operations, and illustrate what was at stake for a medieval family, particularly if the head of the household was convicted of heresy. These examples also demonstrate the extent to which religious questions affected every aspect of a person's life. Allegiance to the wrong cause could have profound material, as well as spiritual consequences.

#### Confiscation of heretics' property

From the earliest days of heresy in Orvieto, part of the official response to it had been to confiscate the property of offenders. Daniel Waley notes that the fortunes of the influential Monaldeschi family were founded, in part at least, on a territorial power-base acquired at the expense of the "heretics" (in this case, members of the Ghibelline 'Prefetto' family) who were exiled after the murder of Pietro Parenzo in 1199<sup>1</sup>. Luca di Domenico Manente is not at his most reliable in this early period, and so one has to be cautious about accepting his statement that a black mark was put on the houses of heretics as a permanent sign of the "unfaithfulness" of their owners<sup>2</sup>. However, there is solid backing for his claim that these first "heretics" had all their "moveable and immoveable possessions" taken from them. This comes in the form of the oath prescribed for officials of the commune. It was standard practice for such officials to have to promise that they would not allow any of the town's property to be "alienated", but from



approximately 1200 onwards, the text of the Orvietan oath referred specifically to the "lands of the patarines" and the "property of those who left the town, or were expelled from it on account of the death of d. Pietro Parenzo" <sup>3</sup>.

Heresy was not, of course, the only crime for which a person's property might be confiscated, but it remained standard practice throughout the thirteenth century for this form of punishment to be applied in cases of heresy. Attention has already been drawn to two documents which, in addition to revealing a complicated network of relationships among heretics, provide definite proof that some of the sentences of confiscation were very quickly implemented<sup>4</sup>. In 1265, *domina* Bellapratu gave her son Frederico a piece of land, which was all that was left of the house which had formerly belonged to her husband Guiscardo<sup>5</sup>. The destruction of the house must have been ordered by Fra Giordano, O.F.M., at the same time as he decided that Bellapratu should retain the "*casalinum*" in compensation for her dowry. On 30 May 1268, a family friend, Filippo Busse, was tried by Fra Benvenuto and Fra Bartholomeo, and part of his punishment was that his house should be destroyed "to the foundations" <sup>6</sup>. This sentence was carried out, despite the fact that the house had changed hands in the meantime. Thus the new owners, *domina* Melontana and her son *presbitero* Pietro were left with a bare piece of land where their house had been, and this is what underlies the woman's decision, in February 1270, to hand over her rights in the property to her son<sup>7</sup>.

There can have been very little delay in implementing either of these sentences, but there are two significant entries in the *Codice di S. Costanzo* which show that some property had changed hands even before the work of the Inquisitors was complete, and in one case within days of the sentence of confiscation being passed. On 8 June 1268, when the public trials were still in their early stages, two men, Boniohannes Bartholomei and Oddo Berrardini, promised an annual payment of one "*veronese*" to the chamberlain of the Chapter, as "pension" for a field in the S. Cristofano region, which had formerly belonged to the heirs of Barthus Francisci:

*Boniohannes magistri Bartholomei et Oddo Berrardini Monachi per se suosque heredes et eorum spontanea et bona voluntate promiserunt dare et solvere Camerario Capituli Urbeveterani, . . . omni anno in nativitate domini nostri Ihesu Christi, . . . unum veronensem pro pensione et nomine pensionis unius orti positi in regione sancti/*

*sancti Christofani,,, quem ortum emerunt a fratribus Benvenuto et Bartholomeo inquisitoribus hereticorum et a scindico comunis qui ortus fuit heredum Bartheum Francisci allodium,,, (8)*

Barto Francisci had indeed been tried posthumously on 30 May<sup>a</sup>, but the Inquisitors and communal authorities must have moved very quickly indeed to have re-sold his confiscated property within a week.

The second case is similar, and it took only slightly longer for the house in question to be appropriated and sold. On 12 December 1268, a judge named Cittadinus Phylippi promised to pay the archpriest Oddorisio an annual levy of one *denarius* for a house in the Santa Pace region which had formerly belonged to the heretic Accomandus Profecti:

*Dominus Cittadinus Phylippi Iudex promisit dare et solvere omni anno in nativitate,,, unum denarium domino Hoderisio archipresbitero,,, pro pensione unius domus quam emit a fratre Benvenuto inquisitore heretice pravitatis et ab scindico comunis Urbisveteris posite in regione sancte pacis que fuit Accomandi Profecti. (10)*

The name "Accommanus Prefecti" does appear in the *Liber Inquisitionis*, and part of this man's sentence was that his property should be confiscated, his failure to appear in person presumably being taken as proof of guilt. The sentence was made public on 24 October<sup>11</sup>, and must therefore have been implemented in just over a month.

As well as showing how quickly and efficiently sentences of confiscation could be put into effect, these two cases illustrate very clearly the potential benefits to all except the people convicted of heresy. The Church and the commune shared the proceeds from all sales; local people had the chance to buy property at a price undoubtedly much lower than its normal market value, with the possibility of selling it again later at a profit; and the Chapter continued to draw its usual revenues. There is an interesting postscript to the first of these cases later in the same capitular register. It confirms the theory that a lot of property speculation was taking place in Orvieto around this time. The two men who bought Barto Francisci's field in 1268 must have re-sold half of it at some point within the next four years, because another man, Iohannes Guidoni Marchi, is named as part owner on 15 March 1272:

*Iohannes olim Guidonis Marchi,,, promisit dare,,, omni anno in nativitate,,, domino oderisio Archipresbitero,,, unum denarium pro pensione,,, medietatis unius orti quem emit a Iohanne magistri Bartholomei unum cum Oddone Berrardini Monachi positi in regione sancti Christofani,,, (12)*



### Sentences of the "Exgravator"

If further proof is required of the Inquisitors' diligence in carrying out this part of their duties, it is readily to hand in another near-contemporary source. The "exgravator" was an special judge to whom appeals could be made against sentences imposed by the *podestà* or one of his subordinate officials. Only a few fragments remain of what must once have been a large collection of his judgements, but these particular fragments happen to cover a period immediately after the Inquisition, February to May 1269. Some of the family names of heretics are mentioned in the course of this document, but it is the last two pages (also the most badly damaged) which are of the greatest interest<sup>13</sup>.

The first four appeals on these pages concern the sons of two heretics, Provençano and Amideo Lupicini<sup>14</sup>. Provençano's son, Rainuccio, and Amideo's four sons, Provençano, Alexander, Pietro and Aldebrandino, complained on two separate grounds about their treatment by the *podestà*. In the first instance, they claimed that they had been unjustly treated when they were fined fifteen *Lire* each, "*occasione cavalcate facte in Teberina*". No further details are given, but it may be assumed that they had been summoned to present themselves, on horseback, to take part in a military campaign in this area, and had failed to appear. In the light of their other appeals, it may be that their non-appearance was also related to their fathers' recent conviction for heresy, but no such excuse was made on this occasion.

Their second claim of unjust treatment related to their failure to pay the tax known as the *Lira*, and here the Inquisition sentences are specifically cited as the grounds of their appeal. The structure of the appeal has already been outlined<sup>15</sup>, and it is not necessary for the details to be repeated here. The important point is that Rainuccio and his four cousins were able, somehow, to continue living in Orvieto after their conviction for heresy, albeit in severely straitened circumstances. It has already been suggested that they may have had to pool their resources by living together in a single household, but occasional references to their household servants make it clear that theirs was not a life of abject poverty. Former heretics would have had no choice but to depend on each other for support, and there is evidence that families and friends did band together wherever possible. As might be expected, when they presented their appeals to the *exgravator*, it was Rainuccio who vouched for Provençano, and vice-versa. However, the second

guarantor for Provençano and his brothers was none other than Ildribandinus Ranieri Adilasie, who was almost certainly a brother of another heretic, the late Petrus, known as Cotoça<sup>16</sup>. Certainly, by whatever means, Rainuccio was able to continue living in Orvieto, at least until 1287, when he fell foul of the law once more<sup>17</sup>. He was fined ten *Lire* for not staying within the *Palazzo del Comune*. The most likely reason for his confinement is non-payment of a debt or fine, but it is unlikely that after all this time Rainuccio could have blamed the Inquisitors again for his contumacy.

Thus far, the sequence of events is quite clear and straightforward, but what is not so clear is what happened after Rainuccio and his cousins had left their appeals in the hands of the *exgravator*. Standard procedure seems to have been followed at first. The appeals were lodged ("*illatum*") with the *exgravator*, and then forwarded ("*porrectum*")<sup>18</sup> by him to the appropriate authorities between two and four days later. In every other case, the verdict is given at this point, immediately after the date of referral. The last two pages are set out quite differently, however. All four appeals are listed, together with three relating to another man, Arengerius *domini* Arengerii de Salci, and then a single pronouncement is made in relation to them all.

It is this concluding pronouncement that is most difficult to understand, and this is where it would be of great value to know more about the work of the *exgravator* in general. He seems to be disclaiming responsibility for the failure to reach a proper verdict. He had passed the appeals on to the proper quarters:

*Cum mandaverimus domino Zanni Zacii Potestati... ut exhiberent et exhiberi facerent Rainucio... et Provençano... acta super petitionibus supradictis...*

When he received no response, ("... *non dederunt nec exhibuerunt sicut mandaverimus...*"), he had no alternative but to declare that the time-limit had expired and their appeals could no longer be considered:

*... pronunciamus... in supradictis petitionibus tempora non currere et tempora eis in predictis currere non debere.*

The above is a very tentative attempt to make sense of an obscure piece of text. It would be pointless to be too dogmatic about any possible conclusions, particularly since so little is known about normal methods of dealing with legal appeals in Orvieto. Nonetheless, there does seem to be a significant departure from normal procedure



with regard to these five or six individuals. Not only were all but one of the men the sons of convicted heretics, but one of the standard punishments for heresy was to deprive the person, and possibly also his descendants, of the right of "proclamation or appeal". In spite of the obscurity of the text, it looks very much as though these people were being denied access to normal appeal procedures.

If this conclusion is correct, it raises obvious questions about the status of the other man, Arengerius de Salci. There is no definite reason to suspect him of involvement in the Cathar movement, and no reference to the Inquisition in the course of his appeals against sentences imposed by the *Podestà* and *Capitano del Popolo*. On the other hand, he was guilty of the same sort of offences as the men of the Lupicini family<sup>12</sup>, and his case received exactly the same treatment as theirs, except that it was taken one stage further when he was banished for failing to pay his fine by the due date. There is thus a possibility that Arengerio was one of the hitherto unknown heretics of Orvieto.

#### Long-term memory of property ownership

Strangely enough, although so little time was wasted by the Inquisitors in relieving the heretics of their confiscated property, and although the heretics had theoretically been deprived of all legal rights, their houses and land were not simply absorbed without trace into existing communal or ecclesiastical stocks. The memory of their original ownership was preserved for many years, and this left open the possibility of the descendants of former heretics coming back and trying to reclaim their inheritance. One such appeal was made successfully to Pope Boniface VIII in 1296, when a rich knight, Neri di Tura, lodged a claim on his wife's behalf for her share of property confiscated from her late father, Matheus Romei<sup>20</sup>. His name is not known from the *Liber Inquisitionis*, but his sentence could easily have been recorded in one of the other Orvietan registers, now lost. It might have been harder for his daughter to recover her inheritance if the property had been sold to private individuals, but it seems almost to have been held in trust by the canons of S. Giovanni. If the heresy in question was Catharism, then approximately thirty years must have elapsed since the confiscation took place, and yet Pope Boniface did not anticipate that the canons would have any difficulty in identifying Matteo's property and returning part of it to his heirs.

Similarly, when a group of houses in the Santa Pace quarter were

acquired by the commune in February 1281, so that they could be demolished to make way for the *Piazza del Popolo*<sup>21</sup>, it is clear that some of them were still regarded as belonging to former heretics, despite the fact that they had been confiscated and sold some thirteen years earlier. This is very helpful from a historical point of view, since it adds to the growing picture of what happened to Orvietan heretics and, not least, to their property, in the years following the Inquisition. Cristoforo Tosti, for example, was dead by this time, and his family had lost some of its property in this part of town which had once been its stronghold<sup>22</sup>. However, some of the younger generation had not only stayed on in the area, but still owned property there<sup>23</sup>. Another heretical family seems to have fared much the same, in that the original miscreant, Barthus Francisci had lost his house to the commune, whereas his son, Bartuccio, received compensation when his home had to be demolished<sup>24</sup>.

One even later example confirms the long memory of Orvietans with regard to heresy and its aftermath. Luca di Domenico Manente may not have been too accurate when he was writing about events far distant from his own lifetime, around the beginning of the fifteenth century, but it is much easier to believe him when he says that the houses of the Tosti family once stood "where the *piazza de la fontana de la torre* stands now" <sup>25</sup>. On this occasion, he is recording a genuine folk memory which had persisted to his own generation.

#### Reinstatement of former heretics

The wording of some of the sentences against Orvietan heretics is so severe that it is hard to imagine how they could ever have shown their faces in the town again, quite apart from the impossibility of earning their living without houses, property, or permission to do business with anyone else. However, just as some of the financial and property conditions seem to have been modified a little, so it appears that "perpetual anathema" was in some cases less than permanent. It has to be said, of course, that most of the people tried in 1268/9 were not, in fact, heard of again, but there are some significant exceptions to this general rule. The fullest survey of Orvietan society in the late thirteenth century is the *Catasto* of 1292, and it has already been seen that some, though not a great number of heretics and members of their families were registered as property-holders in that year<sup>26</sup>.

The most outstanding individual example of successful re-



integration was undoubtedly the young trumpeter, Pietro Guidi Becci, whose case has also been discussed at some length<sup>27</sup>. He was convicted of heresy on 20 June 1268, but had resumed his former duties as "*publicus banditor comunis*" as early as 1272. He is mentioned again, with this title, or the alternative one of "*preconis*" in 1285, 1287 and 1291<sup>28</sup>.

This remarkable turn in fortunes within a short period of time was far from typical, but there are other instances of former heretics and their relatives occupying positions of responsibility in Orvietan society, even after 1269. For example, one of the 'buste' in the *Fondo Giudiziario* contains a long list of councillors from each region of the city<sup>29</sup>. Because this document dates from May 1298, it is too late for many of the heretics themselves to be included, but some familiar names do occur among the representatives for the *Santa Pace* Quarter, where heresy had once been strongest. The only name which coincides exactly with one of the names in the *Liber Inquisitionis* is that of Ranuceptus Toste, although this need not have been the same person<sup>30</sup>. Rainuccetto served on the special council for the *Santa Pace* quarter, alongside Loctus Cambii Miscinelli, whose father, Cambio, had been tried for heresy<sup>31</sup>. The larger, general council included two men named Lappuccius Ranucepti Toste and Dominicus Inghilberti. Domenico had obviously continued in his father's profession, since he is described as "*mercator*", just like the heretic, Ingilbertus<sup>32</sup>. Other "heretical" family names such as Blasii, Frascambocca, Amodei and Toncelle occur among the councillors, although none can be linked to specific individuals.

It has to be said, despite these 'success stories', that former heretics were much more often to be found on the wrong side of the law than in positions of responsibility after 1269. However, this in itself speaks for a measure of reintegration, since they were at least being tried in the normal way for a normal range of offences.

Many of the crimes were not, in fact, of a particularly serious nature. Petrus Bonamsegne, for example, was fined one hundred soldi for playing games of chance ("*ludo aqardi*")<sup>33</sup>, while one of the sons of the furrier, Blancus Pelliparius, was found guilty of threatening behaviour towards a female neighbour, Visarella, of S. Salvatore region. He had gone up to her house with a stone in his hand, and called her "*puctana*" and other names, but he does not seem to have done her any physical harm<sup>34</sup>.

*Domino* Raynerio was already back in town, and already back in trouble by 1271, when he was one of forty-four noblemen fined ten Lire for a breach of house arrest<sup>35</sup>. Indeed, the fact that there were so many offenders on this occasion, argues for rather than against his re-absorption into ghibelline society. It is a measure of Rainerio's wealth and influence that, despite his conviction for heresy, he was able to continue making a nuisance of himself in various ways, without apparently provoking the guelf authorities to the point of crushing him altogether. In December 1287 he was found guilty of the illegal possession of arms, and was accused by two of the *podestà's* officers of trying to escape arrest by refusing to stop when called, and then seeking sanctuary in a cloister:

*... Nicholocium et Mucaromen, familiares nostros, ... ivissent  
 runando pro armis per terram cum alia nostra familia. Invenierunt  
 dictum Raynerium in contrata sancti Iuvenalis extra domum suam in  
 viam publicam et affugit ante dictos familiares cum cultello quem  
 habebat ad latus ad percutiendum, non obstante quod dicti nostri  
 familiares clamabant, "Non vadas, quod volumus te runari  
 (?quoniam) habes arma!", et ipsum cultellum remonendo a latere  
 suo proiecit in claustrum ubi ipse affugerat et reintraverat.  
 Quem cultellum ipsi familiares invenerunt post hostium porte, et  
 resignaverunt cur(?am),* (36)

He later admitted the truth of these accusations.

Neither Rainerio nor his brother Pietro was personally involved in the mob rioting which took place late on the Thursday of Holy Week in 1295, when a crowd of men of various trades ran amok through the streets and churches of the town, with hoods pulled over their heads. Men and women on their way to church were pushed to the ground by these ruffians, who then went on to take Holy Water from the churches and bread from the altars and conduct their own depraved rituals, with one of them blasphemously acting out the part of Christ:

*... faciendo unum Christum contrafactum ex eis in obprobrium  
 salvatoris...* (37)

This was not a group of 'heretics' as such, but the parallels are unmistakeable, and although *domino* Pietro had not taken part in the rioting himself, the fact that he stood guarantor for two of the rioters shows clearly where his sympathies lay. This makes it all the more remarkable that the authorities did not clamp down more heavily on him and his brother.

Even the household servants of these two brothers were constantly in trouble. One had already been fined for carrying a sword, and in the



early part of 1277, two others, Petrucius and Vengatus, were involved in some sort of squabble ("rixa") <sup>20</sup>. However, their behaviour was more than matched by that of their master, for on the same occasion, d. Raynerius d. Munaldi was found guilty of going with a knife in his hand, and in a furious temper ("irato animo") to the house of his brother's servant, Petrucius, and threatening him there ("amminasse contra eum"). There is no way of telling precisely what lay behind incidents such as these, but it is clear that Raniero's involvement in heresy was characteristic of his very tumultuous life. It is equally clear that the elimination of Catharism had not succeeded in bringing peace and tranquillity to the town.

Perhaps the most bizarre of the charges recorded against former heretics was one involving Raynucictus Christofani, who appears to have colluded with a woman's own husband to enable her to commit adultery with a third man, against the wishes of her father<sup>21</sup>. The three cases are recorded consecutively. Petruçulus Jacobi Benefacti was charged first:

*... quod de mensis augusti proxime preteriti intrasse de nocte in domum quam magister Benvenutus dompne Ymilie cum familia sua habitat malo modo contra voluntatem ipsius Benvenuti (?cum) iacendum et cognoscendum carnaliter Germanam filiam dicti Benvenuti et uxorem Vandi*

He was fined a total of two hundred Lire for "all these cumulative excesses" and his contumacy. Next, and most extraordinarily, the husband, Vandus magistri Mathei Medici, was fined fifty Lire because, on his own admission, he had helped Petruçulus to commit this crime. Finally, Raynucictus Christofani was charged with the same offence:

*... quod... associasse dictum Petrucium ad dictum facinus perpetrandum... dando eum consilium, auxilium et favorem ad predicta enormia committenda...*

His failure to appear in his own defence was taken as an admission of guilt, but he did eventually turn up, on 21 June 1279, to pay the fifty Lire fine imposed for his contumacy.

There are many more examples of former heretics appearing on both sides of the law - as accusers and accused - but enough has been said to convey a general impression of turbulence and social unrest. It is very difficult to tell how far this sort of atmosphere was typical of Orvietan society after the Inquisition. The violence and crime was restricted to a relatively small number of disaffected ghibelline families. These people were at a profound disadvantage compared to the

ruling guelf elite, and were therefore more prone than most to crimes of violence and disorder. It is also important to remember that offences which now seem extremely serious may not then have marked a person out as a criminal for life. There is no doubt, for example, that Pietro Guidi Becci was quickly accepted as a respectable member of society, and yet he, too, was fined ten *Lire* in 1287 for having accosted Jente Barthonis in the public street, "armed with a knife in his hand and a sword by his side" <sup>40</sup>. In an age when the bearing of arms was a mark of noble status, this conviction can have done the man no lasting harm, for he appears again on 24 August 1291 as witness to a series of judicial proclamations, with his usual designation, "*precone dicti comunis*" <sup>41</sup>.

Not all former heretics and their descendants were part of the subversive core represented by *domino* Rainerio, and families like the Blasii, Tosti and Lupicini. For others, the papacy of Boniface VIII was a particularly propitious time to ask for pardon, or for the Inquisitors' sentences to be reversed. Reference has already been made to Neri di Tura's successful petition for his wife's inheritance to be restored<sup>42</sup>. Neri was a highly respectable man, described in the papal Bull of 31 October 1297 as "*miles urbevetanus*". He served as *podestà* of Viterbo in 1301<sup>43</sup>, which in itself shows that his career had not been adversely affected by marrying into a family tainted with heresy.

On the very day that Neri's petition was granted, Boniface VIII wrote another letter, this time concerning the sons of one of the heretics known from the *Liber Inquisitionis*. Cambius Ricci Miscinelli, *civis urbevetanus*, had been convicted of heresy on 13 August 1268, and part of his punishment was to be denied all "temporal honours" and the right to hold public office<sup>44</sup>. It is not specifically stated that this penalty was also to be applied to the next generation, but that must have been the case, because Cambio's sons, Lotto and Vanno, had to apply personally to the Pope to have these rights restored. The Pope begins by acknowledging the loyalty of these two men, and addressing them accordingly:

*Dilectis filiis Lotto et Vanni fratribus, filiis quondam Cambii dicti Ricci Misinellis, civibus Urbevetanis Romane ecclesie fidelibus...*

Taking their loyalty into account, he agrees to grant their request, in spite of their father's guilt:

*Eis indulgetur, ut non obstantibus culpis sui patris Cambii Richi de/*



*de Urbeveteri, ecclesiastica beneficia recipere, layci vero ad officia publica aliosque seculares honores legitime promoveri valeant,*  
(45)

The two brothers would not have taken the trouble to appeal to the Pope if they had not expected to be offered a public appointment in the near future, and indeed Vanno was listed as a member of the special council for the Santa Pace quarter only seven months later<sup>46</sup>. This case thus provides another example of a heretical family successfully re-admitted to Orvietan society. It also shows once again, albeit in a rather different context from before, that the Church authorities genuinely wanted to deal fairly with lay people suspected of heresy. However harsh their tactics and punishments may appear, it was an essential part of official policy that only the guilty should be made to suffer, and that any signs of co-operation should be encouraged and rewarded.

Finally, there is a third example of an Orvietan heretic whose petition was favourably received by this Pope. On 3 May 1298, a papal letter was sent to Fra Ado de Cumis, who was then Inquisitor in Orvieto, regarding Iohannes Feraloca, a self-confessed heretic, who had already been absolved by two previous Inquisitors, Fra Leonardo di Tibure and Fra Angelo di Collevetere, after carrying out the penances prescribed for him<sup>47</sup>. The most interesting feature of this case is that Pope Boniface took the side of the heretic against the Inquisitor, pointing out that Giovanni had confessed of his own free will, and had co-operated in every way with Inquisitors in the past. He then instructed Fra Ado to take no further action against this man without express papal permission. Bribery may have been a factor here, but even so, Pope Boniface obviously realised that the threat posed by heresy was no longer a serious one in Orvieto. He also understood, far better than the local Inquisitor, that if the primary aim of Inquisition and punishment was to persuade heretics to repent, then there was no point continuing to punish someone who had already shown ample evidence of repentance.

#### Heresy in Orvietan folklore

Heresy had effectively been eradicated from Orvieto by 1269, and the Vatican, at least, had begun to recognise that fact before the end of the century. Most heretics had died, or left the area long since, but those who remained were able to re-establish themselves in society to a greater or lesser extent. Some remained permanently on the fringes of respectability, while a few exceptional people managed to put their past

behind them completely. If heresy was dead by 1269, however, its effects were to be felt in the town for some considerable time to come, and not just among those who had been personally involved.

The heretics were, of course, the people most immediately, and most severely affected by the measures taken against them, and there is considerable evidence to show that the sentences of confiscation, at least, were diligently carried out, causing severe financial hardship to those heretics who chose to stay on in the town. Nonetheless, the long-term effects of heresy extended far beyond this immediate circle. Indeed, it has left an indelible impression on the folk-memory of local people. As late as 1891, Luigi Fumi was able to describe a field just outside the old *Porta Maggiore*, which was known to people in his own day as "*La Patarina*" <sup>40</sup>. Fumi's explanation, that this was the burial-place of former heretics who had been denied Christian burial in consecrated ground, is perfectly plausible, and it may be that the tradition persists among older residents even yet.

Catharism was already a thing of the past by the mid-fourteenth century, when the first religious plays were being written for performance by Orvietan companies of *disciplinati*, and yet several of the plays, which were still being performed into the fifteenth century and beyond, contain explicit references to heresy<sup>41</sup>. Part of the purpose of these plays may have been to prevent such a thing ever happening again, but more important is the fact that the story of the Cathar movement and its repression had become such an integral part of Orvietan history that there could be no question of omitting it from any major artistic or literary collection.

Finally, a register in the *Fondo Giudiziario* includes a fascinating little postscript to the story of Orvietan heresy. The register was compiled in 1287-9, by which time there had been no active heretics in Orvieto for twenty years or so. Nonetheless, their memory had not entirely faded, as is demonstrated by the fact that the word "*patarenus*" or "*patarena*" had by then become part of the local vocabulary of abuse (see Table 17).

There was some reason for the epithet in the case of Petrus Christofani, whose nickname "*Patarenus*" stuck with him to the end of his life, and may even have been passed on to the next generation. This man was almost certainly the son of the notorious heretic, Cristoforo Tosti, a fact which he was never allowed to forget. On 8 December 1287, he



was fined twenty-five *Lire* for a nocturnal attack on the homes of two women, Blonna of Perugia and Rosella Guitane<sup>50</sup>. And in the early summer of 1298, either the same man or his son, Petruccius Christofani "*de regione Sancti Stephani*", was fined six hundred *Lire* for an even more serious crime of assault, with the additional threat of having a hand or a foot amputated if he continued to refuse to pay his fine<sup>51</sup>. Clearly, Cristoforo Tosti's experiences with the Inquisition had not left his son (and/or grandson) with any great respect for authority. The significant fact here is that both names were followed by a note of the man's usual designation, "*alius vocatus Patarenius*".

There was at least, in these two cases, some substance to the cruel nickname, but a second example from the year 1287 suggests that the word '*pattarena*' had already passed into the vernacular as a general term of abuse, carrying no implication of religious deviance or doctrinal error. On 5 May 1287, Iohannes Egidii was fined twenty *soldi* for having said "hurtful words" ("*verba iniuriosa*") to *domina* Jacoba, widow of Guidecto, in the "public street" of the quarter of Santa Maria, where both families lived<sup>52</sup>. The "hurtful word" was, of course, "*pattarena*". It is true that this was an unusual way to insult a lady - much more common was to select one of a variety of colourful terms relating to prostitution<sup>53</sup> - and it may be that Giovanni was deliberately taunting *domina* Jacoba by reminding her of a genuine heretical skeleton in the cupboard of her past. It is just as likely, however, that in the heat of the moment, he drew this insult at random from an extensive selection available to him. There was one man named Guidectus (*olim* Guidonis)<sup>54</sup> in the *Liber Inquisitionis*, but the name of his widow was Verderosa, not Jacoba.

That particular question will have to be left unanswered, but the one clear thing is that by 1287 the word '*patarene*' was still being used, both as a personal nickname for people with genuine heretical connections, and, with or without accuracy, as a general term of abuse.

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#### A.4 INQUISITION AND AFTERMATH: FOOTNOTES

##### a) Inquisition in Orvieto, 1268/9

1. Viterbo Fragments 1 & 2, 25 January 1268.
2. Only one day's proceedings (14 May 1268; Lib. Inq. f. 1) was recorded and authenticated by a different notary - Uguiccio quondam Mattei. However, two other "notaries of the Inquisition" are named as witnesses at some of the trials - *magistro Lituardo & magistro Bonagratia* (e.g. Lib. Inq., f. 10<sup>2</sup>). The phrase "office of the Inquisition" occurs a number of times, e.g. f. 10<sup>2</sup>: "... *tam ex confessione Iohannis Claruvisi civis urbevetae quam ex depositionis fide dignorum testium in Inquisitionis officio receptorum...*".
3. Viterbo Fragment 1. Discussed more fully above, 5A.3c) Levels of commitment.
4. The last known Dominican Inquisitor in Orvieto was Fra Guido de Montecatino in 1254 (Letter of Innocent IV, in Bullarium D.F.P.). The first known Franciscan was Fra Andrea in 1260 (Letter of Alexander IV, 31 March 1260, in Bullarium Franciscanum).
5. Lib. Inq., f. 2: "(1248) *eundem Raynerium per nuntium nostrum, et Inquisitionis citari fecimus, diligenter, ut coram nobis per emptorem, debetur personaliter comparere...*". *ibid.*, f. 3<sup>2</sup>: "(1263) ... *ipsos per nuntios Inquisitionis citari fecit...*".
6. Lib. Inq., f. 16<sup>2</sup>.
7. *ibid.*, f. 27<sup>1</sup>. *Domino Raynerio* did not, in fact, respond to this second official summons.
8. *ibid.*, f. 14 (Rainuccetus Christofani): "... *quia primo non nulla subticutum et malitiose negavit, que postmodum persollertis interrogatis indaginem, quomodo plenius reseravit...*"  
f. 15<sup>1</sup> (Symeon Lanarolo): "... *quamquam ipse iuratus dicere veritatem primo malitiose negaverit omnia supradicta que postmodum per interrogationes varias et prudentes quibus convincebatur plenius reseravit...*".  
f. 21<sup>1</sup> (Cambius Ricci Miscinelli): "... *ipsium astutiam periurii et infamia macula non carentem quia prima non nulla subticuit et malitiose negavit que post modum per solertis interrogationem indaginem quodammodo plenius reseravit ipsum a vinculo excommunicationis absolvimus...*".
9. Lib. Inq., f. 6<sup>2</sup>. Phyllipus Busse de Urbeveteri, "*captus et detentus pro crimine hereseos*".
10. *ibid.*, f. 15<sup>1</sup> (Symeon Lanarolo); f. 24<sup>1</sup> (Amatus Senensis); f. 25<sup>2</sup> (*domina Verderosa*).
11. *ibid.*, f. 16<sup>1</sup>: "... *ex depositionibus fide dignorum testium in inquisitionis officio receptorum nec non ex confessionibus Benvegnat sartriciis, domine domedellaltre infrascriptarum, quod ipse Benvegnate, domina Dellaltre uxor Egidii Seccadinuti et domina Greca matris Petri Bonansigne de Urbeveteri credentes extiterunt hereticorum erroribus...*". In spite of this, Greca and Domedellaltra were the two who satisfied the financial conditions of their sentence, as a marginal addition makes clear: "*Satisfactum est pro domina Greca et pro domina Dellaltre*".
12. *ibid.*, ff. 5<sup>1</sup> & f. 27<sup>1</sup>, d. Rainerius d. Munaldi.
13. *ibid.*, f. 13. Provençanus Lupicini.
14. *ibid.*, f. 12<sup>1</sup>. *domina Adilascia, uxor Barthi Petri Saraceni*.



15. *ibid.*, f. 32<sup>r</sup> (Dominicus Petri Rossi); f. 32<sup>v</sup> (Locthus Guillemi Surdi). Also discussion above, 5A,2b) Trades & Professions.

16. *ibid.*, f. 21<sup>r</sup> (Cambius Ricci Miscinelli); f. 29<sup>v</sup> (Petrotius Ricci Miscinelli); and same discussion above.

17. see Table 14.

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#### b) Effectiveness of the Inquisition

1. In a letter of 3 May 1298, Boniface VIII writes to Fra Ado de Cumis, O.F.M., "*inquisitor heretice pravitatis in Romana provincia*" about his treatment of an Orvietan citizen, Giovanni Feraloca. In the course of the letter, he refers to two previous inquisitors, Fra Angelo de Reate "*inquisitor heretice pravitatis primo*", and Fra Leonardo de Tibure, both also Franciscans (Régistres de Boniface VIII). Much later, a deed of 30 March 1333 in the Notarial Archive in Orvieto (vol. 1/3, f. 69v.) records a payment of 35 *Lire* made by one Petrucciulus Nicole, an oblate of the monastery of S. Lorenzo in Vineis, as rent for a shop in the merchant quarter of the town. This man is described as "*procuratore reverendi patris et domini fratris Francisci de Monteflascone inquisitoris*". It is not clear whether he was acting in his official capacity on this occasion.

2. On 20 April 1349, for example, a general decree anathematising various forms of heresy was re-issued in Orvieto. (A. di S., Fond. Dip.)

3. The Bullarium Ordinis Fratrum Predicatorum (ed. F. Thomæ Ripoll, Roma, 1729ff) includes a letter, dated 18 March 1254, from Innocent IV to the Prior of S. Domenico and Fra Guido de Montecatino, "Orvietan Inquisitors". The letter, an exact copy of which was sent the following day to Anagni, is merely a general injunction to the Inquisitors to carry out their work diligently, with some instructions about procedures, but it goes some way towards filling the gap between 1249, when Fra Roggero was in office, and 1260, by which time the Franciscan, Fra Andrea, had taken over. Fra Andrea is mentioned briefly in a similar letter of 31 March 1260 (in Bullarium Franciscanum Romanorum Pontificum, ed. J-H. Sbaralea,

Roma, 1759ff.). In this letter, Alexander IV writes from Anagni to the people of Orvieto, telling them to help Fra Andrea and his fellow-Inquisitors in their work against heretics and their "*fautores*", especially "Capello di Chia and his family".

4. In nine other cases, the symbol "R" has been added in the margin; once alongside the "*satisfactum*" mark. I have not so far been able to determine its significance.

.....

#### c) Aftermath

1. D. Waley, Medieval Orvieto: The Political History of an Italian City-State, 1157-1334, Cambridge, 1952, p. xxv. "From small beginnings in the twelfth century, they (the Monaldeschi) steadily increased their power, gaining with every crisis. The expulsion of heretics in 1199 gave them Rocca Sberna, their first country seat, and probably much else..."

2. Cronaca di Luca di Domenico Manente (1174-1413) in Eph. Urb., p. 280.

3. C.D., p. LXXI. "*terris paterinorum*", and "*bonis illorum qui propter mortem domini Petri Parentii exiverunt vel deiectioni fuerunt de civitate*".

4. see above, 5A,2b) Trades & Professions (*Pelliparii*).

5. Lib. Don., f. 88v., 31 January 1265.

6. Lib. Inq., f. 6<sup>r</sup>, Filippus Busse de Urbeveteri.

- 7, Lib, Don., f, 90r., 17 February 1270,
- 8, Arch, Cap., Cod, di S, Cost., f, 171r., 8 June 1268,
- 9, Lib, Inq., f, 5<sup>2</sup>, 30 May 1268, Barthus Francisci,
- 10, Cod, di S, Cost., f, 189v., 12 December 1268,
- 11, Lib, Inq., f, 30<sup>1</sup>, 24 october 1268, Accommanus Prefecti,
- 12, Cod, di S, Cost., f, 179v., 15 March 1272,
- 13, Fond, Giud., Sentences of the Exgravator, ff, 24r.-v., May 1269,
- 14, Lib, Inq., ff, 13 & 23<sup>2</sup>, Both were posthumous convictions,
- 15, above, 5A,2c) Wealth of Orvietan heretics ("External evidence")
- 16, Lib, Inq., f, 19<sup>2</sup>,
- 17, Fond, Giud., 1287-9 Register, f, 59r, See Table 16,
- 18, This word appears only in abbreviated form ("*por*"), The correct expansion is almost certainly "*porrectum*", from the verb *porrigo*, which means the same as *dirigo*, to refer, or send on,
- 19, He was accused of failing to report for service with the cavalry ("*cum aliis militibus*"); failing to pay the fine imposed thereafter; and of some other offence also involving a horse,
- 20, Letter of Boniface VIII, 3 May 1298 (Régistres..., & Potthast 246,74)
- 21, A, di S., Istrumentum IX (matric, 878), ff, 1-10, Summary in C.D., pp, 324ff (doc, DXXIV & notes), The Italian quotes below are from Fumi's summary,
- 22, "*la proprietà del fu Christoforo 'Tosti'*", "*la proprietà che fu de 'Tosti'*",
- 23, There are still some references to property belonging to the "*casa dei Tosti*" or "*i figliuoli di Tosti*"
- 24, Rannuccio Christofani's house is described as "*confinante... con Barto Francisci, ora del Comune*", Bartuccio received twenty *Lire* as compensation for a piece of property ("*reitum*").
- 25, Luca di Domenico Manente, in Eph, Urb., p, 311 (1268),
- 26, 1292 Catasto, Discussed fully above, 5A,2c) Wealth of Heretics ("External sources"), See also Table 10,
- 27, see discussion above, 5A,2b) Trades & Professions ("Pietro Guidi Becci, buccinator"),
- 28, A, di S., Fond, Giud., Busta 1, Fasc, 3, f, 7r; 1287-9 Register, f, 64v.; Busta 2, Fasc, 4, f, 8v,
- 29, Fond, Giud., Busta 2, Fasc, 10, ff, 3r.-5v, Duplicated copy, *ibid.*, ff, 6r.-7v,
- 30, Lib, Inq., f, 14, Rainuccetus, "*filius nephandi Christofori*",
- 31, *ibid.*, f, 21<sup>1</sup>, Cambius Ricci Miscinelli,
- 32, *ibid.*, f, 27<sup>1</sup>, Ingilbertus, *mercator*,
- 33, Fond, Giud., Busta 1, Fasc, 6, f, 43r., 1 March 1277, cf, Lib, Inq., f, 6<sup>1</sup> & f, 16<sup>1</sup>, Petrus Bonamsegne,
- 34, Fond, Giud., Busta 1, Fasc, 7, f, 5v., July/August 1279, The name of Bianco's son cannot be made out because of damage to the page, The charge against him was as follows: "*... dicti mensis julii proximi preteriti fecit insultum (...in domum in qua/*



*qua habitat (Visarella) cum lapide in manu et dixit eidem puctanam et alia verba (...prou)t in acta plena continetur*", cf. Lib. Inq., f. 24<sup>2</sup>, Blancus Pelliparius,

35. Fond. Giud., Busta 6, Fasc. 1, f. 4v, before 22 July 1271. The charge was as follows: "*exivisse et excessisse confines*". Among those charged along with *domino* Rainerio were ten members of the de Grecha family, three Filippeschi (all ghibellines), and at least eight men with heretical connections; his own brother, Pietro; Rainerius, son of Provençano Lupicini, and his four cousins; and the brother and nephew of Petrus Raynerii Adelaxie, both named Ildribandinus.
36. Fond. Giud., 1287-9 Register, f. 42r., 26 December 1287.
37. *ibid.*, Busta 2, Fasc. 8, f. 22v., 31 March - 1 April 1295.
38. *ibid.*, Busta 1, Fasc. 6, f. 8v, 1277.
39. *ibid.*, Busta 1, Fasc. 6, f. 31v, Feb.-April 1277.
40. *ibid.*, 1287-9 Register, f. 64v, 4 June 1287.
41. *ibid.*, Busta 2, Fasc. 4, f. 8v.
42. Arch. Duomo, Pergamene, Letter of Boniface VIII to canons of S. Giovanni, regarding property confiscated from Matteo Romei, father-in-law of Neri di Tura, 31 October 1297. A copy was also sent to Neri himself (in ed. Fawtier, Les Régistres de Boniface VIII, vol. IV, Paris, 1931, p. 33, 5488, Orvieto, 31 October 1297).
43. ed. Digard, Les Régistres de Boniface VIII, vol. III, Paris, 1921, p. 78, 4051 (CXXIIII), Anagni, 25 May 1301.
44. Lib. Inq., f. 21'. Cambius Ricci Miscinelli.
45. ed. Digard etc., Les Régistres de Boniface VIII, vol. I, Paris, 1907, p. 834, 2150 (CCCCCLXXVI), Orvieto, 31 October 1297.
46. Fond. Giud., Busta 2, Fasc. 10, ff. 3r.-5v., May 1298, & comments above.
47. ed. Langlois, Les Régistres de Boniface VIII, Paris, 1904, n. 2740, 3 May 1298.
48. L. Fumi, Orvieto: Note Storiche e Biografiche, Città di Castello, 1891 (& Roma, 1978), p. 84. "*La contrada del campo, ove essi, fuori porta maggiore, furono sepolti, si chiama tuttora la patarina*".
49. Cod. V.E 528 (compiled 1405). See fuller discussion below, 5B.2c) Disciplinati & Sacred Drama, and Conclusion.
50. Fond. Giud., 1287-9 Register, f. 87v., 8 December 1287.
51. Fond. Giud., Busta 2 (31 May - 25 June 1298), Fasc. 10, f. 16r. He had wounded the wife of Vannes Volentieri with a knife, stabbing her on the face and in the side "so that blood came". Vannes then stabbed Petruccio twice, and both men failed to appear in court within the appointed period to answer the charges against them. Vannes was given a smaller fine of 200 *Lire*, but the penalty for contumacy was identical in both cases.
52. Fond. Giud., 1287-9 Register, f. 9v., 5 May 1287.
53. see Table 17.
54. Lib. Inq., f. 25<sup>2</sup>.

## HERESY: TABLES

	<u>Page</u>
1. <i>LIBER INQUISITIONIS</i> : SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.	201
2. WOMEN ASSOCIATED WITH HERESY.	204
a) Sentences recorded in the <i>Liber Inquisitionis</i> .	
b) Women mentioned in passing.	
c) Women and home ownership.	
3. CITIZENS AND STRANGERS.	206
a) Orvietan citizens.	
b) ' <i>de Urbeveteri</i> '.	
c) Immigrants and <i>contadini</i> .	
4. TRADES/OCCUPATIONS OF ORVIETAN HERETICS.	207
5. UNUSUAL SURNAMES/ POSSIBLE JOB DESCRIPTIONS.	209
a) Definite.	
b) Probable/possible.	
c) Unlikely.	
6. PEOPLE FORBIDDEN TO PRACTISE USURY.	211
7. " <i>QUIETANZA DI DENARO</i> ", 11 October 1287.	212
a) Preliminary transactions.	
b) Negotiated settlement.	
c) Summary of accounts.	
8. FINES AND PARTIAL CONFISCATION OF PROPERTY.	214
a) Prior to 1268.	
b) 1268/9.	
9. ALMS AND GIFTS TO THE 'PERFECT'.	215
a) Alms.	
b) Food, drink and 'necessities'.	
c) Food shared with heretics.	
d) "Counsel, subsidy and favour".	
10. CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE <i>LIBER INQUISITIONIS</i> AND THE <i>CATASTO</i> OF 1292.	218
11. THE 'PERFECT'.	220
a) Male perfect.	
b) Female perfect.	
c) Early leaders.	
12. PLACES ASSOCIATED WITH ORVIETAN HERESY.	223
a) Provenance of ' <i>perfecti</i> '.	
b) Cathar meeting-places.	
13. LOCAL PEOPLE WHO RECEIVED THE <i>CONSOLAMENTUM</i> .	225
a) Sentenced in the <i>Liber Inquisitionis</i> .	
b) Mentioned in passing.	
c) Orvietans present at unspecified 'consolations'.	
14. VERDICTS IN THE <i>LIBER INQUISITIONIS</i> .	226
15. FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS AMONG ORVIETAN HERETICS.	227
16. CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE <i>LIBER INQUISITIONIS</i> AND THE <i>FONDO GIUDIZIARIO</i> .	229
17. MEDIEVAL INSULTS (" <i>VERBA INIURIOSA</i> ").	232



# 1. LIBER INQUISITIONIS [1268/91]: SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

<u>Fol.</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Verdict</u>	<u>Margin</u>
1	14 May	Abs.	CHRISTOFORUS TOSTI	CFR Rel. Def.	satisfactum
2	14 May	Abs	RAYNERIUS, <i>filius</i> STRADIGOTTI RICCI de TOSTIS	CFR Rel.	
3 <sup>1</sup>	20 May	?	STRADIGOTTUS RICCI de TOSTIS, <i>civis urbevetaus</i>	CFR Rel.	satisfactum
3 <sup>2</sup>	20 May	Pres.	BONACURSUS LONBARDUS, et	CFR Rel.	nichil
		Pres.	IANNEBONUS, <i>eius frater</i>	CFR Rel.	nichil
4 <sup>1</sup>	21 May	Pres.	IOHANNES CARABONE	CFR Rel.	nichil
			[FIDANZOLA, his daughter, consoled]		
4 <sup>2</sup>	21 May	Abs.	<i>nobilis vir</i> , d. RAINERIUS d. MONALDI RAINERII STEPHANI <i>de Urbeveteri</i>	CF Ben.	
5 <sup>1</sup>	30 May	?	RAYNERIUS BARTHOLOMEI RAYNUTII de TOSTIS, et	CFR Rel.	
			BARTHUTIUS, <i>eius filius</i>	CFR	
5 <sup>2</sup>	30 May	Dead	BARTHUS FRANCISCI	CFR	
		Abs.	<i>domina</i> , BELVERDES, <i>olim eius uxor</i>	CFR	
		Abs.	NERIUS, <i>nepos Barthi prefati</i>	CFR	
6 <sup>1</sup>	30 May	Abs.	PETRUS BONAMSEGNE	CFR	satisfactum
6 <sup>2</sup>	30 May	?	PHYLIPPUS BUSSE <i>de Urbeveteri</i>	CFR	
7	30 May	Dead	ILDRIKANDINUS RICCI	CFR	
		Abs.	PANDULFUTIUS, <i>filios quondam</i>	CFR	
		Abs.	RAINUCECTUS <i>dicti Ildribandini</i>	CFR	
		Abs.	& TOSTARELLUS	CFR	
[8 <sup>1</sup>	7 June	Abs.	CHRISTOFORO TOSTI	DUPLICATE ENTRY]	
8 <sup>2</sup>	7 June	?	ALBASIA, <i>filia olim Martini Guidutii</i> , <i>uxor olim Petri Frascambocca</i> <i>de Urbeveteri</i>	CF	satisfactum
9 <sup>1</sup>	7 June	?	CITTADINUS VIVIANI AVULTRONIS <i>civis Urbevetaus</i>	CF Ben.	satisfactum
9 <sup>2</sup>	7 June	Abs.	<i>domina</i> SYGINETTA, <i>uxor olim</i> <i>Dominici Toncelle</i>	F Amat.	satisfactum
			[TONCELLUS, her F-in-law, consoled]		
		Dead	ARTO, <i>filius ipsius</i>	Cons.	
10 <sup>1</sup>	7 June	Abs.	<i>domina</i> MATHEA, <i>uxor Miscinelli</i>	CF Cons.	satisfactum
				Com.	
10 <sup>2</sup>	20 June	Abs.	IOHANNES CLARUVISI, <i>civis Urbvt.</i>	CFR	satisfactum
11	7 June	Abs.	MISCINELLUS RICCI MISCINELLI	CFR	satisfactum
12 <sup>1</sup>	7 June		<i>domina</i> ADILASCIA, <i>uxor</i> <i>Barthi Petri Saraceni</i>	CFR	satisfactum
12 <sup>2</sup>	7 June	Abs.	BARTHUS PETRI SARACENI, <i>civis Urbvt.</i>	CFR	satisfactum
13	20 June	Dead	PROVENÇANUS LUPICINI	CFR Cons.	
14	20 July	?	RAINUCCETUS, <i>filius nephandi</i> <i>Christofori</i> , <i>civis Urbevetaus</i>	CFR	satisfactum
15 <sup>1</sup>	20 June	Pres.	SYMEON LANAROLO, <i>nepos Egidii</i> Seccadinari, <i>civis Urbevetaus</i> [ALDA, his mother, consoled]	CFR Cons.	
15 <sup>2</sup>	20 June	Pres.	ODDO CAÇALATRO <i>de Urbeveteri</i>	CF Com.	satisfactum
16 <sup>1</sup>	20 June	Abs.	BENVEGNATA, <i>sartrex</i>		
		Abs.	<i>domina</i> (DOME)DELLALTRE	CFR	satisfactum
		Abs.	<i>domina</i> GRECA, <i>mater Petri Bonansegne</i> , <i>uxor Egidii Seccadinutii</i>	CFR	satisfactum

Fol.	Date	Status	Name	Verdict	Margin
16 <sup>2</sup> [17 <sup>1</sup> 17 <sup>2</sup>	20 June BLANK] 2 July	Abs.  Pres. Pres. Pres. Pres.	PETRUS GUIDI BECCI, <i>buccinator</i>  PETUS <i>olim</i> ILDRIBANDINI PETI LONGI BENEDICTULUS CASTELLANE MASSEUS CAVARDELLI BONPARENS URSI, <i>de Castellonclo</i> [ODDO, brother of Perus, consoled; BENVENUTA, wife of Bonparens, consoled; ALTAGRATIA, sister of Masseus, was a 'patarene']	CFR  CFR Rel. CFR Rel. CFR Rel. CFR Rel.	satisfactum  nichil nichil nichil nichil
18	26 July	Abs.  Abs. Abs.	BARTHOLOMEUS RAINUTII TOSTI  RAINERIUS, <i>eius frater, civis Urbvt.</i> TROCTA, <i>uxor ipsius Bartholomei</i>	CFR Rel. Com. CFR Com. CF Com.	    
19 <sup>1</sup> 19 <sup>2</sup>	26 July 26 July	Dead Dead	IACOBUS ARNULDI PETRUS RAINERII ADILASCIE, <i>dictus Petrus Cotoça</i>	CFR CFR	satisfactum satisfactum
19 <sup>3</sup>	26 July	Abs.	<i>domina</i> AMATA, <i>uxor olim heretici</i> <i>Martini Guidutii</i>	CFR	satisfactum
20 <sup>1</sup> 20 <sup>2</sup>	26 July 13 Aug.	Dead ?	MARTINUS MARTINI GUIDUTII, <i>civ. Urbvt.</i> ANDRIOTTUS, <i>filius nephandi</i> <i>STRADIGOTTI RICCI</i>	CFR CFR	satisfactum  
21 <sup>1</sup> 21 <sup>2</sup>	13 Aug. 13 Aug.	Abs. Abs.	CAMBIUS RICCI MISCINELLI, <i>civ. Urbvt.</i> <i>domina</i> STEPHANIA, <i>filia Amidei</i> <i>Lupicini, uxor olim Paganutii</i>	CF Ben. CFR	 satisfactum
21 <sup>3</sup> 22 <sup>1</sup>	13 Aug. 13 Aug.	Dead Abs. Dead	<i>domina</i> PACIFICA, <i>mater olim Paganutii</i> DOMINICUS IAMPULCINI } <i>cives</i> <i>domina</i> AMATA, <i>uxor eius,</i> } <i>Urbevetani</i> [their son was consoled]	CFR Cons CFR Rel. CFR	satisfactum  
22 <sup>2</sup>	13 Aug.	Abs.	<i>domina</i> ILDRIBANDESCA, <i>filia olim</i> <i>Iacobi Filippi</i>	CF	
22 <sup>3</sup>	13 Aug.	Dead Dead	BARTHUS ACCOMMANDI CLARUVISU, <i>uxor eius</i>	CFR CFR	 
23 <sup>1</sup>	13 Aug.	?	GEPTIUS (GEÇIUS) TEODERICI, <i>nepos olim</i> <i>Stradigotti Pellipatii</i>	CFR	
23 <sup>2</sup> 23 <sup>3</sup> 23 <sup>4</sup>	7 Sept. 7 Sept. 7 Sept.	Dead ? Dead ?	AMIDEUS LUPICINI, <i>civis Urbevetanus</i> BENVENUTA <i>de contrata Putei</i> NICOLA MELANI MATHA, <i>uxor eius, filia olim</i> <i>Barthi Acommandi</i>	CFR CFR CF Com. CF Com.	 satisfactum  
24 <sup>1</sup> 24 <sup>2</sup> 24 <sup>3</sup>	7 Sept. 7 Sept. 7 Sept.	? ? ?	AMATUS SENENSIS, <i>habitor civ. Urbvt.</i> BLANCUS PELLIPARIUS, <i>civis Urbevetanus</i> <i>domina</i> VERDONOVELLA, <i>uxor Rainerii</i> <i>Iannis Albare</i> [DYAMBRE, their servant, consoled]	CFR CF Cond. CFR	nichil  
24 <sup>4</sup>	7 Sept.	Dead	<i>domina</i> BERNARDINA, <i>uxor olim</i> <i>Iohannis Marini</i>	Cons.	
25 <sup>1</sup>	7 Sept.	Dead ? Dead	RAINUC CETUS, <i>filius eius</i> MATHIUTIUS, <i>filius olim Errici</i> <i>Martini Guidutie</i> BARTHUTIUS	Cons. CFR CFR	  
25 <sup>2</sup>	28 Sep.	Pres.	<i>domina</i> VERDEFONTANA, <i>uxor olim Vivani</i> <i>Blasii de Tuderto</i>	CF Com.	
25 <sup>3</sup>	28 Sep.	Abs.	<i>domina</i> VERDEROSA, <i>uxor olim Guidetti</i> <i>olim d. Guiddonis de Gradulense</i>	CFR	



<u>Fol.</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Verdict</u>	<u>Margin</u>
26 <sup>1</sup>	28 Sep.	?	<i>domina</i> BENAMATA, <i>uxor olim</i> <i>Benvenuti Papi</i>	CFR	
26 <sup>2</sup>	28 Sep.	?	<i>domina</i> YMILGA, <i>filia olim</i> <i>Ardigionis de Urbeveteri</i>	CF Con.	
26 <sup>3</sup>	28 Sep.	?	<i>domina</i> CAMERA, <i>uxor olim</i> <i>Rainutii de Arari</i> [RAINUCETTUS, her son, received heretics]	CFR	nichil
27 <sup>1</sup>	28 Sep.	Dead	INGILBERTUS <i>MERCATOR</i> , <i>olim civis</i> ,...	CF Ben.	satisfactum
[27 <sup>2</sup>	7 June	Abs.	<i>nob. vir d.</i> RAINERIUS d. MUNALDI	CF Con.]	
27 <sup>3</sup>	31 July	Pres.	BENEFACTUS, <i>CALÇOLARIUS</i> , <i>civis Urbvt.</i>	CFR	nichil
28	17 Apr.	Pres.	STRADIGOTTUS SENENSIS, <i>habitor Urbvt.</i>		CFR Rel.
29 <sup>1</sup>	24 Oct.	Dead	RAINERIUS ÇAMFRONGIN, <i>civis olim Urbvt.</i>		CF Con.
29 <sup>2</sup>	24 Oct.	Abs.	PETROTIUS RICCI MISCINELLI	CF Con.	
30 <sup>1</sup>	24 Oct.	Abs.	ACCOMMANUS PREFECTI, <i>civis Urbvt.</i>	CF Con.	
30 <sup>2</sup>	24 Oct.	Dead	BONADIMANE, <i>uxor olim Accitante</i> , <i>socrus quondam Petri Ferralloca</i>	CF Anat.	
31	24 Oct.	Abs.	<i>domina</i> VIANESE, <i>uxor Iohannis</i> <i>Claruvisi</i>	CFR	
32 <sup>1</sup>	22 Jan.	Pres.	DOMINICUS PETRI ROSSE, <i>civis Urbvt.</i>	?	
32 <sup>2</sup>	22 Jan.	Abs.	LOCTHUS, <i>filius</i> GUILLELMI SURDI	CF Con.	
33 <sup>1</sup>	22 Jan.	Abs.	TAFURA, <i>filia Christofori Tosti</i>	CF Con.	
33 <sup>2</sup>	22 Jan.	Abs.	GUILLELMUS } <i>filii olim Viveni</i>	CF Con.	
		Abs.	IOHANNES } <i>Blasii de Tudertis</i>	CF Con.	
34 <sup>1</sup>	22 Jan.	Dead	RAINERIUS STEPHANI, <i>FABER</i>	CF Con.	
34 <sup>2</sup>	22 Jan.	Abs.	<i>domina</i> BELLAPRATU, <i>uxor Guiscardi</i>	CFR	
		Abs.	<i>domina</i> GRANA, <i>uxor Frederici</i>	CFR	

.....

C = credens  
F = fautor  
R = receptator  
Rel. = relapsus  
Cons. = consolatus

Con. = complex  
Ben. = benefactor  
Anat. = anator  
Def. = defensor  
Cond. = conductor

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Absent - 37  
Present - 13  
Dead - 19  
Unknown - 19  
Total - 88

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## 2. WOMEN ASSOCIATED WITH HERESY

### a) Sentences recorded in the *Liber Inquisitionis*

Fol.	Name	Identifying relationships	Use of 'domina'			Status
			Text	Margin		
5 <sup>2</sup>	BELVERDES	widow of Barthus Francisci	YES	NO	YES	widow
8 <sup>2</sup>	ALBASIA	daughter of late Martinus Guidutii; widow of Petrus Frascambocca		NO	YES	widow
9 <sup>2</sup>	SYGINETTA	widow of Dominicus Toncelle	YES		YES	widow
10 <sup>1</sup>	MATHEA	wife of Miscinellus; daughter of Martinus Guidutii	YES		YES	married
12 <sup>1</sup>	ADILASCIA	wife of Barthus Petri Saraceni	YES		YES	married
16 <sup>1</sup>	BENVEGNATA	<i>sartrex</i>		NO	YES	?DK
	DELLALTRE	wife of Egidius Seccadinutii	YES		YES	married
	GRECA	mother of Petrus Bonamsegne	YES		YES	?m./w.
18	TROCTA	wife of Bartholomeus Rainutii Tosti		NO		married
19 <sup>3</sup>	AMATA	widow of Martinus Guidutii	YES		YES	widow
21 <sup>2</sup>	STEPHANIA	daughter of Amideus Lupicini; widow of Paganutius	YES		YES	widow
21 <sup>3</sup>	PACIFICA	mother of the late Paganutius	YES	NO	YES	dead
22 <sup>1</sup>	AMATA	wife of Dominicus Iampulcini		NO	YES	dead
22 <sup>2</sup>	ILDRIBANDESCA	daughter of late Iacobus Filippi	YES		YES	?single
22 <sup>3</sup>	CLARUVISU	wife of Barthus Accommandi		NO		dead
23 <sup>3</sup>	BENVENUTA	<i>"de contrata Putei"</i>		NO		?s./w.
23 <sup>4</sup>	MATHEA	widow of Nicola Melani; daughter of late Barthus Accommandi		NO		widow
24 <sup>3</sup>	VERDENOVELLA	wife of Rainerius Iannis Albare	YES		YES	married
24 <sup>4</sup>	BERNARDINA	widow of Iohannes Marini	YES		YES	widow
25 <sup>2</sup>	VERDEFONTANA	widow of Vivenus Blasii	YES		YES	widow
25 <sup>3</sup>	VERDEROSA	widow of Guidettus <i>domini</i> Guiddonis	YES		YES	widow
26 <sup>1</sup>	BENAMATA	widow of Benvenutus Pepi	YES		YES	widow
26 <sup>2</sup>	YMILGA	daughter of late Ardiccio	YES		YES	?single
26 <sup>3</sup>	CAMERA	widow of Rainutius <i>de Arari</i>	YES		YES	widow
30 <sup>2</sup>	BONADIMANE	widow of Accitante; mother-in-law of Petrus Ferralloca		NO		dead
31	VIANESE	wife of Iohannes Claruvisi	YES	NO	YES	married
33 <sup>1</sup>	TAFURA	daughter of Christoforus Tosti		NO		?single
34 <sup>2</sup>	BELLAPRATU	wife of Guiscardus ( <i>pellipparius</i> )	YES	NO	YES	(widow)
	GRANA	wife of Fredericus ( <i>pellipparius</i> )	YES	NO	YES	?m./w.

### b) Women mentioned in passing in *Lib. Inq.* and elsewhere

Source.	Name	Identifying Relationships	'domina'		Status
f. 4 <sup>1</sup>	FIDANZOLA/O	daughter (?son) of Iohannes Carabona		NO	?single
f. 15 <sup>1</sup>	ALDA	mother of Simeon Lanarolo		NO	dead
f. 17 <sup>2</sup>	BENVENUTA	wife of Bonparens Ursi		NO	dead
	ALTAGRATIA	sister of Masseus Cavardelli		NO	'patarene'
f. 24 <sup>3</sup>	DYAMBRE	servant of Verdenovella		NO	?DK
1223 doc.	BENVEGNATA	wife of Guarnerius de Cannano		NO	married
Vit. Frag. 1	FRANCESCA	servant of Masseus Callatoris		NO	?DK
Vit. Frag. 2	ALDRUDA	wife of witness	YES		married

[Early missionaries: Iulitta of Florence; Militta of Monteanato  
Female 'perfect': Benvenuta; Clara; Marsilia of Regno; Ricca.]



c) Women and home ownership

(i) Women who owned the homes they lived in

<u>Fol.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>Verdict</u>	<u>Description of house</u>
12 <sup>1</sup>	ADILASCIA	married	C F R	<i>in domo sua</i>
16 <sup>1</sup>	BENVEGNATA	?D.K.	C F R	
	DELLALTRE	married	C F R	<i>in domibus suis</i>
	GRECA	?m/w	C F R	
19 <sup>3</sup>	AMATA	widow	C F R	<i>in domo sua</i>
21 <sup>2</sup>	STEPHANIA	widow	C F R	<i>in domo sua</i>
21 <sup>3</sup>	PACIFICA	dead	C F R	<i>in domo sua nova, posita in regione Sancti Angeli,</i>
24 <sup>4</sup>	BERNARDINA	widow	Cons,	<i>in domo sua, posita in contrata sancti Iohannis iuxta viam et alios suos confines,</i>
25 <sup>2</sup>	VERDEFONTANA	widow	C F Com	<i>in domo sua</i>
[25 <sup>3</sup>	VERDEROSA	widow	C F R	<i>"receptaverit..." (location not given)]</i>
30 <sup>2</sup>	BONADIMANE	dead	C F A	<i>in domo propria</i>

(ii) Houses owned by male family members

<u>Fol.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>Verdict</u>	<u>Description of house</u>
8 <sup>2</sup>	ALBASIA	widow	C F	<i>in domo dicti Martini Guidutii [father] in domo unius alterius</i>
9 <sup>2</sup>	SYGINETTA	widow	F A	<i>in domo dicti Dominici [husband]</i>
10 <sup>1</sup>	MATHEA	married	C F Com, Cons,	<i>in domo unius in domo Martini Guidutii, sui patris domus in qua fuit per hereticos consolata</i>
22 <sup>2</sup>	ILDTRIBANDESCA	single	CF	<i>in domo dicti patris sui</i>
26 <sup>1</sup>	BENAMATA	widow	C F R	<i>in domo dicti sui viri</i>
26 <sup>3</sup>	CAMERA	widow	C F R	<i>in domo sua in domo Rainuccettii filii sui in domo dicti sui filii</i>

(iii) Joint ownership

<u>Fol.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>Verdict</u>	<u>Description of house</u>
5 <sup>2</sup>	BELVERDES	widow	C F R	<i>in domo eorum [Barthus, Belverdes &amp; Nerius] propria posita in regione Sancti Pacis, iuxta viam, iuxta rem Guidonis Davanzati et alios suos confines, domos olim predictorum Barthi et Nerii "receptaverunt..." (location not given) in domo eorum [Amata &amp; Domenico] domum vero ipsorum</i>
22 <sup>1</sup>	AMATA	dead	C F R	
22 <sup>3</sup>	CLARUVISU	dead	C F R	<i>in domo eorum [Claruvisu &amp; Barthus]</i>
24 <sup>3</sup>	VERDENOVELLA	married	C F R	<i>ad domum suam sub solario domus viri sui in domo sua</i>
31 <sup>1</sup>	VIANESE	married	C F R	<i>in domo sua in domo Iohannis, viri sui</i>
34 <sup>2</sup>	BELLAPRATU GRANA	widow ?m./w.	C F R C F R	<i>in domo ipsarum</i>

C = *credens*  
F = *fautrex*  
R = *receptatrix*

A = *anatrix*  
Com, = *complex*  
Cons, = *consolata*

### 3. CITIZENS AND STRANGERS

(from the *Liber Inquisitionis*)

#### a) Orvietan Citizens ['*civis urbevetanus*']

<u>Fol.</u>	<u>Name</u>
3 <sup>1</sup>	Stradigottus Ricci de Tostis
6 <sup>1</sup>	Petrus Bonamsegne
9 <sup>1</sup>	Cittadinus Viviani Avultronis
10 <sup>2</sup>	Iohannes Claruvisi
12 <sup>2</sup>	Barthus Petri Saraceni
14	Rainuccetus, <i>filius nephandi</i> Christoforo Tosti
15 <sup>1</sup>	Simeon Lanarolo, <i>nepos</i> Egidii Seccadinarii
18	Bartholomeus Rainutii Tosti et Rainerius, <i>eius frater</i> ,
20 <sup>1</sup>	Martinus Martini Guidutii
21 <sup>1</sup>	Cambius Ricci Miscinelli
22 <sup>1</sup>	Dominicus Iannis Pulcini et Amata, <i>uxor eius</i> ,
23 <sup>2</sup>	Anideus Lupicini
24 <sup>2</sup>	Blancus <i>pelliparius</i>
27 <sup>1</sup>	Ingilbertus <i>mercator</i> , <i>olim civis urbevetanus</i> ,
29 <sup>1</sup>	Rainerius Camfrongin, <i>civis olim urbevetanus</i> ,
30 <sup>1</sup>	Accommanus Prefecti
32 <sup>1</sup>	Dominicus Petri Rosse

#### b) 'de Urbeveteri'

<u>Fol.</u>	<u>Name</u>
4 <sup>2</sup>	<i>nobilis vir dominus</i> Rainerius domini Munaldi Rainerii Stephani <i>de Urbeveteri</i>
6 <sup>2</sup>	Phylippus Busse <i>de Urbeveteri</i>
8 <sup>2</sup>	Albasia, <i>filia olim</i> Martini Guiduti, <i>uxor olim</i> Petri Frascambocca <i>de Urbeveteri</i> ,
15 <sup>2</sup>	Oddo Caçalatro <i>de Urbeveteri</i>
16 <sup>1</sup>	<i>domina</i> Greca, <i>matris</i> Petri Bonansigne <i>de Urbeveteri</i>
26 <sup>2</sup>	<i>domina</i> Ymilga, <i>filia olim</i> Ardiconis <i>de Urbeveteri</i> ,

#### c) Immigrants and Contadini

<u>Fol.</u>	<u>Name</u>
3 <sup>2</sup>	Bonacursus Lombardus et Iannesbonus, <i>eius frater</i> ,
17 <sup>2</sup>	Petus <i>olim</i> Ildribandini Peti Longi Benedictulus Castellane Masseus Cavardelli <i>de Castellonclo</i> Bonparens Ursi
23 <sup>2</sup>	Benvenuta <i>de contrata Putei</i>
24 <sup>1</sup>	Anatus Senensis, <i>habitor civitatis urbevetane</i> ,
26 <sup>2</sup>	Stradigottus Senensis, <i>habitor Urbevetanus</i> ,
33 <sup>2</sup>	Guillelmus et Iohannes, <i>filiu olim</i> Viveni Blasii <i>de Tuderto</i> ,

[1223 doc.: Guarnerius *de Cannano* & his wife, Benvegnata,

Vit. Frag. 1: Masseus Callatoris, +family & associates, from Carnaiola,]

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#### 4. TRADES/OCCUPATIONS OF ORVIETAN HERETICS

<u>Source*</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Trade</u>	<u>Family Ties</u>
f,20 <sup>1</sup>	Martinus Martini Guidutii	merchant (?+ soldier)	<i>Father</i> ; Martinus Guidutii <i>Mother</i> ; Amata (f,19 <sup>2</sup> ) <i>Brother</i> ; Erricus (f,25 <sup>1</sup> ) <i>Nephew(s)</i> ; Mathiutius & Barthutius (f,25 <sup>1</sup> ); <i>Sisters</i> ; Albasia (f,8 <sup>2</sup> ) [m, Petrus Frascanbocca] & Mathea (f,10 <sup>1</sup> ) [m, Miscinellus Ricci Miscinelli (f,11)]
f,27 <sup>1</sup>	Ingilbertus, <i>mercator</i>	merchant	
var,	Stradigottus (?of Siena), <i>pelliparius</i>	skinner	<i>Associates</i> ; Cittadinus Viviani (f,9 <sup>1</sup> ); Blancus <i>pelliparius</i> (f,24 <sup>2</sup> ); Amatus <i>senensis</i> (f,24 <sup>1</sup> ) <i>Nephew/grandson</i> ; Gezio Teoderici (f,23 <sup>1</sup> )
f,24 <sup>2</sup>	Blancus, <i>pelliparius</i>	skinner	<i>Associate</i> ; Stradigottus <i>pelliparius</i>
f,34 <sup>2</sup> + <i>Lib</i> , <i>Don</i> ,	Bellapratu, <i>uxor</i> Guiscardii	wife/widow of skinner	<i>Husband</i> ; Viscardo <i>Son</i> ; Frederico
ibid,	Grana, <i>uxor</i> Frederici	wife/widow of skinner	<i>Husband</i> ; Frederico <i>Mother- &amp; Father-in-law</i> ; Bellapratu & Guiscardo; <i>Family friends</i> ; Filippus Busse & Clara (f,6 <sup>2</sup> )
f,15 <sup>1</sup>	Symeon, <i>lanarolo</i>	wool manufacturer	<i>Mother</i> ; Alda <i>Uncle/grandfather</i> ; Egidio Seccadinarii (ff,15 <sup>1</sup> & 16 <sup>1</sup> ); <i>Aunt/grandm.</i> ; Domedellaltre (f,16 <sup>1</sup> )
[f10 <sup>2</sup>	Iohannes Claruvisi	?cloth merchant	<i>Wife</i> ; Vianese (f,31) <i>Son</i> ; Petrus (not heretic)]
[f,9 <sup>1</sup>	Cittadinus Viviani, <i>avultronis</i>	?shearer	<i>Associate</i> ; Stradigotto <i>pelliparius</i> <i>Parents</i> ; implicated in murder of Pietro Parenzo, 1199,]
[f,24 <sup>2</sup>	Rainerius Iannis <i>Albare</i>	?fuller/ bleacher	<i>Wife</i> ; Verdenovella (f,24 <sup>2</sup> ) <i>Servant</i> ; Dyambre]
var,	Andrea <i>Castellane</i>	castle guard ( <i>perfectus</i> )	
f,17 <sup>2</sup>	Benedictulus <i>Castellane</i>	castle guard	
[f,15 <sup>2</sup>	Oddo <i>Caçalatro</i>	? 'thief-catcher']	
f,27 <sup>2</sup>	Benefactus <i>Calçolarius</i>	shoemaker	
f,34 <sup>1</sup> /			

Source*	Name	Trade	Family Ties
f,34 <sup>1</sup>	Rainerius Stephani, <i>faber</i>	Carpenter	?d, Rainerius d, Munaldi (f,4 <sup>2</sup> )
f,30 <sup>2</sup>	Petrus Ferralloca	?farrier/ blacksmith	F,-in-law; Accitante M,-in-law; Bonadimane (f,30 <sup>2</sup> )
1298 Bull	Iohannes Ferralloca	?farrier/ blacksmith	
[Vit, Frag,2	Guidectus Guidonis <i>Ronçonis</i>	?agricultural worker]	Associate; anonymous witness
f,16 <sup>2</sup> + var,	Petrus Guidi Becci, <i>buccinator</i>	trumpeter/ <i>preconis</i>	
f,16 <sup>1</sup>	Benvegnata, <i>sartrex</i>	dressmaker	[?Husband; Guarnerius de Cannano (1223)]
f,26 <sup>1</sup>	domina Benanata	widow of notary	Husband; Benvenuto Pepi
f,24 <sup>3</sup>	Dyambre	household servant	Mistress; Verdenovella Master; Rainerius Iannis (cf, f,24 <sup>2</sup> )
Vit, Frag, 1	Francesca, <i>fanula</i>	household servant	Master; Masseo Callatoris
[var,	Benencasa <i>Sclavelle</i>	?servant	( <i>perfectus</i> )
Vita Parenzii	<i>presbiter</i> Lambertus	priest	Brother; Pepo (not heretic)
f,32 <sup>1</sup>	Dominicus Petri Rossi	Franciscan tertiary	

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\* from the *Liber Inquisitionis* unless otherwise stated.



## 5. UNUSUAL SURNAMES/POSSIBLE JOB DESCRIPTIONS

### a) Definite

<u>Source*</u>	<u>Name/Title</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
f,16 <sup>2</sup>	Petrus Guidi Becci, <i>Buccinator</i>	trumpeter
f,27 <sup>2</sup>	Benefactus <i>Calçolarius</i>	shoemaker
f,17 <sup>2</sup>	Benedictulus <i>Castellane</i>	castle guard
var,	Andrea <i>Castellane</i>	" "
f,34 <sup>1</sup>	Rainerius Stephani <i>Fabri/faber</i>	carpenter
f,15 <sup>1</sup>	Symeon <i>Lanorolo</i>	wool merchant
f,27 <sup>1</sup>	Inghilbertus <i>Mercator</i>	merchant
var,	Stradigottus <i>Pelliparius</i>	furrier/ worker
f,24 <sup>2</sup>	Blancus <i>Pelliparius</i>	with skins
f,34 <sup>2</sup>	Guiscardus <i>Pelliparius</i>	or leather
f,16 <sup>1</sup>	Benvegnata <i>Sartriciis/sartrex</i>	dressmaker

### b) Probable/possible

<u>Source*</u>	<u>Name/Title</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
f,9 <sup>1</sup>	Cittadinus Viviani <i>Avultronis</i> [ <i>vello</i> = wool/fleece/hide; <i>avulsor</i> = one who plucks/tears]	?shearer
f,24 <sup>2</sup>	Rainerius Iannis <i>Albare</i> [ <i>albare</i> = to whiten]	?fuller/bleacher
f,15 <sup>2</sup>	Oddo <i>Caçalatro</i> [ <i>cacciare</i> = to chase; <i>ladro</i> = thief]	? 'thief-catcher'
Vit, Frag,1	Masseus <i>Callatoris</i> [ <i>calcator</i> = grape-treader; <i>collator</i> = benefactor]	?treader of grapes
f,30 <sup>2</sup> 1298 Bull	Petrus <i>Ferralloca</i> Iohannes <i>Ferralloca</i> [ <i>ferrator</i> = farrier; <i>ferro/ferronus</i> = blacksmith]	?farrier/ blacksmith
Vit, Frag,2	Guidectus Guidonis <i>Ronçonis</i> [ <i>runco</i> = scythe; <i>roncare</i> = to clear/break up land]	?agricultural worker
var,	Benencasa <i>Scravelle/Sclavelle/Scronella</i> [ <i>sclavus</i> = slave]	?servant

### c) Unlikely

<u>Source*</u>	<u>Name/Title</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
f,6 <sup>1</sup> /16 <sup>1</sup>	Petrus <i>Bonamsegne/Bonansigne</i>	
f,29 <sup>1</sup>	Rainerius <i>Çamfrongin</i>	?saint's name
Vit, /		

<u>Source*</u>	<u>Name/Title</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
Vit, Frag.1	Raynaldus <i>Çanninellus</i>	
f.4 <sup>1</sup>	Iohannes <i>Carabone</i> [ <i>carbone</i> = coal; <i>carabus</i> = small boat]	
f.17 <sup>2</sup>	Masseus <i>Cavardelli</i> [ <i>cavarius</i> = sapper]	
f.19 <sup>2</sup>	Petrus Rainerii Adilascie, <i>dictus</i> Petrus <i>Cotoça</i> [ <i>cotuca</i> = coat; <i>cottizare</i> = to play at dice]	
f.8 <sup>2</sup>	Petrus <i>Frasambocca</i> [ <i>frasca</i> = branch; <i>bocca</i> = mouth]	?nickname
f.22 <sup>2</sup>	Dominicus <i>Iampulcini</i> [ ' <i>iam</i> ' = ?Iohannes; <i>pullicinus</i> = chicken]	?nickname
f.15 <sup>1</sup> / & 16 <sup>1</sup>	Egidius <i>Seccadinarii/Seccadinutii</i> [ <i>seccare</i> = to dry up; <i>denarii</i> = money; <i>seccator</i> = reaper]	?nickname
var,	Benencasa <i>Trencalloliu</i> [?'drink-oil']	?nickname

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\* from the *Liber Inquisitionis* unless otherwise stated.



## 6. PEOPLE FORBIDDEN TO PRACTISE USURY

(from the *Liber Inquisitionis*)

<u>Fol.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Family Ties</u>
9 <sup>1</sup>	Cittadinus Viviani Avultronis	<i>Associate; Stradigottus pelliparius (q.v.)</i>
11	Miscinellus Ricci Miscinelli	<i>Brothers; Cambius (f,21<sup>1</sup>) &amp; Petrotius (f,29<sup>2</sup>) Wife; Mathea (f,10<sup>2</sup>) Father-in-law; Martinus Guidutii (f,19<sup>3</sup>) Mother-in-law; Amata (f,19<sup>3</sup>) Brothers- &amp; sister-in-law; Martino, Errico &amp; Albasia (ff, 20<sup>2</sup>, 8<sup>2</sup> &amp; 25<sup>1</sup>)</i>
21 <sup>1</sup>	Cambius Ricci Miscinelli	<i>Brothers; Miscinellus (f,11) &amp; Petrotius (f,29<sup>2</sup>)</i>
29 <sup>2</sup>	Petrotius Ricci Miscinelli	<i>Brothers; Miscinellus (f,11) &amp; Cambius (f,21<sup>1</sup>)</i>
16 <sup>2</sup>	Petrus Guidi Becci, <i>buccinator</i>	
18	Bartholomeus Rainutii Tosti, & Trocta, his wife	<i>Brother Rainerius Son; Raynerius (f,5<sup>1</sup>) Grandson; Barthucius (f,5<sup>1</sup>) [+ other members of Tosti family]</i>
23 <sup>1</sup>	Geptius Teoderici	<i>Uncle/grandfather; Stradigottus pelliparius (q.v.)</i>

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7. "QUIETANZA DI DENARO" (11 October 1287) <sup>1</sup>

a) Preliminary Transactions

Masseo & Paganello, nephews of Giovanuzzo of Siena	} borrow	{ 90 L, 10 s. <sup>2</sup> + 13 L, 13 s. <sup>3</sup> + c. 16 oz, silver <sup>4</sup>	} from	{ Cambio, Ricci Miscinelli & his 'natural brothers'
Pietro Septembrini	borrows	(?) 80 L, 4 s. <sup>5</sup>	from	{ Bartolomeo Bencivenne, associate of Masseo Johannuzzi,
Ugolino of Orvieto	borrows	48 Lire <sup>6</sup>	from	(?) Bartolomeo Bencivenne

.....

b) Negotiated Settlement

Guido Bonamichi of Orvieto, representative of Masseo & Paganello Johannuzzi of Siena	} pays	312 Lire <sup>7</sup>	to	{ Cambio Ricci Miscinelli & his 'natural brothers'
Pietro Septembrini	pays	199 L, 15 s. <sup>8</sup>	to	Guido Bonamichi
Ugolino of Orvieto	pays	109 Lire <sup>8</sup>	to	Guido Bonamichi

.....

c) Summary of Accounts/

Notes

1. A, di S., Siena, Calef. Vecchio, c. 348. In C.D., pp. 217-8, doc. CCCXLIV.
2. "provescinatorum romanorum".
3. "bonorum sterlingorum argenti".
4. "xvi unziis minus j carro argenti".
5. 80 Lire + 4 "provexinorum". Probably means 80 Lire 4 soldi in one of the two currencies with similar names: "provescinatorum romanorum" or "di nuovi prov."
6. "di nuovi prov."
7. "lire di denari". In this case almost certainly the Lire of Siena, though the currency most commonly used in Orvieto was the Lire of Cortona. [Carpentier, Une Ville..., p. 176,].
8. Sienese currency.



c) Summary of Accounts

1. CAMBIUS RICCI MISCINELLI & his 'natural brothers'.

<u>INCOME</u>			<u>EXPENDITURE</u>		
<u>Source</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Currency</u>	<u>Recipient</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Currency</u>
from Guido Bonamichi	312 Lire	(?) Sienese currency	to Masseo & Paganello 'Johanuzzi' of Siena	90L, 10s, 13L, 13s, c. 16 oz.	'provescinatorum romanorum' sterling silver silver
			(?) notaries' fees		
			(?) fee to representatives of commune		
			(?) fee to Guido Bonamichi		

2. MASSEO & PAGANELLO GIOVANUZZI of SIENA & their 'society'.

<u>INCOME</u>			<u>EXPENDITURE</u>		
<u>Source</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Currency</u>	<u>Recipient</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Currency</u>
from Cambio Ricci Miscinelli & his brothers	90L, 10s, 13L, 13s, c. 16 oz.	'provescinatorum romanorum' sterling silver silver	to Pietro Septembrini to Ugolino d'Orvieto	80L, 4s, 48 Lire	'provexinatorum' 'di nuovi prov.'
			(?) notaries' fees		
			(?) fee to representatives of commune		
			(?) percentage to guarantor, Guido Bonamichi		

3. PIETRO SEPTEMBRINI

<u>INCOME</u>			<u>EXPENDITURE</u>		
<u>Source</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Currency</u>	<u>Recipient</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Currency</u>
from Bartolomeo Bencivenne, on behalf of Giovanuzzi 'society'	80L, 4s.	'provexinatorum'	to Guido Bonamichi	199L, 15s.	Sienese Lire

4. UGOLINO of ORVIETO

<u>INCOME</u>			<u>EXPENDITURE</u>		
<u>Source</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Currency</u>	<u>Recipient</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Currency</u>
from Bartolomeo Bencivenne	48 Lire	'di nuovi prov.'	to Guido Bonamichi	109 Lire	Sienese Lire

5. GUIDO BONAMICHI of ORVIETO

<u>INCOME</u>			<u>EXPENDITURE</u>		
<u>Source</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Currency</u>	<u>Recipient</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Currency</u>
from Pietro Septembrini	199L, 15s.	Sienese Lire	to Cambio Ricci Miscinelli & his brothers,	312 Lire	(?) Sienese Lire
from Ugolino of Orvieto	109 Lire	Sienese Lire			
(?) fee from Giovanuzzi 'society',					
(?) fee from Miscinelli brothers,					

## 8. FINES & PARTIAL CONFISCATION OF HERETICS' PROPERTY

### a) Prior to 1268

<u>Date</u>	<u>Inquisitor</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Amount</u>
1223	Judge & Podestà	Guarnerius de Cannano Benvegnata, his wife	100 L. each,
c.1240	Fra Roggero, O.P.	Iulianus Blasii; Bivienus Blasii; Ildribandinus, Riccius & Stradigottus Tosti; Bartholomeus Ranuctii Tosti; Rainerius Bartholomei Ranuctii Magistri	1,000 L. each,
1249	"	Bivienus Blasii	2,000 L.
1263	Fra Giovanni, O.F.M.	Raynerius Bartholomei Ranutii de Tostis	1,500 L.

### b) 1268/9 [from the Liber Inquisitionis]

<u>Fol.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Verdict*</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Margin</u>
16 <sup>2</sup>	Petrus Guidi Becci	C;F;R	100 L.	<i>satisfactum est comuni</i>
15 <sup>2</sup>	Oddo Caçalatro	C;F;Com.	150 L.	" " "
23 <sup>1</sup>	Çeptius Teoderici	C;F;R	150 L.	<i>satisfactum</i>
23 <sup>4</sup>	Nicola Melani	C;F;Com.	200 L.	---
10 <sup>2</sup>	Johannes Claruvisu	C;F;R	400 L.	<i>satisfactum est comuni</i>
27 <sup>2</sup>	d. Rainerius Munaldi Stephani Munaldi	C;F;Com.	1,000 L.	" " "
21 <sup>1</sup>	Cambius Ricci Miscinelli	C;F;B	1,200 L.	'j'
6 <sup>1</sup>	Petrus Bonamsegne	C;F;R	1,500 L.	<i>satisfactum est comuni</i>
11	Miscinellus Ricci Miscinelli	C;F;R	1,500 L.	" " "
23 <sup>2</sup>	Anideo Lupicini	C;F;R	1,500 L.	'j'
.....				
29 <sup>2</sup>	Petrucius Ricci Miscinelli	C;F;Com.	50 L.	(100 paupers to be clothed @ 10 <i>soldi</i> each.)
32 <sup>1</sup>	Dominicus Petri Rossi	---	50 L.	(25 paupers to be clothed @ 40 <i>soldi</i> each.)

\* C = *credens*  
R = *receptator*  
Com. = complex

F = *fautor*  
B = *benefactor*



## 9. GIFTS TO HERETICS FROM ORVIETAN SYMPATHISERS

(from the *Liber Inquisitionis*)

### a) Alms

<u>Fol.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Verdict</u>	<u>Gifts</u>
3 <sup>1</sup>	†Stradigottus Ricci de Tostis	C F R Rel.	<i>misit eis pluries helemosinam et recepit ab eis munuscula,</i>
4 <sup>2</sup>	<i>dominus</i> Rainerius <i>domini</i> Munaldi	C F Ben.	<i>misit eis pluries de rebus suis pro helemosina,</i>
6 <sup>1</sup>	†Petrus Bonamsegne	C F R	<i>misit eis de bonis suis pro helemosina,</i>
10 <sup>1</sup>	<i>domina</i> Mathea	C F Cons. Com.	<i>miserit pluries elemosinas patarenis,</i>
10 <sup>2</sup>	†Iohannes Claruvisu	C F R	<i>eisdem multotiens elemosinas destinavit,</i>
20 <sup>1</sup>	†Martinus Martini Guidutii	C F R	<i>hereticis elemosinas pluries destinavit,</i>
21 <sup>1</sup>	†Cambius Ricci Miscinelli	C F Ben.	[Charge]; <i>reverentiam pluries fecit eis et caritias cum eidem iuxta hereticorum ritus abusum;... Helemosinas pecuniarie patarenis multotiens destinaverit;</i> [Confession]; <i>duabus vicibus reverentiam fecit eis et caritias cum eisdem iuxta pravam consuetudinem eorundem. Misit quam pluries helemosinas patarenis,</i>
21 <sup>2</sup>	<i>domina</i> Stephania	C F R	<i>helemosinas misit,</i>
23 <sup>3</sup>	Benvenuta	C F R	(gave them alms)
26 <sup>2</sup>	<i>domina</i> Ymilga	C F Com.	<i>hereticis helemosinas destinaverit</i>
26 <sup>3</sup>	<i>domina</i> Camera	C F R	<i>dederit pluries helemosinas patarenis recepit,... Riccam patarenam, audivit eius predicationem et helemosinam ei dedit patarenis helemosinas destinaverit</i>
27 <sup>1</sup>	†Ingilbertus, <i>mercator</i>	C F Ben.	
28	Stradigottus <i>Senensis</i>	C F R Rel.	<i>ad pluria loca eisdem hereticis et aliis multotiens elemosinas destinavit; Iacobo Lombardo et Pettuçolo hereticis et aliis hereticis de pecunia elemosinas destinavit; quandam pecunie quantitatem transmisit cuidam olim heretice ut recederet de Civitate Urbeveta,...</i>
29 <sup>1</sup>	†Rainerius Camfrongin	C F Com.	<i>hereticis helemosinam pecuniam exhibuerit</i>
29 <sup>2</sup>	Petrotius Ricci Miscinelli	C F Com.	<i>dederit et miserit elemosinas p(luries)</i>

### b) Food, Drink and 'Necessities'

<u>Fol.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Gifts</u>
1	Christoforo Tosti	C F R Rel. Def.
2	Rainerius Stradigotti	C F R Rel.
3 <sup>1</sup>	†Stradigottus Ricci	C F R Rel.
3 <sup>2</sup>	Bonaccursus & Iannesbonus	C F R Rel. C F R Rel.
4 <sup>1</sup>	Iohannes Carabone	C F R Rel.
5 <sup>1</sup> /		

b), contd.

<u>Fol.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Gifts</u>	
5 <sup>1</sup>	Raynerius Bartholomei & Barthucius	C F R Rel C F R	<i>eisdem necessaria ministrasse</i>
5 <sup>2</sup>	Barthus Francisci, Belverdes & Nerius	C F R C F R C F R	<i>serviverunt eis et necessaria ministraverunt,</i>
6 <sup>2</sup>	Phylippus Busse	C F R	<i>dedit eis manducare et bibere, servivit eos ac necessaria ministravit,</i>
7	Ildribrandinus Ricci Pandulfutius, Raynucectus et Tostarellus	C F R C F R C F R C F R	<i>dedit eis manducare et bibere [1249] serviverunt eis et necessaria ministrarunt eos</i>
9 <sup>2</sup>	<i>domina</i> Syginetta	C F Ben,	<i>ministravit eis necessaria</i>
12 <sup>2</sup>	†Barthus Petri Saraceni	C F R	<i>serviverit eis ac necessaria ministraverit</i>
14	†Rainucettus Christofani	C F R	<i>dedit eis manducare et bibere</i>
15 <sup>1</sup>	†Simeon Lanarolo	C F R Cons,	<i>dederit eis manducare et bibere et necessaria ministravit,</i>
16 <sup>1</sup>	Benvegnata, <i>domina</i> Dellaltre & <i>domina</i> Greca	C F R C F R C F R	<i>dederint eis manducare et bibere et necessaria ministraverunt</i>
16 <sup>2</sup>	Petrus Guidi Becci	C F R	<i>(to Castellonclo) portavit panem, vinum et pisces una vice que misit eisdem pater eius</i>
17 <sup>2</sup>	Petum Ildribandini	C F R Rel	<i>dedit eis manducare et bibere et necessaria ministravit,</i>
	Masseus Cavardelli	C F R Rel	<i>...Altagratiam sororem suam reptaverit patarenam, dederit ei de rebus suis manducare et bibere,</i>
	Bonparens Ursi	C F R Rel	<i>(arranged for his wife to be 'consoled')... et ipsi heretico Reverentiam faciente dederit ipsi patareno manducare et bibere inibi et pro ipsa consolatione sol, xii<sup>o</sup> minut,</i>
20 <sup>1</sup>	†Martinus Martini <i>Guidutii</i>	C F R	<i>dedit eis manducare et bibere et necessaria ministravit</i>
23 <sup>2</sup>	†Amideus Lupicini	C F R	<i>dederit eis manducare et bibere de rebus suis</i>
24 <sup>2</sup>	†Blancus pelliparius	C F Cond,	<i>(to Castellonclo) hereticis unum piscem sapilitum portavit,</i>
25 <sup>3</sup>	<i>domina</i> Verderosa	C F R	<i>dederit eis manducare et bibere et necessaria ministravit</i>
26 <sup>1</sup>	<i>domina</i> Benamata	C F R	<i>audivit... predicationem dictorum patarenorum... et Reverentiam fecit eis, vittualia ministrando...</i>
26 <sup>3</sup>	<i>domina</i> Camera	C F R	<i>dedit prefati Guidoni et sotio patarenis comedere et bibere, mandato dicti sui filii</i>
27 <sup>3</sup>	Benefactus <i>Calçolarius</i>	C F R	<i>dedit eis manducare et bibere de bonis suis</i>
28/			



b), contd.

Fol.	Name	Details
28	Stradigottus Senensis	C F R Rel ministravit eis de suis bonis;... recepit Rel, ab eis pluria munuscula et eisdem servivit devote
31	domina Vianese	C F R dedit eis manducare et bibere;... dedit eis manducare et bibere et necessaria ministravit
34 <sup>2</sup>	domina Bellapratu & domina Grana	C F R eis necessaria ministraverint. C F R

c) Food shared with heretics

Fol.	Name	Details
3 <sup>1</sup>	Stradigottus Ricci de Tostis	comedit et bibit cum eis
4 <sup>1</sup>	Iohannes Carabone	audivit predicationes ipsarum in Viterbio; stetit cum eis ibidem .vj. diebus et una vice comedit et bibit cum eis
14	Rainucettus Christofani	comedit et bibit cum eis
16 <sup>2</sup>	Petrus Guidi Becci	recepit ab eis comedere et bibere;... recepit pretium pro conductionibus...
28	Stradigottus Senensis	comedit cum eis et bibit, et specialiter de pane quem ipsi heretici benedictum appellant
32 <sup>1</sup>	Dominicus Petri Rosse	in Castellonclo cum hereticis comedit et bibit et participavit dampnabiliter cum eisdem
32 <sup>2</sup>	Locthus Guillelmi Surdi	comederit et biberit cum eis, et recepit ab eis [ipsis] de pane ipsorum quem heretici benedictum appellant

d) "Counsel, subsidy and favour"

Fol.	Name	Gifts
10 <sup>2</sup>	Iohannes Claruvisu	hereticis dederit consilium, subsidium et favorem
15 <sup>2</sup>	Oddo Caçalatro	hereticis dederit consilium, subsidium et favorem
16 <sup>1</sup>	Benvegnata, domina Dellaltre & domina Greca	hereticis dederint consilium, subsidium et favorem
18	Bartholomeus Rainutii Tosti, & Rainerius	hereticis dederint consilium, subsidium et favorem
20 <sup>1</sup>	Martinus Martini Guidutii	dedit eis consilium, subsidium et favorem
24 <sup>2</sup>	Blancus pelliparius	dederitque eis consilium, subsidium et favorem
25 <sup>2</sup>	domina Verdefontana	hereticis dederit consilium, subsidium et favorem
25 <sup>2</sup>	domina Verderosa	hereticis dederit consilium, subsidium et favorem
26 <sup>1</sup>	domina Benamata	hereticis dederit consilium, subsidium et favorem
26 <sup>2</sup>	domina Ymilga	hereticis dederit consilium, subsidium et favorem
29 <sup>1</sup>	Rainerius Camfrongin	eisdem dederit consilium, subsidium et favorem
31	domina Vianese	hereticis dederit subsidium et favorem
32 <sup>2</sup>	Locthus Guillelmi Surdi	hereticis dederit consilium, subsidium et favorem

† = civis  
C = credens  
F = fautor  
R = receptator  
Rel, = relapsus/a

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Cons, = consolatus/a  
Com, = complex  
Ben, = benefactor  
Def, = defensor  
Cond, = conductor

10. CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE LIBER INQUISITIONIS  
AND THE CATASTO OF 1292.

<u>1292 CATASTO</u>			<u>LIBER INQUISITIONIS</u>	
<u>CITTA': S. PACE QUARTER</u>				
<u>Fol.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Valuation</u>	<u>Fol.</u>	<u>Name</u>
6v	Conte & Contatine MARTINI GUIDUTII	25L 10s	20 <sup>1</sup>	MARTINUS GUIDUTII
7v	Celle RAYNERII ÇANFORGRANI	115L	29 <sup>1</sup>	RAINERIUS ÇAMFRONGIN
12v	Mattheus PETRI BONANSEGNE	635L 11s	6 <sup>1</sup>	PETRUS BONAMSEGNE
16r	Ninus MARTINI GUIDUTII	1,287L 6s	20 <sup>1</sup>	MARTINUS GUIDUTII
17v	PETRUCCIUS RICCI MISCINELLI	3,043L 15s	29 <sup>2</sup>	PETROTIVS RICCI MISCINELLI
20v	RAYNUPÇITTUS CHRISTOFANI	473L	14	RAINUCETUS CHRISTOFORI Tosti
33v	BARTHOLOMEUS ACCOMMANI	1,652L 10s	23 <sup>2</sup>	BARTHUS ACCOMMANI
40v	RAYNERIUS ÇAMFORGINGE	1,948L 10s	29 <sup>1</sup>	RAINERIUS ÇAMFRONGIN
<u>CITTA': POSTIERLA QUARTER</u>				
<u>Fol.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Valuation</u>	<u>Fol.</u>	<u>Name</u>
221v	RAYNUCCEPTUS CHRISTOFORI	325L 11s	14	RAINUCETUS CHRISTOFORI
246r	Mathiutius Nini PETRI BONANSEGNE	216L 2s	6 <sup>1</sup>	PETRUS BONAMSEGNE
"	Matheus PETRI BONANSEGNE	91L 16s	"	"
257v	heredes Aldrevanninu AMODEI LUPICÇINI	1,871L 9s	23 <sup>2</sup>	AMIDEUS LUPICINI
258v	heredes Aldrebandini RAYNERII ADELAXIE	1,895L 12s	19 <sup>2</sup>	Petrus RAINERII ADILASCIE
286v	IACOIVS PHILIPPI	136L	22 <sup>2</sup>	IACOBUS FILIPPI
303r	PROVENÇANUS AMODEI	7,215L 3s	13	PROVENÇANUS Lupicini/ 23 <sup>2</sup> AMIDEUS Lupicini
332r	Im, JACOBUS PHYLIPPI, calçolarius	190L 8s	22 <sup>2</sup>	IACOBUS FILIPPI
<u>CITTA': QUARTER OF SS. GIOVANNI &amp; GIOVENALE</u>				
<u>Fol.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Valuation</u>	<u>Fol.</u>	<u>Name</u>
343v	Andrioctus CASTELLANI	2,515L 12s	(perfectus) 30 <sup>2</sup>	Andrea CASTELLANE
355v	d, Bonjohannes PETRI FERRA LOCHE	1,374L 8s		PETRUS FERRALLOCA
371v	Jacopus IOHANNIS CAREBONE	(confines)	4 <sup>1</sup>	IOHANNES CARABONE
373r	Iacobus STEFANI FABRI	105L 7s	34 <sup>1</sup>	Rainerius STEPHANI FABRI
380v	Ofredutius PETRI FERRA LOCHA	365L 10s	30 <sup>2</sup>	PETRUS FERRALLOCA
387r	d, Petrus MUNALDI RAINERII STEFANI	16,960L 13s	4 <sup>2</sup>	d, Rainerius d, MUNALDI RAINERII STEPHANI
393v	RAINERIUS d, MUNALDI	15,522L 12s	"	"
405v	Vannes ODDONIS CACÇALADRI	84L	15 <sup>2</sup>	ODDO CAÇALATRO (passim)
427r	heredes TOSTI	216L	4 <sup>2</sup>	d, RAINERIUS d, MUNALDI RAINERII STEPHANI
452r	Id, NERI MUNALDI RAINERII STEFANI	4,238L 15s	34 <sup>2</sup>	domina GRANA, uxor Frederici
467r	domina GRANA, uxor olim_____	65L		
<u>CITTA':</u>				



1292 CATASTOLIBER INQUISITIONISCITTA: SERANCIA QUARTER

<u>Fol.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Valuation</u>
516r	¶PETRUS & Gente GUIDI BICCI	138L 10s
532r	JOHANNES CLARINVISU	800L
540r	¶PETRUS GUIDI BECCHI	95L
564v	¶RAYNUCCIPTUS TOSTI	286L

<u>Fol.</u>	<u>Name</u>
16 <sup>2</sup>	PETRUS GUIDI BECCI
10 <sup>2</sup>	IOHANNES CLARUVISI
16 <sup>2</sup>	PETRUS GUIDI BECCI
14	RAINUCCETUS Christofori TOSTI

CONTADO (vol. 2)

<u>Fol.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Valuation</u>
59v	Dominichellus TONCELLE	14L 10S
135r	Vannes MARINI	58L 14s
155v	<i>domina</i> Adesata ÇANFONGE	31L 8s
"	Ranutius ÇANFORGNE	45L 8s
611r	IOHANNES BLAXII	18L

<u>Fol.</u>	<u>Name</u>
9 <sup>1</sup>	<i>domina</i> Syginetta, <i>uxor</i> <i>olim</i> Dominici TONCELLE
24 <sup>5</sup>	<i>domina</i> Bernardina, <i>uxor</i> <i>olim</i> Iohannis MARINI
29 <sup>1</sup>	Raynerius ÇAMFRONGIN
"	"
33 <sup>2</sup>	Guillelmus & IOHANNES, <i>fili</i> <i>olim</i> Viveni BLASII

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# 11. THE 'PERFECT'

## a) Male Perfect

		<u>No. of refs.</u>	
		<u>Lib.</u>	<u>Other</u>
		<u>Inq.</u>	
1	ANDREA	1	
2,	ANDREA CASTELLANE	7	Vit, Frag,
3,	BENENCASA	3	
4,	BENENCASA SCROVELLE (de Toscanella)	6	Vit, Frag,
5,	BENENCASA TRENCALLOLIU	5	Vit, Frag,
6,	BENVENUTUS ZACHEUS	14	
7,	BONAMICUS	2	Vit, Frag,
8,	GIRARDUS	1	
9,	GUALDINUS	7	
10,	GUALDINUS de VITERBIO	11	Vit, Frag,
11,	GUIDO IACOBI	2	
12,	GUIDO RUBEUS	3	
13,	GUIDOCTUTIUS of GRADOLI	1	Vit, Frag,
14,	IACOBUS	1	
15,	IACOBUS, <i>qui dicitur</i> PETRUS SPOLETINUS		1223 Sentence
16,	IACOBUS FLORENTINUS	8	Vit, Frag,
17,	IACOBUS (? de Casalveri)	1	
18,	IACOBUS URBEVETANUS	2	
19,	IANNES	2	
21,	IANNES de CASALVERI	1	
22,	IANNES ROBBA, <i>episcopus patarenorum</i>	1	
23,	IANNES TASCA	1	
24,	IOSEP	1	
25,	IOSEP de VITERBIO	6	
26,	LEONARDELLUS	2	
27,	LEONARDELLUS de NARNI	3	
28,	LUCA de CASTELLONCLO	1	
29,	MAGALDOCTUS	1	
30,	MATHEUS	1	
31,	MATHEUS de NARNI	2	
32,	NICOLA	3	
33,	NICOLA de CASALVERI	17	
34,	ODDO de REGNO	1	
35,	ODDO de VITERBIO	1	
36,	OLIVERIUS		1223 Sentence
37,	PETRUS	1	
38,	PETRUS <i>olim</i> TADEI	1	
39,	PETRUS de RENGNO	2	
40,	PETTUÇOLO	1	
41,	PHYLIPPUS	1	
42,	RICCUS	1	
43,	SALVUS/ SELVUS	1	
44,	STEPHANUS NARNIENSIS	3	

People/

.....



People who received male perfect

<u>Fol.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Perfecti</u>
1	Christoforo Tosti	2; 7; 10; 12; 19; 25; 33; 44
3	Stradigottus Ricci	6; 14; 21; 27
4 <sup>1</sup>	Iohannes Carabone	2; 10; 17; 33; 41
4 <sup>2</sup>	<i>dominus</i> Rainerius	10; 27; 44
5 <sup>1</sup>	Rainerius Bartholomeus	3; 20; 27; 33
5 <sup>2</sup>	Barthus Francisci	6; 10; 32
6 <sup>1</sup>	Petrus Bonamsegne	6; 33
6 <sup>2</sup>	Filippus Busse	6; 10; 12; 33
7	Ildribandinus Ricci	10; 18; 37
8 <sup>2</sup>	Albasia	33
9 <sup>1</sup>	Cittadinus Viviani	33
10 <sup>1</sup>	Mathea	4; 16; 32
10 <sup>2</sup>	Iohannes Claruvisu	3; 7; 9
11	Miscinellus Ricci Miscinelli	2; 4; 16; 19; 25; 26
12 <sup>1</sup>	Adilascia	6; 10; 31; 33
12 <sup>2</sup>	Barthus Petri Saraceni	6; 10; 33
13	Provençanus Lupicini	2; 6; 25
14	Rainuccetus Christofani	9; 23; 44
15 <sup>1</sup>	Symeon Lanarolo	4; 6; 9; 16; 25; 26
15 <sup>2</sup>	Oddo Caçalatro	3; 6; 8; 9; 11; 16; 24; 33
16 <sup>2</sup>	Petrus Guidi Becci	4; 6
17 <sup>2</sup>	men from Castellonclo	18; 38
19 <sup>2</sup>	Petrus Rainerii Adilascie	2; 6
20 <sup>1</sup>	Martinus Martini Guidutie	28; 33
20 <sup>2</sup>	Andriotus Stradigocti	33
21 <sup>2</sup>	Stephania	5; 39
21 <sup>3</sup>	Pacifica	5; 39
22 <sup>1</sup>	Dominicus Iampulcini	5; 10; 33; 43
22 <sup>2</sup>	Ildribandexca	30; 34
22 <sup>3</sup>	Barthus Accomandi	5; 9; 32
23 <sup>2</sup>	Amideo Lupicini	2; 25
23 <sup>4</sup>	Nicola Melani	33
24 <sup>1</sup>	Amatus Senensis	26
24 <sup>2</sup>	Blancus Pelliparius	16; 33
24 <sup>4</sup>	Bernardina	9; 20
25 <sup>2</sup>	Verdefontana	1; 42
25 <sup>3</sup>	Verderosa	4; 10; 16; 22
26 <sup>1</sup>	Benamata	25
26 <sup>3</sup>	Camera	11; 12
27 <sup>3</sup>	Benefactus Calçolarius	33
28	Stradigottus Senensis	4; 6; 9; 13; 16; 18; 40
31	Vianese	6
32 <sup>1</sup>	Domenico Petri Rosse	10; 16; 29
32 <sup>2</sup>	Locthus Guillelmi Surdi	2; 35
33 <sup>2</sup>	Guillelmus & Iohannes Vivieni	31
34 <sup>1</sup>	Rainerius Stephani	6; 33; 43
34 <sup>2</sup>	Bellapratu & Grana	5; 9
26 <sup>3</sup>	Camera	11; 12
VITERBO FRAGMENT		2; 4; 5; 7; 8; 10; 13

.....

b)/

b) Female Perfect

		<u>No. of refs.</u>	
		<u>Lib.</u>	<u>Other</u>
		<u>Inq.</u>	
1,	BENVENUTA	2	
2,	CLARA	2	
3,	MARSILIA de REGNO	2	
4,	RICCA	9	Vit, Frag,
5,	ALTAGRATIA	1	

.....

People who received female perfect

<u>Fol.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Perfecta</u>
5 <sup>2</sup>	Barthus Francisci	Clara
8 <sup>2</sup>	Albasia	Ricca
10 <sup>1</sup>	Matthea	Ricca
16 <sup>2</sup>	Petrus Guidi Becci	Benvenuta; Ricca
17 <sup>2</sup>	men from Castellonclo	Clara; Altagratia
19 <sup>1</sup>	Iacobus Arnuldi	Benvenuta; Ricca
19 <sup>3</sup>	Amata	Ricca
24 <sup>3</sup>	Verdenovella	Ricca
25 <sup>3</sup>	Verderosa	Marsilia de Regno
26 <sup>3</sup>	Camera	Ricca
30	Bonadimane	Ricca
31	Vianese	Ricca
32 <sup>2</sup>	Locthus Guillelmi Surdi	Marsilia de Regno
VITERBO FRAGMENT		Ricca

.....

c) Early leaders [from *Leggenda* of Pietro Parenzo]

HERMANNINUS PARMANENSIS  
DIOTISALVI di FIRENZE  
GOTTARDO di S, MARZANO  
MILITA de MONTEAMATO  
JULITTA FLORENTINA  
PETRUS LOMBARDUS



## 12. PLACES ASSOCIATED WITH ORVIETAN HERESY

### a) Provenance of 'perfecti'

	<u>Lib. Inq.</u>	<u>Early Sources</u>
CASALVERI	Nicola de Casalveri [?Iacobus] Iannes de Casalveri	
CASTELLONCLO	Luca de Castellonclo [?Altagratia]	
FLORENCE/ 'LOMBARDY'	Iacobus Florentinus Iacobus Lombardus	Diotisalvi di Firenze Julitta Florentina Petrus Lombardus
GRADOLI	Guidoctutius de Gradolense	
MONTEAMATO		Milita de Monteamato
NARNI	Leonardellus de Narni Matheus de Narni Stephanus Narniensis	
ORVIETO	Iacobus Urbevitanus	
PARMA		Hermanninus Parmanensis
REGNO	Oddo de Regno Petrus de Regno Marsilia de Regno	
San MARSANO		Gottardo Marsanense
SPOLETO		Iacobus, <i>dictus</i> Petrus Spoletinus
TUSCANELLA	Benencasa Sclavella	
VITERBO	Gualdinus de Viterbio Iosep de Viterbio Oddo de Viterbio	

.....

### b) Meeting- or Hiding-Places

<u>Town</u>	<u>Fol.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Reference</u>
CASTELLONCLO	4 <sup>2</sup>	d, Rainerius d, Munaldi	[1263] ... <i>alias locutus fuit patarenis morantibus in Castellonclo</i>
	15 <sup>2</sup>	Oddo Caçalatro	... <i>in Castellonclo visit Iosep, Guidonem Iacobini et plures alios patarenos, quos audivit predicationes...</i>
	16 <sup>2</sup>	Petrus Guidi Becci	... <i>in castellonclo fuit locutus pluribus patarenis et patarenibus, quibus pluries missus a patre suo, portavit panem, vinem et pisces...</i> audivit inibi monitiones et predicationes...
	24 <sup>2</sup>	Blancus Pelliparius	... <i>audivit monitiones Iacobi Florentini patareni de vita patarenorum apud Castelloncclum ex parte Stradigotti prefati hereticis unum piscem sapillitum portavit.</i>
	32 <sup>1</sup> /		

<u>Town</u>	<u>Fol.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Reference</u>
CASTELLONCLO	32'	Domenicus Petri Rosse	... <u>in Castellonclo</u> cum hereticis conedit et bibit et participavit dampnabiliter cum eisdem.
	V,F,1	Nerius	... misit per Raynaldum Canninellum <u>apud Castellonclum</u> Guidotutio patareno panem et vinum pro elemoxina.
CASTRUM RIE	32	Bonacursus & Iannesbonus Lonbardus	... <u>ad Castrum Rie</u> voluntarie iverunt hereticis locuturi, et ibidem amicabiliter locuti fuerunt cuidam mulieri heretice consolate, cuius predicationem audiverunt... fecerunt ei Reverentiam... et placuit eis dicta predicatione.
COLLESERENO	28	Stradigottus Senensis	... fecit dictum hereticum [Iacobus Lombardus] <u>conduci usque ad Colleserenum</u> ...
	V,F,2	[?Nerius]	[to Fra Giordano]... dixit interrogatus quod circa .VIII. annos vidit et cognovit Gualdinum de Viterbio et sotium eius patarenos, stantes et morantes <u>in colle Sereno</u> ; quos ostendit ei Guidectus Guidonis Ronconis et inibi fuit eis locutus.
CRIMONA	6'	Petrus Bonamsegne	... vidit patarenos <u>in Crimona</u> loquentes et disputantes.
GRADOLI	V,F,2	[?Nerius]	... conduxit dictum Benecasam Trencaloliu et eius sotium patarenos a dono Stradigotti pelliparii <u>usque ad Gradulem</u> ...
MONTE-AGUTO	202	Andriottus Stradigotti	... dixerit quod vidit una vice tamen patarenos <u>in Monteaguto</u> .
TODI	20'	Martinus Martini Guidutii	... predicationes audivit... in exercitu Urbevetano <u>supra Tudertum</u> ultima vice facta contra fidem catholicam et ecclesiastica sacramenta.
VITERBO	4'	Iohannes Carabone	[1239] ... coram eodem Fratre Rogerio extitit manifeste confessus pro spatio .XXV. annorum fuit credens patarenorum, audivit predicationes ipsorum <u>in Viterbio</u> , stetit cum eis ibidem .vj. diebus, et una vice conedit et bibit cum eis, et fecit eis Reverentiam...
"DULSA LOCA"	6'	Petrus Bonamsegne	[to Fra Giordano] ... accessit <u>ad dulsa loca</u> locuturus hereticis et hereticorum predicationes audivit
"OTHER PLACES"	ff. 42; 162; 18; 23'; 242; 32'.		



### 13. LOCAL PEOPLE WHO RECEIVED THE CONSOLAMENTUM

#### a) Charged in their own right

Fol.	Name	Died	Ill. but recovered	Arranged by:	Present:	House Destroyed
9 <sup>2</sup>	ARTO, son of Syginetta	/				/
10 <sup>1</sup>	MATTHEA, wife of Miscinellus		/	husband		/
13	PROVENÇANUS LUPICINI	/				/
15 <sup>1</sup>	SYMEON LANAROLO		/			/
21 <sup>3</sup>	PACIFICA, M-in-law of Stefania	/				/
24 <sup>4</sup>	BERNARDINA, mother of Rainucettus	/				/
	RAINUCETTUS, son of Bernardina	/		mother	mother	/

#### b) Mentioned in course of proceedings against others

Fol.	Name	Died	Ill. but Recovered	Arranged by:	Present:	House Destroyed
2	Brother of Raynerius Stradigotti		/		brother	/
3 <sup>1</sup>	Son of Stradigottus Ricci		?/		father	
4 <sup>1</sup>	FIDANZOLA, daughter of Iohannes Carabone				father	?/
9 <sup>2</sup>	TONCELLUS, F-in-law of Syginetta	/			D-in-law	/
15 <sup>1</sup>	ALDA, mother of Symeon lanarolo	/			son	/
17 <sup>2</sup>	ODDO, brother* of Petus Ildribandini				brother	
17 <sup>2</sup>	ALTAGRATIA, sister of Masseus Cavardelli					
17 <sup>2</sup>	BENVENUTA, wife of Bonparens Ursi	/			husband	
22 <sup>1</sup>	Son of Dominicus Iampulcini			parents	parents	/
24 <sup>3</sup>	DYAMBRE, Verdenovella's servant			mistress	mistress	/
28	BENVENUTA, wife of Stradigottus Senensis		/		husband	

#### c) Orvietans present at unspecified consolations

6 <sup>2</sup>	PHYLIPPUS BUSSE	...interfuit consolationibus hereticorum...
12 <sup>1</sup>	ADILASCIA	...consolationibus interfuerit aliquorum hereticorum.
16 <sup>1</sup>	BENVEGNATA	...consolationi interfuerit hereticorum...
18	TROCTA	" " "
23 <sup>1</sup>	GEÇIUS TEODERICI	...interfuerit consolationi quin potius desolationi hereticorum
23 <sup>3</sup>	BENVENUTA	" " "

#### d) Posthumous convictions of people who died without consolation

Fol.	Name	Fol.	Name	Fol.	Name
5 <sup>2</sup>	Barthus Francisci	22 <sup>1</sup>	Amata	25 <sup>1</sup>	Barthutius
7	Ildribandinus Ricci	22 <sup>3</sup>	Barthus Accomandi	27 <sup>1</sup>	Ingilbertus, mercator
19 <sup>1</sup>	Iacobus Arnuldi	22 <sup>3</sup>	Claruisu	29 <sup>1</sup>	Raynerius Camfrongin
19 <sup>2</sup>	Petrus R, Adilascie	23 <sup>2</sup>	Amideus Lupicini	30 <sup>2</sup>	Bonadinane
20 <sup>1</sup>	Martinus M, Guidutii	23 <sup>4</sup>	Nicola Melani	34 <sup>1</sup>	Raynerius Stephani

\*Fumi wrongly has "father"

# 14. VERDICTS IN THE LIBER INQUISITIONIS

<u>Designation</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>
Credens	56	27	83
Fautor	56	28	84
Receptator	48	18	60
Relapsus	14	--	14
Consolatus	3	4	7
Complex	11 (12)*	6	17 (18)*
Benefactor	4	--	4
Amator	--	2	2
Defensor	1	--	1
Conductor	1	--	1

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<u>Combined Designations</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>
Credens; Fautor	--	2	2
Credens; Fautor; Conductor	1	--	1
Credens; Fautor; Benefactor	4	--	4
Credens; Fautor; Amatrix	--	1	1
Credens; Fautor; Complex	9 (10)*	5	14 (15)*
Credens; Fautor; Consolatus; Complex	--	1	1
Credens; Fautor; Receptator	25	17	42
Credens; Fautor; Receptator; Consolatus	2	1	3
Credens; Fautor; Receptator; Complex	1	--	1
Credens; Fautor; Receptator; Relapsus	12	--	12
Credens; Fautor; Receptator; Relapsus; Defensor	1	--	1
Credens; Fautor; Receptator; Relapsus; Complex	1	--	1
Fautor; Amatrix	--	1	1
Consolatus	1	2	3
No designation	1	--	1

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\* including duplicate entry for *domino* Rainerio, where 'benefactor' is changed to 'complex'. [*Lib, Inq.*, ff. 4<sup>2</sup> & 27<sup>2</sup>]



# 15. FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS AMONG ORVIETAN HERETICS

<u>Fol.</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Relationships</u>
4 <sup>1</sup>	IOHANNES CARABONE & FIDANZOLA	FATHER & DAUGHTER/?SON
6 <sup>1</sup> /16 <sup>1</sup>	PETRUS BONAMSEGNE & GRECA	MOTHER & SON
24 <sup>5</sup>	BERNARDINA, widow of IOHANNIS MARINI & RAINUC CETUS	MOTHER & SON
7	ILDRIBANDINUS RICCI, PANDULFUTIUS, RAYNUCECTUS & TOSTARELLUS	FATHER & THREE SONS
25 <sup>3</sup> /33 <sup>2</sup> [& 1249]	VIVIENUS BLASII, VERDEFONTANA, GUILLELMUS & IOHANNES	HUSBAND, WIFE & TWO SONS
25 <sup>3</sup> /VF2 25 <sup>3</sup> 28/VF2	GUIDECTUS GUIDONIS RONÇONIS of GRADOLI & VERDEROSA, his widow GUIDOCTUTIUS	HUSBAND, WIFE & SON
3 <sup>2</sup> [Perf.]	..... BONACURSUS & IANNESBONUS LONBARDUS IACOBUS LOMBARDUS	TWO BROTHERS ?THIRD BROTHER]
21 <sup>1</sup> /11/ 29 <sup>2</sup>	CAMBIUS, *MISCINELLUS & PETRUTIUS RICCI MISCINELLI	THREE BROTHERS
17 <sup>2</sup>	PETUS & ODDO ILDRIBANDINI PETI LONGI	TWO BROTHERS
17 <sup>2</sup>	MASSEUS CAVARDELLI & ALTAGRATIA	BROTHER & SISTER
17 <sup>2</sup>	..... BONPARENS URSI & wife	HUSBAND & WIFE
[1223]	GUARNERIUS DE CANNANO & BENVEGNATA	HUSBAND & WIFE
12 <sup>1</sup>	BARTHUS PETRI SARACENI & ADILASCIA	HUSBAND & WIFE
22 <sup>1</sup>	DOMINICUS IAMPULCINI & AMATA	HUSBAND & WIFE
24 <sup>2</sup>	RAINERIUS IANNIS ALBARE & VERDENOVELLA [+ DYAMBRE	HUSBAND & WIFE SERVANT]
5 <sup>2</sup>	..... BARTHUS FRANCISCI, BELVERDES & NERIUS	HUSBAND, WIFE & NEPHEW/GRANDSON
23 <sup>1</sup> [24 <sup>2</sup> 28 24 <sup>1</sup>	..... STRADIGOTTUS PELLIPARIUS & GEPTIUS TEODERICI BLANCUS PELLIPARIUS STRADIGOTTUS SENENSIS AMATUS SENENSIS	UNCLE/GRANDFATHER & NEPHEW/GRANDSON not known " " " " ]
9 <sup>2</sup>	..... SYGINETTA, widow of DOMINICUS TONCELLE, TONCELLUS & ARTO	(HUSBAND), WIFE, SON & F.-in-LAW
16 <sup>1</sup> 15 <sup>1</sup>	..... DOMEDELLALTRE, wife of EGIDIUS SECCADINARI,II, SYMEON LANAROLO, & ALDA	(HUSBAND), WIFE NEPHEW/GRANDSON (SYMEON'S MOTHER)
[30 <sup>1</sup> 22 <sup>3</sup> 23 <sup>4</sup>	..... ACCOMMANNUS PROPECTI BARTHUS ACCOMMANDI & CLARUVISU MATHA, wife of NICOLA MELANI	?FATHER] HUSBAND & WIFE DAUGHTER & S.-in-LAW
23 <sup>2</sup> /	.....	

<u>Fol</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Relationships</u>
23 <sup>2</sup>	AMIDEUS LUPICINI &	FATHER &
21 <sup>2</sup>	STEPHANIA, wife of PAGANUTIUS,	DAUGHTER
21 <sup>3</sup>	PACIFICA	(PAGANUCCIO'S MOTHER)
13	PROVENÇANUS LUPICINI	not known
.....		
34 <sup>2</sup> & LIB DON 6 <sup>2</sup>	BELLAPRATU, wife of GUISCARDUS PELLIPARIUS FREDERICUS VISCARDI & GRANA PHYLIPPUS BUSSE & CLARA	HUSBAND & WIFE SON & D.-in-LAW FAMILY FRIENDS
.....		
VF1	MASSEUS, NERIUS & GUIDOCTUTIUS CALLATORIS ALDRUDA [FRANCESCA	BROTHERS ?NERIO'S WIFE SERVANT]
.....		
var. 20 <sup>1</sup> /25 <sup>1</sup> 8 <sup>2</sup> /10 <sup>1</sup> 8 <sup>2</sup> 10 <sup>1</sup> /11 25 <sup>2</sup>	MARTINUS GUIDUTII & AMATA MARTINUS & ERRICUS ALBASIA & MATHEA PETRUS FRASCAMBOCCA, Albasia's husband *MISCINELLUS, Mathea's husband MATHIUTIUS & BARTHUTIUS, Errico's sons	HUSBAND & WIFE TWO SONS TWO DAUGHTERS SON-in-LAW SON-in-LAW GRANDSONS
.....		
3 <sup>1</sup> 20 <sup>2</sup> /2	STRADIGOTTUS RICCI DE TOSTIS ANDRIOTTUS, RAINERIUS & dead brother	FATHER & THREE SONS
1/8 14/33 <sup>1</sup> 1249	CHRISTOFORO TOSTI RAINUC CETUS & TAFURA ILDRI BANDINUS, RICCUS & STRADIGOTTUS	FATHER, SON & DAUGHTER BROTHERS
18/1249 5 <sup>1</sup> 5 <sup>1</sup> 1249	BARTHOLOMEUS RAYNUTII DE TOSTIS & TROCTA RAYNERIUS BARTHUCIUS, Rainerio's son RAYNERIUS BARTHOLOMEI RANUCTII MAGISTRI	HUSBAND & WIFE SON GRANDSON ?BROTHER

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16. CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE LIBER INQUISITIONIS  
AND THE FONDO GIUDIZIARIO

LIBER INQUISITIONIS

FONDO GIUDIZIARIO

4<sup>1</sup> IOHANNES CARABONE

IACOBUS CARBONIS

B.1,F.6,f.21v, 1277, (left *palazzo del comune* before fine paid)

4<sup>2</sup> d, RAINERIUS d, MUNALDI  
RAINERII STEPHANI

d, RAINERIUS d, MONALDI RAINERI STEPHANI  
B.6,F.1,f.4v, 1271, ("exceeded confines")

d, RAYNERIUS d, MUNALDI

B.1,F.6,f.8v, 1277, (threatened his brother's servant, Petucius, with a knife,)

Reg, 1287, f.42r, (illegal possession of arms & evasion of justice)

d, RAYNERIUS et d, PETRUS d, MUNALDI, et  
UGOLINUTIUS, *filius dicti* d, RAYNERII

B.1,F.11,f.2r, 1283, (victims of attack)

d, RANIERUS et d, PETRUS d, MUNALDI

B.2,F.2,f.4r, 1289 (witnesses)

d, PETRO RANIERI MUNALDI

*Exg.*, ff. 8v & 11r, 1269, (witness)

PETRUS d, RANERII

B.2,F.9,f.29r, 1295, (cavalry - S. Pace)

d, PETRUS d, MUNALDI RAINERII STEPHANI

B.6,F.1,f.4v, 1271, ("exceeded confines")

d, PETRUS d, MUNALDI

*Exg.*, f.22r, 1269, (carried knife at night)

B.2,F.8,f.22v, 1295 (guarantor for noblemen accused of rioting & desecration of churches)

B.6,F.9,f.2v, 1282, (refusal to pay debt)

BENENCASA, *fanulus* d, RAINERII et d, PETRI

MUNALDI, *Exg.*, f.21v, 1269, (carried sword)

PETRUCIUS, *fanulus* d, PETRI d, MONALDI

& VENGATUS, *fanulus* d, RAYNERII

B.1,F.6,f.8v, 1277, (involved in quarrel)

6<sup>1</sup> PETRUS BONAMSEGNE

PETRUS BONENSEGE

& 16<sup>1</sup>

B.1,F.6,f.43r, 1277 (played games of chance)

8<sup>2</sup> ALBASIA, , , , *uxor*

*heredes* ANDRIOTI PETRI FRASCANOCHA

PETRI FRASCAMBOCCA

B.2,F.9,f.29r, 1295, (excused cavalry duty)

10<sup>2</sup> IOHANNES CLARUVISI

IOHANNES CLARUMVISI

B.1,F.12,f.3v, 1284, (confines)

IOHANNES CLAREMBISIJ

B.2,F.9,f.30v, 1295, (cavalry - Serancia)

PETRUS IOHANNIS CLARUMVISI

B.1,F.12,f.3v, 1284, (cloth merchant)

12<sup>2</sup> BARTHUS PETRI SARACENI

CHELLUS BARTHI PETRI SARACENI

B.2,F.3,f.17r, 1291; & B.2,F.4,f.18r, 1291,  
(nocturnal rioting + escape from prison)

IACOBUS PETRI SARACENI

B.1,F.15,f.2v, 1287, (absolved)

13/

LIBER INQUISITIONISFONDO GIUDIZIARIO

13 PROVENÇANUS LUPICINI

RAINUCCIUS *condam* PROVENÇANI LUPICINI*Exg.*, ff.24r-v, 1269, (unable to pay dues)

RAINUCIUS PROVENÇANI

Reg. 1287, f.59r, (unpaid fine)

IORDANELLUS, VENUTELLUS, DAMIANUS &amp; PETRUCELLUS

BONTADOSE, *servientes* RANUCII PROVENÇANI etILDRIBANDINUS AMEDEI *et fratrum*,

B.1,F.3,ff. 1-2, 1272, (violent attack)

14 RAINUCETUS CHRISTOFORI  
TOSTI

RAYNUCICTUS CHRISTOFANI

B.1,F.6,f.31v, 1277, (helped friend break

into house to commit adultery)

RAYNUCEPTUS CHRISTOFORI (of Ficulle)

B.2,F.8,f.24v, 1295, (unpaid debt)

RAYNUCEPTUS CHRISTOFORI (of S. Blasii region)

B.2,F.8,f.25r, 1295, (unpaid debt)

RAYNUTIUS CHRISTOFORI, *carnaiolus*

B.2,F.8,f.26r, 1295, (unpaid debt)

RAYNUCEPTUS *condam* CHRISTOFANI (S. Ang. de P.)

Reg. 1287, ff.48r &amp; 85r, (attempted murder)

RAINUCETTUS TOSTE

B.2,F.2,f.3r, 1289, (adultery)

RANUCCEPTUS TOSTE

B.2,F.10,ff.3v &amp; 6r, 1298,

(special council - S. Pace quarter)

LAPUCCIUS RANUCEPTI TOSTE

B.2,F.10,ff. 4r &amp; 6v, 1298,

(general council - S. Pace quarter)

16<sup>2</sup> PETRUS GUIDI BECCI,  
*buccinator*

PETRUS GUIDONIS BICHI,

*publicus preconis comunis civitatis*,

B.1,F.13,f.1r, 1285; B.1,F.16,f.1r, 1285;

B.2,F.4,f.8v, 1291,

PETRUS GUIDONIS BECCI, *bannitor comunis*

Reg. 1287, f.64v, (assault)

PETRUCIUS GUIDONIS BECHI,

*publicus banditor comunis*,

B.1,F.3,f.7r, 1272,

VANNES GUIDONIS BECCHI

*Exg.*, f.17v, 1269, (carried knife)

18 RAINERIUS RAINUTII TOSTI

RAYNERIUS TOSTI

B.1,F.6,f.19v, 1277, (owned corn-field)

19<sup>2</sup> PETRUS RAINERII  
ADILASCIE

GUILLELMUS RANIERII ADELASIE

B.2,F.6,f.4r, 1294, (debt owed to him)

Reg. 1287, f.40v, (victim of housebreaking)

ALDREVANDINUS RANERII ADELASIE

B.2,F.9,f.31r, 1295, (excused cavalry duty)

ILDRIBANDINUS RAYNERII ADELAXIE,

& ILDRIBANDINUS, *eius filius*

B.6,F.1,f.4v, 1271, ("exceeded confines")

20<sup>1</sup> MARTINUS MARTINI  
GUIDUTIE

NINUS MARTINUS GUIDUTII

B.2,F.9,f.29r, 1295, (excused cavalry duty)

21<sup>1</sup>/



LIBER INQUISITIONIS

21<sup>1</sup> CAMBIUS RICCI  
MISCINELLI

23<sup>2</sup> AMIDEUS LUPICINI

24<sup>2</sup> BLANCUS PELLIPARIUS

27<sup>1</sup> INGILBERTUS, *mercator*

29<sup>1</sup> RAINERIUS ÇAMFRONGIN

29<sup>2</sup> PETROTIUS RICCI  
MISCINELLI

30<sup>2</sup> BONADIMANE, *socrus*  
*quondam* PETRI FERRALLOCA

33<sup>2</sup> IOHANNES VIVIENI BLASII

*perfectus* ANDREA CASTELLANÉ

*perfectus* GUIDO RUBEUS

*perfectus* IACOBUS LONBARDUS

1249 Process BIVIENUS BLASII

Viterbo MASSEUS COLLATORIS

Eragment de Carnaiola

FONDO GIUDIZIARIO

LOTUS CANBIJ  
B.2,F.9,f.30r, 1295, (cavalry - Serancia)

LOCTUS CAMBII MISINELLI  
B.2,F.10,ff.3v & 6r, 1298,  
(special council - S. Pace quarter)

CIUCCIUS LOCTI CAMBII  
B.2, F.10,f.2v, 1298, (assault)

d, AMIDEUS LUPICINI  
B.1,F.1,f.1, 1266, ( '*rector comunis*' )

PROVENÇANUS d, AMIDEI  
B.1,F.6,f.42v, 1277, (debt owed to him)  
Reg. 1287, f.38v, (claim on house in *contado*)

PROVENÇANUS, ALEXANDER, PETRUS &  
ILDRIBANDINUS AMIDEI LUPICINI/ PROVENÇANI  
*Exg.*, ff.24r-v, 1269, (unable to pay dues)  
B.6,F.1,f.4v, 1271, ("exceeded confines")

IODANELLUS, VENUTELLUS, DAMIANUS & PETRUCELLUS  
BONTADOSE, *servientes* RANUCII PROVENÇANI et  
ILDRIBANDINUS AMEDEI *et fratrum*,  
B.1,F.3,ff. 1-2, 1272, (violent attack)

(.....) BLANCI PELLIPARII  
B.1,F.7,f.5v, 1279, (threats & insults)

PETRUCIUS INGILBERTI  
*Exg.*, f.19v, 1269, (carried knife)

DOMINICUS INGHILBERTI, *mercator*  
B.2,F.10,ff.4r & 6v, 1298  
(general council - S.Pace)

RANERIUS ÇAMFRANGNINI  
B.2,F.9,f.29r, 1295, (cavalry - S. Pace)

RAINERIUS RAINERII ÇAMFROGNINI  
B.1,F.1,f.5v, 1266, (one horse owed)  
B.1,F.6,ff. 16r-v, 1277, (owned corn-field)

CESTA, *filius* PETRUCIJ MISCINELLI  
Reg. 1287, f.61r, (assault)

OFREDUTIUS PETRI FERRALLOKE  
B.2,F.2,f.3v, 1289, (assault)

IOHANNES BLAXII  
*Exg.*, f.2v, 1269, (said 'angry words')  
*Exg.*, f.21r, 1269, (fined 'as in sentence')

IOHANNES BLAXII *qui morat apud Gavianum*  
B.1,F.3,f.5v, 1272, (cattle theft)

ANDRUCIUS CASTELANNI  
B.2,F.9,f.29v, 1295, (cavalry - SS. 6 & 6)

PETRUS GUIDONIS RUBEI  
B.1,F.2,f.1v, 1271, (unspecified charge)

JACOBINUS LOMBARDUS  
B.1,F.8,f.8v, 1280,  
(banished for unpaid fine)

BLASIUM VIVIANI  
B.1,F.6,f.21r, 1277, (stole wine & drank it)

PETRUS MASSEI COLLATORIS  
B.2,F.9,f.29v, 1295 (cavalry - SS. 6 & 6)

## 17. MEDIEVAL INSULTS ("VERBA INIURIOSA")

(from A. di S., Fond. Giud., Reg. 1287-89, ff. 1 - 89.)

### 1) INSULTING NAMES

#### a) Female

		<u>Fol.</u>
<i>Mercendarie</i>	prostitute (lit. "hired for money")	55v
<i>Meretrix sanguinenta</i>	bloody whore ( <i>meritorium</i> = brothel)	70r
<i>Pattarena</i>	heretic (Cathar <i>perfecta</i> )	9v
<i>Puctana</i>	prostitute	55r;71r;73v
<i>Puctana rossiana</i>	(?bloody) prostitute	74r
<i>Puctana socca</i>	filthy prostitute	70r

#### b) Male

<i>Bracalare neredente</i>	black-toothed groper ( <i>brancolare</i> = to grope)	37r
<i>Falçadore</i>	?liar (lit. forger)	70r
<i>Latro</i>	thief	55r;58v;60r;63r
<i>Latrocellum mendicum</i>	filthy, lying thief	63r
<i>Manente scorcecato</i>	living in debauchery ( <i>scortari</i> )	69v
<i>Martennarius, filius pucte</i>	(?obstinate) son of a prostitute	29r
[cf. MARTINUS = <i>qui suum acius quam par est, et obstinatus opinionem tuetur</i> (Du Cange)]		
<i>Tradetore</i>	traitor	65r

### 2) ACCUSATIONS

- (*dixit*) *quod mentiebatur* 57r;58r;63r;70r;73v  
 ...,that (s)he was lying.

### 3) THREATS

- "*ego incidam tibi nasum et calpescabo te*" 36v  
 "I will cut off your nose and trample on you!"
- (*dixit*) *quod faciebat sibi detruncari nasum de vultu* 58r  
 ...,that he would cause his nose to be detached from his face,



## HERESY: DOCUMENTS

		<u>Page</u>
1.	<u>c. 1200</u> Extracts from the <i>Leggenda</i> of B. Pietro Parenzo: §2 Early preachers. §3 Militta of Monteamato & Julitta of Firenze. §18 <i>Presbiter Lambertus de Plano</i> . [ed. V. Natalini, <i>S. Pietro Parenzo: la leggenda...</i> ]	235
2.	<u>30 March 1223</u> Sentence of the Podestà's judge against Guarnerius de Cannano and his wife, Benvegnata. [A. di S., <i>Cod. Tit. A</i> , f. 37. C.D., doc. CLXII, p. 106.]	237
3.	<u>6 &amp; 9 August, &amp; 7 October 1239</u> Warning to three local <i>signori</i> not to receive "heretics or forgers". [A. di S., <i>Cod. Tit. A</i> , f. 74v. C.D., doc. CCXLIII, p. 162.]	238
4.	<u>12 January 1249</u> Sentence of Fra Roggero, O.P. [A. di S., <i>Cod. Tit. A</i> , f. 95. C.D., doc. CCLXXIX, pp. 182-3.]	240
5.	<u>11 October 1257</u> Financial settlement involving Cambio Ricci Miscinelli and his brothers. [from C.D., pp. 217-8, doc. CCCXLIV]	242
6.	<u>31 January 1265</u> Gift of property from <i>domina</i> Bollaprata, widow of Giuscardo <i>pelliparius</i> , to herson, Frederico. [A. di S., <i>Lib. Don.</i> , f. 88v. C.D., doc. CCCXCIV, pp. 244-7.]	243
7.	<u>January 1268</u> Fragments from the Cathedral Archive, Viterbo: <u>Viterbo Fragment 1</u> : Inquisitors' investigations involving Cathar sympathisers from Carnaiola. <u>Viterbo Fragment 2</u> : testimony of anonymous witness. [from <i>Bull. dell'Ist. Stor. Ital.</i> , no. 27, 1906.]	244
8.	<u>24 October 1268</u> Sentence of the Inquisitors on Bonadimane, <i>uxor olim</i> Accitante. [ <i>Lib. Inq.</i> , f. 30 <sup>2</sup> . C.D., doc. CCCLXXII, pp. 292-3.]	246
9.	<u>22 January 1269</u> Sentence of the Inquisitors on Dominicus Petri Rosse. [ <i>Lib. Inq.</i> , f. 32 <sup>1</sup> . C.D., doc. CCCCLXXIV, p. 293.]	247
10.	<u>22 January 1269</u> Sentence of the Inquisitors on Locthus Guillelmi Surdi. [ <i>Lib. Inq.</i> , f. 32 <sup>2</sup> . C.D., doc. CCCCLXXV, p. 294.]	249

- |  | <u>Page</u> |
|--|-------------|
| 11. <u>14 August 1269</u><br>Response of the 'exgravator' to appeals by the sons of Provençano & Amideo Lupicini.<br>[A. di S., Fond. Giud., <u>Exgravator</u> , ff. 24r.-v.]  | 251         |
| 12. <u>17 February 1270</u><br><i>Domina</i> Melontana concedes to her son, <i>presbiter</i> Pietro, all rights in property bought from former heretics, Filippo Busse & his wife Clara.<br>[A. di S., <u>Lib. Don.</u> , f. 90r.] | 254         |
| 13. <u>5 May &amp; 8 December 1287</u><br>a) " <i>Pattarena</i> " as term of abuse.<br>b) " <i>Paterenus</i> " as nickname for son of heretic.<br>[A. di S., Fond. Giud., <u>Reg. 1287-9</u> , ff. 9v. & 87v.]                     | 255         |
| 14. <u>31 October 1296</u><br>Letter of Boniface VIII regarding property confiscated from the late Matteo Romei, father-in-law of Neri di Turri.<br>[Arch. Duomo, <u>Pergamena 60a</u> ]   | 256         |
| 15. <u>3 May 1298</u><br>Letter of Boniface VIII regarding treatment of Giovanni Feraloca by the Inquisitor, Fra Ado de Cumis.<br>[ <u>Régistres de Boniface VIII</u> ]  | 258         |
| 16. <u>s.d.</u> (confirmed 20 April 1349)<br>General anathematisation of heretics by bishop (?)Pietro.<br>[A. di S., <u>Fondo Diplomatico</u> .]   | 260         |

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Extracts from the Leggenda of B. Pietro Parenzo:

S2 Early preachers

Hujus siquidem secte quidam florentinus, perditionis filius, nomine Diotesalvi, tanquam satanas in lucis angelum se transformans, se aspectu venerabilem, honestum incessu et exteriori habitu mentiundo, primus post Hermanninum parmanensem, cum Gotardo marsanense, tempore Rustici, urbeveterani episcopi, doctrinam manicheorum pessimam in Urbeveteri seminavit asserens; nihil esse Christi corporis et sanguinis sacramentum; baptismum quem catholica tradit Ecclesia, nihil proficere ad salutem; orationes et heleenosinas ad absolutionis beneficium non proficere defunctorum; beatum Silvestrum et omnes suos successores eterne poene cruciatibus alligatos; omnia visibilia esse a diabolo facta et eius subdita potestati; quemlibet bonum beato Petro, apostolorum principi, meritis et premiis adequari; quemlibet malum cum Iuda proditore penam similem sustinere; addens alia nefanda que in libello contra hereticos edito possunt colligi manifeste. Hos duos hereticos venerabilis pater Riccardus, urbeveteranus episcopus, eiecit sollicitudine viriliter pastorali. Quibus due mulieres, Milita nomine de Montemeato et Julitta florentina, iniquitatis filie, successerunt. Que, preferentes exterius religionis ecclesiastice qualitatem, ecclesiarum limina frequentando et, ut videbatur, intente divinis officiis audiendis, in vestibus ambulante ovium, interius luporum similitudinem obtinebant. Harum simulata religione deceptus, Episcopus eas in confraternitate clericorum, causa orationis statuta, censuit admittendas.

.....

S3 Milita of Monteamato and Julitta of Firenze

Cumque una illarum, Milita nomine, tanquam altera Martha, videretur esse sollicita pro tecto maioris ecclesie reparando, altera, Iulitta videlicet, velud altera Maria, vitam contemplativam videretur totis viribus amplexari, pars maxima matronarum nostre civitatis et quidam earum amici eas ceperunt sicut sanctissimas feminas venerari. Ille vero, tanquam familiares inimici et pestes efficacissime ad nocendum et quasi frigidus serpens latens in erba, sub religionis pretextu multos et viros et mulieres attraxerunt in laberintum heresis memorate. Videns autem Episcopus se per illarum simulatam religionem esse delusum, canonicorum suorum, iudicum et aliorum prudentum consilio habito, ex adverso ascendens et se murum opponens pro Christi/

Christi Ecclesia defendenda, in tantum est hereticos persecutus, ut alii penam suspendii sustinerent, alii capite punirentur, alii traderentur flammis ultmicibus comburendi, alii, maiorem capitis diminutionem perpessi, extra civitatem penam perpetui exilii deplorarent, alii, vitam suam male in suo finientes errore, feditam extra Ecclesie cimiterium acciperent sepulturam,

.....

518 Presbiter Lambertus de Plano

Presbiter Lambertus de Plano, quia respersus fuerat a lepra heretice feditatis, a communione cleri et beneficio ecclesiastico extitit separatus. Cumque frater eius Pepo ita digitos a principio augusti habuisset rigitos, ut nullum posset plicare vel alterum ab altero separare, urbevetanum episcopum et clerum humiliter exoravit, ut dictum presbiterum in communionem cleri et beneficiorum restitueret intuitu divine pietatis, ut ex proventibus ecclesiasticis vite sibi posset necessaria ministrare, quia non erat ei patrimonium vel aliqua pecunia, ex qua se, vel uxorem vel filios posset aliquatenus sustentare. Cuius precibus cum Episcopus nullatenus flecteretur, feria quinta post beati martiris obitum, prefatus Pepo cum multis aliis, infirmitate gravatis, pedum et fidei gressibus sepulcrum martiris visitavit. Ibique iacens et sua peccata deplorans, martirem humiliter postulabat, ut manus suas dudum perditas restitueret sanitati. Statim autem manus eius ita sunt restitute pristinae sospitati, ut nulla in eis infirmitatis vestigia remanerent. Ego scriptor hunc novi sic longo tempore impeditum, postea vidi manus eius sanitati evidentissime restitutas. Eadem die Agatha, uxor Prumgnoli, de regione Sanctorum Apostolorum de Urbeveteri, cum cecitatis vitio laborasset, decennii tempore iam elapso, ante sepulcrum martiris percepit optati luminis claritatem.

Eadem die per meritum martiris sui unum oculorum Dominus sanitati restituit, quem Michael perdiderat Cannaiolus.

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30 March 1223

Sentence of the Podestà's judge against Guarnerius de Cannano and his wife, Benvegna

In nomine Domini amen. Ego Almericus, comunis Urbisveteris iudex, ex delegatione domini Thomasi potestatis Civitatis eiusdem. Quod Guarnerius de Cannano et Benvegna eius uxor receperunt scienter Iacobum qui dicebatur Petrus Spoletinus et Oliverium patarenos, ut eorum apparuit confessione in domo eorum posita in regione sancte Marie, iuxta viam publicam, et iuxta vineam episcopi, et iuxta domum uxoris quondam Ronçillonis, et iuxta domum Iohannis Agustuli de Paterno. Domum ipsam secundum formam constituti pronuntis esse comunitatis publicando ipsam et in comune deducendo, et predictos Guarnerium et uxorem suam Benvegnaem, unumquemque, in .C. lib. comunitati condempno secundum formam constituti predictam.

Datum in palatio comunis, millesimo ducentesimo vicesimo tertio, indictione undecima, tertio kalendas aprilis. Presentibus Henrico de Stroncone, Guillelmo Guidonis, magistro Ranerio Guidonis, Ranutio Tancredi, Ruberto Uguitionis, Petro Gotio, Guidone Ranerii et aliis.

Notary: Nicolaus

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6 & 9 August, & 7 October 1239

Warning to three local signori not to receive "heretics or forgers"

In nomine domini amen. Anno eiusdem millesimo ducentesimo trigesimo nono, Indictione duodecima, Tempore domini Gregorii pape noni et domini Frederici secundi romani imperatoris, Sexto die intrante mense augusti,

Nos Moricus Romanus comunis Urbisveteris et domini Pietri Anibaldi Romani consulis et Dei gratia Urbeveterani potestatis iudex et nunc eius vicarius, in presentia multorum in palatio comunis urbisveteris existentis et specialiter infrascriptorum testium, Sub debito sacramentorum et recoltarum quibus tenemini predicto domino potestate et comuni Urbisveteris firmiter precipimus atque mandamus vobis Ranerio de Rocca, Rustico de Flaiano et Ranerio Sicco, quatenus aliquo tempore non receptetis nec receptari faciatis nec teneatis per vos vel per aliquam a vobis submissam personam in domibus et terris vestris hereticos, patarenos sive credentes et falsarios false monete factores, et ecclesias et hospitilia non offendatis nec offendi faciatis,

Item mandamus vobis et firmiter precipimus sub debite sacramenti et recoltarum quod hinc ad decem annos per furtum vel rapinam vel toloniam in stratis vel aliis locis per vos vel per alios homines vel servientes vel spavallos fures sive latrones vel pro aliquam a vobis submissam personam non offendatis nec offendi faciatis Cives Urbeveteranos et homines sui districtus et sue sonetatis et generaliter omnes aliam quamlibet personam in personis vel rebus sine licentia potestatis vel consulum qui pro tempore fuerint in Civitate Urbeveterane inmo Cives Urbeveteranos et homines sui districtus et res ipsorum inventis et defendatis si opus fuerit sine fraude,

¶ Fideiussores Raynerii de Rocca hic sunt Mondaldus Raynerii Ildribandini Raynerii fideiussit in omnibus ad mandatus potestatis Ser. Raynerius de Montorio fideiussit pro eodem apud potestatem adi in C. librarum,

¶ Fideiussores Rustici de Flaiano hic sunt est, scilicet Raynerius de Montorio qui fideiussit pro eo ad mandatus potestatis,

¶ Fideiussores Raynerii Sicci hic sunt Raynerius Stephani et Monaldus Ranerii Ildibrandini Raynerii qui fideiusserunt pro eo ad mandatus potestatis,

Predicta/



Predicta precepta a dicto Iudice vicario in presentia mei Guidonis notario infrascripto et istorum testium facta sunt, silicet dominis Henrico Bartholomei, Philippi Almerico iudex, Ianne Raynerii Cencii, Butrikello Guidonis mercennarii, Raynerio Dominici, Guicto de Bisentio, Philippo Bartholomei Philippi, Barthone Rapicçelle, Luccense Senibaldi, Iuliano Blasii, Raynerio Ieseppi notario comunis, et domino Provençano Lupicini camerari comunis testibus.

.....

Item in eadem forma et eadem modo Eodem anno vii die intrante mense octubris preceptum factum est in palatio comunis in presentia notario et testibus .... infrascriptorum a dicto domino Morico Iudice et vicario Ugolino de Flaiano.

§ Stephanus Fugalascie fideiussit pro dicto Ugolino ad mandatus potestatis.

Hoc preceptum factum est in presentia mei Guidonis notarii et istorum testium, silicet dominis Petri Romani iudice, Petri Iohannis Beccarii et Marsiliocti, Franci Zamponis, Bernadini Peri de Vaski, Viviani Bernadini Iaconi, Raynerii comitis Funi, Stephani Barote, Iohanne Ildribandini et Ianne Iamfortis notari.

.....

Item anno predicto viiiij. die intrante mense agusti in forma predicta et modo predicto preceptum factum est in palatio comunis a dicto domino Morico iudice et vicario Ugolino vicecomitis de Rockecta Guinistii in presentia mei notarii et infrascriptorum testium silicet dominorum Provençani Lupicini camerario comunis, Almerici Iudice, Guicti de Bisenzio, Marsiliocti Petri Raynerii Hermannii, domini Pandulfi et Ildribanductii Nicole.

§ Fideiussores eius his sunt Ser. Pandulfus de Marçano qui fideiussit pro eo ad mandatus potestatis et dicti Iudicis in presentis dictorum testium et mei Guidonis notarii.

§ Ildribandinus Bernardini comitis de Scetona qui fideiussit pro eo ad mandatus potestatis.

§ Raynerius de Montario/ Lupicinus Petri Ianni fideiusserunt pro eius dominus Raynerius in .CC. librarum et Lupicinus in .C. librarum, quas libras sunt a fideiussione qua prosolverunt quantitatem predictam pro qua fideiusserunt.

Notary: Guido Ranerii Tudini

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12 January 1249Sentence of Fra Roggero, O.P.

In nomine domini amen, Cum ego frater Rogerius Ordinis Predicatorum, auctoritate fretus apostolica et domini Rainerii Cardinali, dudum in civitate Urbevetane tam inquisitionis officium exercendo, Iulianum et Bivienum Blasii, Ildribandinum, Riccium et Stradigottum fratres Christoforum (sic) Tosti, Bartholomeum Ranuctii Tosti et Rainerium Bartholomei Ranuctii magistri, tanquam credentes, receptatores et defensores hereticorum, ac pluries super facto fidei degerentes, sicut per confessionem ipsorum, michi constitit sententialiter denotassem; ac postmodum Iulianum et Ildribandinum predictos, velud Iuramenti prestiti, transgressores et violatores immunitatis Ecclesiastice, et in abiuratum heresim reddeutes, pene mille librarum pro quolibet subiecissen, sperans ut pena pecuniaria saltem ipsos et alios deterreret, ac reddere compelleret ad gremium matris Ecclesie sacrosancte.

Idem tempus, adagendam condignam penitentiam clementer indultum, non emendationi sed maligne consuetudini deputantes, quorum est cor insipiens obscuratum peiora prioribus committere presumpserunt, velut scuta fusilia squame sese prementes, sibi in vicem in subversionem fidei et exaltationem hereticorum consilium et auxilium impendendo. Nam Christofanus, Ildribandinus, Iulianus et Bivienus iamdicti, volentes penam effugere temporalem qui se perpetue exinanitate tanti facinoris obligarunt, Boniohannem notarium, qui fideliter et legaliter Inquisitionis eorum acta scripserat universa, proditorie ad domum quondam Iuliani de Tuderto ducentes et eidem mortem minantes, falsificare quedam Instrumenta contra eos inita compulerunt, sicut per Iuramentum dicti Boniohannis notarius et famam publicam attestatur. Et cum nobilis vir dominus Iacobus Petri Octaviani Urbevetanus Potestas, vir catholicus et fidelis Ecclesie brachium, ad mandatum meum et prout Iuramento tenetur ex forma constitutus, sententiam a me contra Iulianum et Ildribandinum prefatos latam vellet executioni mandare se pro viribus obponentes, congregando armatos in domibus suis muniendo turres ad sedditionem et guerram homines concitando, ut possint circumvenire vindictam executionem ipsam conati sunt multipliciter impedire. Et specialiter dictus Bivienus Triginta annis fuerit credens hereticorum ut post hec omnia in platea Comunitatis Urbisveteris tribunal contionandi concedens frenserit (*surrexerit*) in publica/



publica contione locuaci procacitate protestati in hiis que contra hereticos locutus fuerat contradicens, et ex hoc inciderint penam omnium bonorum suorum qua michi tenentur, ut in eorum abiuratione evidentius est expressum. Et cum profecto fidei deprehensus Novem annis et amplius in excommunicatione publica de notatus obstinato animo perduravit.

Cum igitur hec et alia multa que longum esset per singula enarrare commiserint in ludibrium fidei orthodoxe, et quedam sint culpe in quibus culpa est relaxare vindictam, ne peccati impunitas peccandi audaciam tribuat in futuram, ac facilitas venie incentivum tribuat delinquendi, invocato Christi nomine, qui pro Petro rogavit ne deficiat fides eius auctoritate qua fungor habito consilio sapientum, Bivienum iam predictum, quem denuntiavi hereticum et propter heresim excommunicatum hereticum, iterum propter heresim excommunicatum denuntio; condemnans eum in duabus mille librarum lucensium et pisanorum, de quibus mille libre Romane Ecclesie persolvantur, de aliis Quingente Clero Urbevetano, reliquie Comunitati Civitatis Urbisveteris et expendantur secundum quod maior pars consilii iudicabit. Condempnans eum in destructione omnium domorum suarum et Turris, sine spe rehedificationis, quia ibi receptati sunt heretici, et predictam turrin contra Potestatem et me Inquisitorem gratibus, lapidibus, custodibus munivit in iniuriam dei et Ecclesie ignominia et scandalum catholicorum et confusionem fidei christiane. Salvis omnibus aliis penis ea tam a me quam ab alio auctoritate Romane Ecclesie inflictis et etiam suo loco et tempore infligendis. Excommunico etiam omnes et singulos qui predicto Bivenio et filiis prestiterint auxilium, consilium vel favorem, quo minus dicta sententia executioni mandetur.

Lecta et pronuntia per dictum fratrem Rogerium in Civitate Urbevetane in Capitulo sancti Dominici, anno domini millesimo ducentesimo quadragesimo nono, indictione septima, tempore domini Innocentii pape quarti, die duodecimo intrante mense Ianuarii, Presentibus domino Almerico Iudice, domino Iacobo Guidonis Prudentii Iudice, magistro Roberto fisico, magistro Andrea Iannis Parentii, presbitero Vita, presbitero Stefano, presbitero Orvetano sancti Andree, domine Boniohanne notario, domino Ildribanductio Nicole et aliis pluribus testibus ad hoc vocatis et rogatis.

Notary: Guido Bartholomei Septespanni

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Note

\* There are at least three copies of this document, with only very slight textual variations: Codice Titolario A., f. 95; Codice 'de Bustolis', f. 30r; Codice 'Catalano', f. 79r. Cod. 'de Bust' includes the marginal addition; *Quedam sententiam factam contra quosdam hereticos per Inquisitorem heretice pravitatis.*

11 October 1257

Financial settlement involving Cambio Ricci Miscinelli and his brothers

Guido *Bonamichi* d'O., presenti il signor Bongiovanni Comit'is Fumi e il signor Bonaccorso Bonaccursi, ambasciatori orvietani, avendo tratto col signor Ranieri Mathei, col signor Griffolo d. Iacobi giuridici, col signor Giampaolo q.d. Albizi e Ranieri Patricis circa la somma di trecentododici lire di denari, che Maffeo *Johannuzzi* e Paganello, nepoti di detto Giovannuzzo da Siena, per sè, pei loro eredi, per la loro società, e per esso Guido, come loro mallevadore, promisero di pagare a Cambio *Ricci Miscinelli*, ricevente per sè e pei suoi fratelli carnali *pro pretio LXXXX librarum et X soldorum provescinorum romanorum et XIII librarum et XIII soldorum bonorum sterlingorum argenti et XVI unziis minus j carro argenti*, come appare per istrumento di Giovanni notaro, dice e confessa di aver pagato di suo i detti denari ai detti creditori e avergli poi ricevuti da Pietro Septembrini e da Ugolino d'O., in questo modo: cioè, da Pietro 199 lire e 15 soldi di denari senesi, che questi promise di dare a Bartolomeo *Bencivennis*, compagno di detto Maffeo *Johannuzzi*, per cambio di 80 lire e 4 *provexinorum*, e da Ugolino 109 lire di denari senesi che questi per sè e pei suoi compagni promise dare a nome di cambio di 48 lire di nuovi prov., e perciò detto Guido di non dover nulla di dette 312 lire.

In Siena, presenti Accorso *Guillelmi*, Guglielmo *Bernardini Montanarii* e Monte figlio di detto Bernardino d'O.

Notary: Gualterotto q. *Mammoli*.

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31 January 1265

Gift of property, formerly confiscated by the Inquisition, from domina Bollaprata, widow of Giuscardo pelliparius, to her son, Frederico

In nomine domini amen, Anno eiusdem millesimo ducentesimo sexagesimo quinto, indictione octava, Sedis apostolice vacante pastore, Die ultima mensis januarii, Domina Bollamprata uxor quondam Viscardi Pelliparii, tanquam bene merito ac irrevocabiliter inter vivos, donavit, dedit et concessit Frederico Pellipario quoddam casalinum super quo edificata fuit olim domus dicti Viscardi viri domine prelibate, quod casalinum casalinum (sic) frater Iordanus de ordine minorum, a domino pape delegatus ad inquirendum super heretica pravitate, eidem domine concessit occasione sue dotis, ut apparet per publicum instrumentum manu Andriotti Boniohannis notarii; et omne ius, omnemque actionem et rationem, quod et quam habebat seu habere poterat, aliquo modo et iure in dicto casalino dedit, concessit et donavit eidem, tanquam bene merito inter vivos ut dictum est; et hanc donationem et omnia que in ea continentur ideo facto, dicta domina ipsi Frederico, quam inveritate confessa fuit ab eo recepisse dignum meritum secundum leges, et quod cottidie idem Fredericus subvenit sibi in victu et vestitu et aliis necessitatibus suis. Renuntians dicta domina dolo male et non habiti et non recepti dicti meriti exceptioni et omni alii legum auxilium, quam donationem, et omnia et singula que in ea continentur promisit, rata et firma perpetue habere atque tenere, et ipsam aliquod quod in ea continentur non recuctare aliqua ingratitudine nec aliquo modo vel ingenio seu iure, set dictum casalinum pure, libere, simpliciter et irrevocabiliter sibi donatum, ut scriptum est. Hanc ipse Fredericus et sui heredes teneat, et possideat, et faciat, in quicquid sibi placuerit, tanquam verus et legitimus dominus facit de re sua, sine sui suosque heredes vel alterius contradictione, et pro hiis omnibus observandis obligavit se eidem et omnia sua bona precario iure,

Actum est hoc in civitate urbevetae in domo dicti Frederici, presentis Filippo Vusse, Iacobo Stefani, Ranutio comitis Jannuctii et Blanco Ugolini testibus ad hec specialiter vocatis et rogatis.

Original notary: Michael Bernardini

Copy made by: Boniohannes Petri Tolosani.

25 January 1268\*\*

Fragment 1: Inquisitors' investigations involving Cathar sympathisers  
from Carraiola

(...) ut eos in(...)ducerent eum Carraiola ad domum Massei Callatoris fratris ipsius testis, quia volebat venire (...) B(enven)uti inquisitoris, et sic ipsi Çannus tenuit et (dictum Neri)um in dicta sua domo posita in Carraiola per unum diem et unam noctem, et in mane sequenti dictus Çannus venit ad Urbemveterem et equitavit mulam ipsius testis. Dixit tamen quod Nerius Alesandri adsociavit prefatum Çannum, nesciente aliquid de predicto negotio. Item, dixit interrogatus quod quando ipse Nerius testis stabat in domo (pre)fatì Çanni misit dictum Çannum pro Masseo Callatoris ut veniret ad eum, et cum venisset, rogavit eum ut deberet eum receptare in domo sua quousque nuntius rediret ab Urbeveteri et sciret voluntatem inquisitoris; et dictus Masseus noluit ipsum receptare; set postmodum ipse testis die sabbati in sero proxime preterito ivit (s)olus ad domum dicti Massei et intravit (cella)rium ipsius, quod est continuum cum domo, nesciente ipso Masseo et aliquo de famili(aribus), et iacuit (tot)a nocte in solario dicti cellarii. Cum mane vocavit Masseum prefatum (...) dictus Mass(eus ...) conturbatione ivit ad eum et voluit expellere; tamen ipse testis com (...) stetit postea in dicta domo de conscentiam ipsius Massei per .l.iii. dies et (...) Guidoctu)tio fratre dicti massei et dixit quod Francesca famula ipsius Massei per (...) et alia necessaria.

Et facta est item depositio in domo filiorum Brunelli de Urbeveteri, ubi moratur familia inquisitoris, presente fratre Tebaldo de Alba, fratre Guidone de Urbevetei ordinis Minorum, magistro Lituardo notario et me Uguicçione notario inquisitionis. Mense ianuarii, die .XXV., scilicet die veneris, indictione .XLL.

Item, dictus Nerius recordari dixit quod misit (per Ra)ynaldum Çanninellum apud Castellonclum Guidoctuctio patareno panem et vinum pro elemoxina (...).

.....

Notes

\* also published, less accurately, in Giornale Arcadico di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Roma, vol. 137, Oct.-Dec. 1854, pp. 265-6,

\*\* Egidì has 1269,



Fragment 2: Testimony of anonymous witness

(...) et interrogatus sub vinculo prestiti iuramenti, dixit quod circa .Vlll. vel .Vlll. annos vidit et cognovit Benecasam Sclovelle de Tuscanella cum socio, cuius nominis non recordatur, Iacobum Florentinum et Guidoctium filium domne Verderose de Gradulis, patarenos, et Riccam hereticam; quos hereticos ipse testis pluries receptavit in domo sua, dirupta propter peccatum hereseos, per dies et noctes, et aliquando interfuit domna Aldruda uxor dicti testis, et una cum eodem testis receptavit dictos Iacobum Florentinum et G(ui)doctutium patarenos, audivit monitiones et predicationes dictorum hereticorum multotiens de erroribus patarenorum, predicantium quod ipsi erant boni et sancti homines, et quod solum in eis erat salvatio, et nemo poterat salvari nisi per impositionem manuum eorundem, et alios audivit errores de quibus non recordatur. Credidit eis et dictis eorum erroribus et credebat ipsos esse bonos et sanctos homines, et credebat habere mercedem de bono quod fatiebat eis, et stetit in tale credulitate, immo perfidia, spatio .X. annorum. Fecit ei reverentiam pluries, adhorando eos ius iuxta hereticorum ritus abusus; comedit et bibit cum eis, et dedit eis manducare et bibere et necessaria fecit eis ministrari de bonis suis, et de pane, quem ipsi heretici benedictum appellant, recepit et comedit. Conduxit dictum Benecasam Trencaloliu et eius sotium patarenos a domo Stradigocti pelliparii usque ad Gradulem. Item, dixit quod circa .Xll. annos receptavit in dicta sua domo Andream Castellane et Bonamicum patarenos, quorum monitiones et predicationes audivit inibi de erroribus eorundem. Et dixit interrogatus quod circa .Vlll. annos vidit et cognovit Gualdinum de Viterbio et sotium eius patarenos, stantes et morantes in colle Sereno; quos ostendit ei Guidectus Guidonis Ronçonis, et inibi fuit eis locutus; tamen dixit quod non recordatur si fecit eis reverentiam vel non. Et dixit interrogatus quod occasione dicti criminis fuit citatus per fratrem Iordanum de ordine Minorum, olim inquisitorem hereticorum, comparere et comparuit coram eo (...).

24 October 1268

Sentence of the Inquisitors on Bonadimane, uxor olim Accitante

In nomine domini amen. Cum nobis fratri Benvenuto ordinis fratrum Minorum Inquisitori heretice pravitatis in Urbeveteri et Romane provincia constitutus constet legittime per depositiones fide dignorum testium in Inquisitionis officio receptorum quod Bonadimane uxor olim Accitante socrus quondam Petri Feralloca Credens fuerit hereticorum erroribus, favorit hereticis, audiverit predicationes patarenorum contra articulos fidei et Ecclesiastica sacramenta, Reverentia fecerit eis, adorando ipsos iuxta hereticorum ritus abusum, ac aliis quibuscumque comunicans, Riccam patarenam in domo propria receptaverit, dederitque hereticis auxilium et favorem, nec non prodolor inconfessa decessit dampnabiliter in errorem. Comunicato super hiis consilio Sapienti et per nos ipsos deliberatione prehabita diligenti perea que vidimus et cognovimus et superius sunt expressa, Christi quoque nomine invocatur, auctoritate domini pape qua fungimur in has parte, dictam Bonadimanem, licet defunctam, fuisse Credentem hereticorum erroribus, faultricem et acceptricem patarenorum sententialiter Judicamus et eius dampnamus memoriam et excomunicamus inscriptis.

Bona quoque ipsius omnia mobilia et immobilia, iura et actiones, ubicumque sunt seu reperta fuerint, Romane Ecclesie et Comuni urbevetani sententialiter confiscamus et publicamus, dividenda secundum constitutiones sedis apostolice in pecunia numerata. Cassamus et Revocamus testamenta, legata, codicillos et ceteros alios contractos cuiuscumque alterius generis alienationis de bonis suis factos vel fac.... per se vel alium a tempore commissi criminis cuiuscumque persone vel loco. Reservata semper Romane Ecclesia, nobis et aliis Inquisitoribus addendum, minuendum, mutandum, corrigendum et aliter procedendum contra bona predicta plenaria potestate.

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Margin: Sententia Bonadimane uxoris olim Accitante

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22 January 1269

Sentence of the Inquisitors on Dominicus Petri Rosse

In nomine domini amen. Nos frater Benvenutus de Urbeveteri, ordinis fratrum minorum inquisitor heretice pravitatis in Urbeveteri et Romana provincia auctoritate sedis apostolice constitutus, notum facimus universis quod, toto zelantes affectu nobilissimam Urbevetanam civitatem purgare radiciter omni macula heretice pravitatis, et ab eadem non immerito eiusdem detestabilis criminis cupientes omnem infamiam protinus aboleri, contra Dominicum Petri Rosse, civem urbevetanum, sub ovina pelle, ut ypocritam, in detrimentum sue salutis gerentem lupinam, publica infamia laborante, sollicitam inquisitionem duximus ac eiusdem Dominici, citati pro [dicto] crimine, comparentis personaliter coram nobis, sua propria confessione didicimus quod idem Dominicus, favendo hereticis, vidit et cognovit Gualdinum de Viterbio, Magalocum et eorum socios patarenos, et audivit in diversis locis monitiones et predicationes ipsorum hereticorum de erroribus eorundem, reverentiam fecit eis, pluries ad orando ipsos iuxta hereticorum ritus abusus; Iacobum [Florentinum] et eius socium hereticos conduxit in hereticorum favorem, ac aliis quibuscumque communicans, in Castellonclo cum hereticis comedit et bibit et participavit dampnabiliter cum eisdem, et nonnulla alia expressit, prout in sue confessionis serie plenius continetur.

Unde, ne tantum facinus remaneat impunitum, et posteris transeat in exemplum quod clamat vindictam in aures Domini ultionem, attendentes quod honestati sanctissimi Ordinis Penitentium, a beato Francisco patre nostro conditi, derogatur, insania eiusdem, si aliquis, heretica labe respersus, dictorum fratrum habitum sane portet et eorundem privilegio gaudeat libertatis: per ea que vidimus et cognovimus, ac superius sunt exposita, et habito super hiis consilio sapientum et nobiscum deliberatione prehabita diligenti, Christi quoque nomine invocato auctoritate sedis apostolice, qua fundimur in hac parte, prefatum Dominicum, tam detestabili heretica labe respersum, sententialiter privamus publicis officiis ac habitu sanctissimi Ordinis Penitentium et omni/

omni immunitate Ordinis supradicti, a consortio fratrum eiusdem Ordinis eundem personaliter abdicamus, in detestationem prefati criminis et perpetuum anathema.

Pro pena insuper et penitentia predicto Dominico imponimus infrascripta, decernentes ipsum ea debere inviolabiliter observare, videlicet ut duas cruces crocei coloris, unam supra ante pectus, longitudinis duorum palmorum et latitudinis llll<sup>uor</sup> digitorum, et alteram super scapulas, dimensionis eiusdem, superioribus vestibus supersutas, baiulet publice in aperto, ita, quod extra domum nullo modo compareat sine eis, donec secum per Romanam Ecclesiam aut nos vel alios inquisitores, iuxta sue conversionis et vite merita, fuerit misericorditer dispensatum; hinc ad unum mensem, de consilio [ministri?] fratrum Penitentium, XXV pauperes induat indigentes, ita quod XL solidos valeat quolibet indumentum; Rome unam proximam faciat quarentenam [secundum?] stationes per Romanos pontifices institutas; ieiunet VI<sup>a</sup> feria toto tempore vite sue, et alia ieiunia servet per Romanam Ecclesiam instituta, ita quod sextis feriis quadragesimarum maiorum nil coctum comedat preter panem; dicat inter diem et noctem, cum Ave Marie, quinquagies Pater noster; confiteatur ter in anno peccata sua discreto confessori de Ordine fratrum minorum, quem sibi duxerit eligendum, et cetera communia servet, que per inquisitores heretice pravitatis penitentialiter hereticorum credentibus iniunguntur reservata semper Romane Ecclesie, nobis et aliis inquisitoribus addendi, minuendi, mutandi, corrigendi et aliter sententiandi et procedendi contra ipsum et bona sua, sive in rebus humanis agat sive non, plenaria potestate.

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published by P. Mariano D'Alatri, *'Ordo Penitentium' ed Eresia in Italia*, in *Collectanea Franciscana*, 1973, vol. XLIII, pp. 196-7.



22 January 1269

Sentence of the Inquisitors on Locthus Guillelmi Surdi

In nomine domini amen. Cum nobis fratri Benvenuto de Urbeveteri ordinis fratrum minorum, Inquisitori heretice pravitatis in Civitatis Urbeveterani et Romane provincia, auctoritate sedis apostolice constitutus, constet legitime ex propria confessione Locthi filii Guillelmi Surdi, coram nobis sponte facta ab eodem, et quod spatio duorum annorum credens extiterit hereticorum erroribus, favendo hereticis, viderit et cognoverit Andream Castellane, Oddonem de Viterbio, Marsilium de Regno et sotiam et alios pluries hereticos consolatos, cum quibus amicabiliter locutus fuit et audiverit in diversis locis predicationes dictorum hereticorum de erroribus eorundem, Reverentiam exhibuerit eisdem, adorando ipsos iuxta hereticorum ritus abusum. Comedit et bibit cum eis et recepit ab eis ipsis de pane ipsorum quem heretici benedictum appellant, ac aliis quibuscumque comunicans hereticis dederit consilium, subsidium et favorem.

Ut salubriter defleat et penaliter doleat quod dampnabiliter errando commisit, Comunicato super hiis consilio plurium sapientium et per nos ipsos deliberatione prehabita diligenti per ea que vidimus et cognovimus et superius sunt expressa, auctoritate sacro sancte Romane Ecclesie qua fungimur in hac parte, Christi quoque nomine invocato, predictum Lochum, citatum prius peremptorem ad sententiam audiendam, fuisse credentem hereticorum erroribus, fautorem et complicem patarenorum, sententialiter iudicamus et perpetua dampnamus infamia.

Interdicimus sibi beneficium proclamationis et appellationis, omnis actus legitimos honores et publica officia civitatum, et duas cruces crocei coloris, unam silicet ante pectus longitudinus duorum palmorum et latitudinis .iiij<sup>or</sup>. digitorum et alteram super scapulas dimensionis eidem superioribus vestibus supersutas baiulet publice in aperto, ita quod extra domum nullo modo compareat sine eis. Donec secum per Romanam Ecclesiam aut nos vel alios Inquisitores iuxta sue conversionis et vite merita fuerit misericorditer dispensatum. Ieiunet .vi<sup>a</sup>. feria toto tempore/

tempore vite sue et alia servet ieiunia per Romanam Ecclesiam instituta dicat inter diem et noctem .xxv. paternoster et totidem avemaria singulis sollempnitatibus et diebus domenicis intersit divinis cum civitati Urbevetane fuerit remissum apostolicum interdictum singulis iiij<sup>or</sup> mensibus peccata sua confiteatur discreto confessori quem duxerit eligendi et cetera omnia servet que pro penitentia hereticorum credentibus imponuntur. Reservata semper Romane Ecclesie nobis et aliis Inquisitoribus addendi, minuendi, comitandi et aliter procedendi contra ipsum et bona sua, sive in rebus humanis agat sive non, plenarie potestate.

.....

Lecte, late et pronuntiate fuerunt dicte Sententie in plate loci fratrum minorum de Urbeveteri, in pleno populo, marum et mulierum dicte civitatis, ad hec convocato ibidem, presentis dicto domenico, citato prius ad sententiam audiendam, et absente dicto lochi tamen citato perem (sic) ad sententiam audiendam. Presentis Ianne Longo potestate Urbisveteris, domino Ruberto eius milite, domino Guidone Kero; Capitaneo Civitatis prefate, domino Boniohanne iudex, magistro Uguicione de Viterbio, magistro Lictuaro notariis dicti Inquisitoris, magistro Ranerio Somai notario, magistro Andriocto Boniohannis notario et Francisco Ugonis, et pluribus aliis testibus. Sub anno domini M<sup>o</sup>. CC<sup>o</sup>. lx<sup>o</sup>. viiiij<sup>o</sup>, Romane Ecclesia nunc certo pastore vacante, mense Januarii, die .xx<sup>o</sup>ij<sup>o</sup>. intrante .xij<sup>o</sup>. Indictione . Interfui et ut supralegitur de mandato predicti Inquisitoribus dictas sententias scripsi, subscripsi et publicavi.

.....

Margin: Sententia Lochi Guillelmi Surdi.

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14 August 1269

Response of the 'exgravator' to appeals by the sons of Provençano and Amideo Lupicini

(f.24r.) Rainucius condam Provençani Lupicini proponit quod dominus .J(annis Zencii). potestas urbisveteris vel eius Judices vel alter eorum gravavit eum inJuste condemnans eum in .xv. libris occasione Cavalcate facte in Teberina. Quare petit per vos dictum Gravamen cassari et irritari Gravamen illatum fuit die veneris .ij. mensis augusti (?porrectum) die martis .vj. eiusdem mensis.

(Margin: *Provençanus Amidei pro eo fideiussit.*)

.....

In dei nomine amen. Coram vobis domino .E(gidio). exgravatore populi et comunis urbisveteris proponuit Ranuccius condam Provençani Lupicini quod dominus .J. potestas urbisveteris condemnavit eum in .xxx. libris denariorum, occasione quod non habet et non representavit Equos sibi impositos occasione sue Libre unde cum post Libram factam bona sua fuerint publicata per sententiam Inquisitorum heretice pravitatis et fuerint vendita a Comuni Urbisveteris et ab Inquisitoribus Romane Ecclesie Iohanni Andree Rubei et Rainaldo unde cum ipse publicatis bonis honera subire non teneatur et sit gravatus in juste. Ideo petit se exgravari et dictas condepnationes per vos irritari et cassari. Gravamen illatum fuit die Sabati .v. ext. Iulio, porrectum die lune .ij. ext. dicti mensis.

(Margin: *dictus Ranucius./ Franciscus notarius pro eo fideiussit.*)

.....

In dei nomine amen. Coram vobis domino .E. exgravatore populi et comunis urbisveteris. Proponint Provençanus, Alezander, et Pe(.....) Ildribandinus filii dudum Amidei Lupicini quod dominus .J. potestas urbisveteris condemnavit eos in .xxx. libris denariorum (.....) trium Equorum eis impositorum secundum eorum libram unde cum post Libram factam bona ipsorum diminuta sint pro d(.....) partibus et ultra et diminutis bonis honera diminuenda sint et sic gravati sunt in juste. Ideo petunt s(.....) exgravari et dictas condepnationes per vos cassari/

cassari et irritari Gravamen illatum fuit die sabati .v. ext. Iulio,  
(porrectum) die lune .iij. ext. dicti mensis.

(Margin: *Provençanus Amidei Lupicini et fratres./ Ildribandinus Ranieri  
Adilasie pro eo fideiussit.*)

.....

In dei nomine amen. Coram vobis domino .E. exgravatore populi et  
comunis urbisveteris. Proponit Provençanus Amidei Lupicini pro se et  
fratribus quod dominus .J. potestas urbisveteris vel eius Iudices vel  
alter eorum gravavit eos injuste condempnans ipsos in .xv. libris  
occasione cavalcate facte in Teberina. Quare petit per vos dictum  
gravamen cassari et irritari. Gravamen illatum fuit ille die veneris .ij.  
auguste, porrectum die martis .vj. eiusdem mensis.

(Margin: *dictus Provençanus/ Ranuccius Provençani pro eo fideiussit.*)

.....

(f.24v.) (.....) Arengerius domini Arengerii de Salci quod dominus  
(.....) occasione cuiusdam Equi quem dic(?it) in sua (.....) petit  
dictum Gravamen per vos cassari et irritari.

.....

(.....) domino .E. exgravatore populi et comunis urbisveteris,  
proponuit Arengerius de Salci quod dominus Guidocherius (.....)  
(grava)vit eum injuste quod eum in .C. sol. den. in Consilio populi pro eo  
quod ipse Arengerius (?.....) in Cavalca(?niero) in Teverino cum aliis  
militibus et exbanniendo ipsum per Preconem quod si hodie non solveret  
dictas .C. sol. sit imponend(?e) .xxv. libre comuni unde cum ipse  
capitaneo una cum domino Iohanne potestate Urbisveteris condempnavit  
eum in .C. sol. occasionem predictam in consilio generali et speciali  
urbisveteris, a qua sententia dicti potestatis et Capitaneo non curavit  
appellare nisi a sententia dicti domini Capitanei lata in consilio populi,  
petit dictam condempnationem et exbannimentum seu Gravamen cassari et  
irritari. Gravamen illatum fuit die .ij. augusti, et exbannimentum die  
.vj. augusti, porrect(a) die eodem.

.....

In dei nomine amen. Coram vobis domino .E. exgravatore populi et  
comunis Urbisveteris, proponuit Arengerius de Salci quod dominus  
Guidecherus Capitaneus Urbisveteris gravavit eum injuste exbanniendo et  
exbanneri eum, faciendo in .C. libris nisi hodie portatum diem facit  
precepta sua, occasione Equi prefati domino Guidoni Iudici dicti domini  
Capitanei/



Capitanei. Quare petit dictum gravamen cassari et irritari. Gravamen illatum fuit die .viij. mensis augusti, porrectum eodem die.

.....

Cum mandaverimus domino Zanni Zacij Potestati Civitatis Urbisveteris suis Judicibus et notariis ut exhiberent et exhiberi facerent Rainucio Provençani Lupicini et Provençano Amidei pro se et fratribus, acta super petitionibus supradictis ab eodem porrectis; et mandaverimus etiam domino Guidactiero de Galluciis Capitaneo Populi et comunis predicti ut exhiberent et exhiberi faceret Arengerio domini Arengerii de Salci acta super petitionibus supradictis ab eodem predictorum coram nobis et processibus factis et habitis contra eum sicut in suis petitionibus continetur et non dederunt nec exhibuerunt sicut mandaverimus pronunciamus dictis Rainucio Provençano et fratribus, et Arengerio supradicto in supradictis petitionibus tempora non currere et tempora eis in predictis currere non debere.

.....

Lecte et pronunciate sunt dicte pronunciationes per dictum exgravatorem, et lecte et publicate sunt per me Franciscum domini Leonardi de Asisio notarium dicti comunis et exgravatoris predicti. Sub anno domini M.CCLXVIIIJ; Indictione .xij.; apostolice sedis vacante; die mercurij .xiiij. mensis augusti; in domo Guillelmi domine Grece. Presentis magistro Iohanne Ildribandini muratore, Frederico Betevengne et aliis testibus.

Ego Franciscus domini Leonardi de Asisio apostolice sedis auctoritate notarius et nunc dicti comunis et exgravatoris predicti notarius constitutus pronuntiationi supradictarum sententiarum sive pronuntiationum interfui et ipsas ipsius Exgravatoris mandato superscripsi et publicavi.

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17 February 1270

Domina Melontana concedes to her son, presbiter Pietro, all rights in property bought from former heretics, Filippo Busse & his wife Clara

In nomine domini amen, Anno eiusdem millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo, Indictione tertiadecima, Apostolice sedis pastorem vacante, Die undecima exeunte mensis februarii, Domina Melontana uxor olim domini Boniconitis Ildribandini Rustici, non vi coacta nec dolo inducta, sed propria et spontanea sua bona voluntate, titulo donationis et inter vivos, tanquam benmerito, pure, libere et simpliciter, ac inrevocabiliter, inter vivos donavit, et titulo donationis inter vivos dedit, cessit et concessit atque mandavit presbitero Petro, eius filio, omnia et singula sua iura, actiones, rationes, reales et personales pretorias, civiles et mixtas, que et quas habebat, vel habere sperabat seu visa erat habere, versus Filippum Busse et dominam Claram eius uxorem venditores et Federicum Visscardii Pelliparium fideiussorem, et eorum heredes et bona possessores et detentores bonorum eorum nomine, et occasione unius domus posite in regione sancti Iovenalis quam eidem domine vendiderunt dictus Philippus et dicta domina Clara eius uxor, pro tribus partibus, et dicto presbitero Petro pro quarta parte, in qua venditione dicte domus dictus Federicus fideiussit pro ipsis venditoribus apud dictum presbiterum et dictam dominam Melontanam in omnem causam (?or casum), ut apparere dicebant per protocollum scriptum manu Peponis Arlocti notarii, et publicatum manu Peponis Petri Capitanei notarii; que autem domus sententialiter fuit diruta et dissipata occasione heresis per fratrem Benvenutum et fratrem Bartholomeum de ordine fratrum minorum inquisitores heretice pravitatis,

Ita ut a modo possit agere, petere, exigere et recolligere, excipere et replicare et setueri confitendo negando actiones quam proponendo directis et utilibus actionibus et comunibus et omnia et singula faciendo et exercendo que ipse et facere et exercere poterat quam quidem donationem et iurium cessionem et omnia et singula suprascripta promisit dicto presbitero suo filio, rata et firma omni tempore habere et tenere, et non contrafacere vel venire occasione alicuius ingratitude nec alia quelibet occasione vel exceptione et sub obligatione sui et suorum bonorum iure pignoris, et renuntians non habite et non recepti meriti exceptione fori privilegi et omni legum auxilio,

Actum est in civitate urbevetana, In domo heredum olim Jacobi Blasii, Presentibus domino Blasio Bonacurso et Iacobo fratribus, filiis olim Jacobi Blasii, Frederico Ildribandini Senblanche et Francissco Iohannis Verdiane testibus...

Original notary: Avedutius Compangni

Copy made by: Pace Perfidi,



5 May 1287

"Pattarena" as term of abuse

(f.9) ...Quia Iohanne<sup>r</sup> condam Egidii de regione Sancte Marie Episcopatus denuntiatus et accusatus extitit coram nobis per dominam Jacobam uxorem olim Guidecti de dicta regione, quod in via publica dixit verba iniuriosa dicte domine Jacobe, silicet, Pattarena, pro ut in actis nostre curia plenius continetur, et constet nobis per legiptimas probationes predictam in accusa contenta (?vera) esse. Ideo idem Iohannem in .xx. sol. cort. comuni predicto solvendis in hiis scriptis sententialiter condempnans.

Pro eo fideiussit Frederigus Iohannis Brunatii.

.....

8 December 1287

"Paterenus" as nickname for former heretic's son

(f. 87v.) ... Petrum Christofani alius vocatum Paterenum et Gramaticum Rainaldi contra quos processum fuit per modum inquisitionis super eo quod dicebatur quod de mensis februarii prox. preteriti accesserunt ad domos Blonne de Perusio et Roselle Guitane et fregerunt ostia dicte domus cum securibus et lapidibus noctis tempore et alia fecerunt in actam contenta. Condempnatos in .xxv. lib. den. cort. pro qualibet ipsorum pro dictis maleficiis et in .xx. sol. pro qualibet ipsorum et per quamlibet diem eorum contumacie ut in sententia condemnationis scripta manu Tadei notarii dicti comunis plenius continetur.

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31 October 1296

Letter of Boniface VIII regarding property confiscated from the late  
Matheus Romei, father-in-law of Neri di Turri

Bonifatius episcopus servus servorum Dei. Dilectis filiis Matheo Boni Apressi et Marino Egidii, canonicis ecclesie sancti Iohannis Urbeveta[n]i, Salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Devotionis et fidei promptitudinem dilecti filii Nobilis viri Neri de Turri Militis Urbeveta[n]i qua se nostro nuper conspectui presentavit benignius attendentes ac sperantes quod quanto gratiosus se a nobis honorari prospexerit tanto efficacius Deum et Romanam ecclesiam studeat reverari dignum duximus ut personam suam spetiali favore et gratia prosequamur. [C...] petitio eiusdem Neri nobis exhibita continebat quod quondam Matheus Romei Civis Tuscanensis qui tunc temporis medietatem Castri Tessannani Tuscanensis diocesi ad eum iure proprio pertinentem obtinebat propter crimen hereseos per Inquisitorem quendam heretie(sic) pravitatis extitit condempnatus et bona sua omnia Romane ecclesie publicata. Verum cum ex ipso Matheo tres filie de legitimo matrimonio procreate remansisse post ipsius obitum dinoscantur ipseque Nerus unam ex dictis filiabus habeat in uxorem ac ex ea suscepit plures filios nobis humiliter supplicavit ut Tertiam partem predictae medietatis Castri Tessennani que Tertia pars prefatam uxorem suam potuisset iure hereditario contigisse, si dictus Matheus huiusmodi hereseos labe respersus, et propterea condempnatus, ac bona sua publicata, ut predicitur non fuissent concedere predicto Nerio ac suis heredibus et successoribus in feudum de spetiali gratia dignaremur. Nos igitur volentes prefato Nerio gratiosam et favorabilem munificentie nostre dexteram aperire Tertiam partem predictae medietatis eiusdem Castri Tessennani ad ecclesiam eandem pertinentis, cum omnibus iuribus et pertinentiis suis, auctoritate apostolica sibi ac suis successoribus et heredibus imperpetuum de suo corpore per rectam lineam legitime descendentibus in feudum concessimus de gratia spetiali. Non obstante si de dicto Castro Tessennani, vel aliqua eius parte, aliquam concessionem alii fecisse noscamur per quam quo ad predictam Tertiam partem predicto Nerio concessam nullum sibi vel ipsis heredibus volumus preiudicium generari. Ita tamen quod iuxta morem feudatariorum Militum eiusdem



~~generari. Ita tamen quod iuxta morem feudatariorum Militum eiusdem~~  
ecclesie Romane in Patrimonio beati Petri in Tuscia hactenus observatum  
debita servitia idem Nerius et dicti heredes et successores propter hoc  
semper exhibeant ecclesie memorate nec quicquam de feudo ipso  
aliquatenus alienent quod si serus egerint illud extunc irritum  
decernemus et mane ac nullius existere firmitatis. ut autem in  
predictis circa possessionem et proprietatem ecclesie predictae in  
futurum memoria certior habeatur volumus quod annis singulis viginti  
solidos paparinarum usualis monete pro tempore nomine census infra  
Quindenam Resurrectionis dominice cum ostensione litterarum huiusmodi  
prelibatus Nerius ac ipsi heredes et successores nostre Camere  
persolvant quodque tam ipse quam dicti heredes et successores  
vassallagium et iuramentum fidelitatis pro feudo predicto nobis vel  
Camerario nostro infra Duos Menses a data persentium et deinde  
successoribus nostris Romanis Pontificibus canonice intrantibus seu  
Rectori Patrimonii qui pro tempore fuerit ipsorum successorum nostrorum  
et ecclesie prefate nomine infra Quatuor Menses postquam successores  
ipsi fuerint ad apicem apostolice dignitatis assumpti teneantur facere ac  
prestare et recognoscere per publicum instrumentum quod huiusmodi  
feudum ab eadem ecclesia teneant que si facere forsitan contempserint  
omne ius quod sibi ac ipsis heredibus et successoribus ex presenti  
concessione competit vel competeret ad predictam ecclesiam libere  
dovoluatur. Quo circa discretioni nostre per apostolica scripta mandamus  
quatinus vos vel alter vestrum per vos vel alium seu alios eidem Nerio  
vel procuratori suo eius nomine predictum feudum iuxta huiusmodi  
concessionis nostre tenorem assignare curetis inducentes eum vel dictum  
procuratorem pro eo in illius corporalem possessionem et defendentes  
inductum amoto exinde quolibet detentore. Non obstantibus omnibus  
supradictis seu si aliquibus ab eadem sit sede indultum quod interdicti  
vel excommunicari nequeant vel suspendi per litteras apostolicas non  
facientes plenam et expressam de indulto huiusmodi mentionem.  
Contradictores per censuram ecclesiasticam appellatione postposita  
compescendo. Datum apud Urbemveterem ii Kal. Novembris Pontificatus  
nostri anno Tertio.

3 May 1298

Letter of Boniface VIII regarding the treatment of Giovanni Feraloca by the Inquisitor, Fra Ado de Cumis.

Dilecto filio Ade de Cumis, ordinis Fratrum Minorum, inquisitori heretice pravitatis in Romana provincia.

Exposuit nuper nobis dilectus filius Iohannes Feraloca civis Urbevitanus quod dudum, cum ipse fratri Angelo de Reate, ordinis Fratrum Minorum, inquisitori heretice pravitatis primo, ac etiam postmodum fratri Leonardo de Tibure, ipsius ordinis, qui eidem fratri Angelo in huiusmodi inquisitionis successit officio, per Sedem Apostolicam in Romana provincia deputatis humiliter et sponte, non citatus nec coactus, confessus fuerit quod in crimine hereseos in adulta etqate deliquerat, iidem inquisitores dictum Johannem absolutionis beneficium humiliter postulantes, prius ab eo de parendo precise mandatis Ecclesie juramento recepto, ab omni excommunicationis sententia quam incurrerat occasione predicti criminis et pro omni eo quod in dicto crimine vel circa ipsum crimen quocumque modo commiserat juxta formam Ecclesie absolverint, restituentes ipsum ecclesiasticis sacramentis ac imposita eidem penitentia salutari per dictum Johannem fideliter ac plena peracta, ut, predictorum inquisitorum in officio memorato successor, cui de hiis plene ac legitime constitit, memoratum Johannem reddidisti a penitentia huiusmodi absolutum, prout in instrumentis publicis inde confectis plenius asserit contineri. Demum vero frater Angelus de Colleveteri, ordinis prelibati, successor predictorum et tuus in officio memorato, eo tempore quo inter Romanam Ecclesiam et comune Urbevitanum occasione terre Vallislacus vigeat discordia, eundem civem citari fecit ut coram eo personaliter compareret super dicto crimine, tanquam si non fuisset plene confessus, dicturus plenius veritatem; ac idem Johannes coram ipso inquisitore ad mandatum huiusmodi comparere curavit, nosque inquisitori predicto fecimus inhiberi ne contra prefatum Johannem ulterius supra predictis procederet sine nostra conscientia et mandato. Quare dictus Johannes nobis humiliter supplicavit ut providere sibi super premissis de benignitate Sedis Apostolice dignaremur.

Nos/



Nos itaque, de predicta inhibitione nostra plenarie recolantes, ipsius Johannis supplicationibus inclinati, discretioni tue per apostolica scripta mandamus quatinus, si de hujusmodi humili et spontanea confessione dicti Johannis facta per eum, ut asserit, fratribus Angelo et Leonardo inquisitoribus supradictis, et quod idem inquisitores eum a sententia excommunicationis absolverint et restituerint ad ecclesiastica sacramenta et imposuerint eidem penitentiam salutarem, et ipse penitentiam hujusmodi fideliter et plene peregerit, tuque ipsum absolutum reddideris a supradicta penitentia, ut proponit, plene tibi constiterit ac prefatum Johannem in plena noveris orthodoxe fidei puritate manere, memorato Johanni ad omne super premissis dubium excludendum auctoritate nostra ab omni sententia et pena quam occasione predicti criminis incurisset beneficium absolutionis impendas, restitues eum nichilominus ad omnes actus legitimos et honores ac famam integram, si qua forsan ob predicta esset in aliquo dinigrata, ita quod propter premissa nullum possit ei generari prejudicium vel obstaculum interponi.

Dat. Rome, apud Sanctum Petrum, v. non. maii, anno quarto.

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General anathematisation of heretics by bishop (?)Pietro

In nomine Domini amen. Nos Petrus Dei et apostolice sedis gratie Episcopus Urbevitanus publice in his scriptis excommunicamus anathematizamus maledicimus et a gremio Sancte Matris Ecclesie separamus omnes et singulos gaçaros, patarenos, arnaldistas, passaginos et pauperes de Iugduno et omnes et singulos cuiuscumque septe, utriuscumque sexus quocumque nomine censeamus, omnesque credentes, fautores, receptatores et defensores eorum et omnes et singulos utriusque sexus dantes eis vel ipsorum alicui, consilium, auxilium vel favorem publicum vel occultum in nostra Civitate et diocesi constitos.

Ne clerici vel monachi secularibus negotiis se inmiscant.

Item districte precipimus clericis notariis in sacris ordinibus constitutis et maiorem sacerdotibus ne ipsi officium notarie in officiis publicis vel privatis Civitatis Catrorum vel villarum decetero [...] quod si secus ab aliquo fuerint attemptatum ipsum pro qualibus vite [...] denariorum cortonensis condemnamus possint auctoritate iscud officium [...] pro pace testamentis electionibus matrimoniis et aliis spiritualibus contractibus licitis et honestis.

.....

In nomine Domini amen. Anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo Quatragesimo nono, indictione secunda pontificatu sanctissimi patris et domini domini Clementis pape sexti, die lune vicesimo mensis aprilis. Approbate et confirmate fuerunt dicte constitutiones per omnia, per totum clerum et capitulum Civitatis et diocesis Urbevitanæ in sinodo congregatum in palatio Episcopatus de voluntate et auctoritate venerabilis in Christo patris et domini domini Pontii Dei et apostolice sedis gratie Urbevitanæ Episcopo in ipsa sinodo existentis in Civitate Urbevitanæ in palatio Episcopatus Urbevitanæ personaliter venerabili patre et domino domino fratre Stephano Di gratie Episcopo Tapseronensis dompno Nicola de Parma, Vannutio Colt et aliis pluribus testibus vocatis et rogatis.

Notary: Iohannes Leonardi

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\* The date of the original document is not given, and there was no Petrus as Bishop until 1364. The anathematisation was confirmed by Bishop Pontus in 1349, and if 'Petrus' is a mistake for 'Pontus', the original may not have been too much earlier. This copy was made in 1375, by the notary Antonius quondam Nutii of Orvieto, and the copy was verified by two other notaries, Laurentius Conetti and Francischus Cagni of Orvieto.



B. LAY PIETY

## B.1 LAY PIETY AND THE CONFRATERNAL MOVEMENT

It goes without saying that there is a great deal more to the subject of lay piety than simply the history of the confraternal movement. Many other themes could have been chosen to illustrate aspects of the religious life of the laity: crusade; pilgrimage; charity; the cult of saints; festivals, to name a few.

Information is, of course, more plentiful in some of these areas than in others. The subject of crusade in Orvieto has already been thoroughly investigated by M. Maccarone, in relation to the preaching of Innocent III in May 1216, and the spontaneous assent of "more than two thousand" Orvietan men, and even some women, to take the cross and go "to the recovery and aid of the Holy Land" <sup>1</sup>. Huge crowds gathered to hear the Pope's preaching, undeterred by the torrential rain which had turned the field of the Omodeo family, the only place large enough to accommodate such numbers, into a quagmire. The whole weekend was one of festivity, beginning on the Saturday night, when Innocent III proclaimed an end to the Interdict which had been imposed seven years earlier over the issue of Acquapendente, and continuing through Sunday morning, with the celebration of Mass in the cathedral church, until late afternoon, when the open-air gathering was held, with people standing in the field, looking on from houses nearby, and even climbing trees to get a better view. A special canopy had to be constructed to protect the Pope from the rain, and so many people came forward to take the cross that both he and his nephew Stefano were fully occupied in accepting their vows.

These events are described in such detail that the writer must have been an eye-witness to them. The account was probably written by one of the canons of S. Costanzo, as it was inserted on the last page of an illustrated Bible which formerly belonged to that Church<sup>2</sup>. But fascinating as his description undoubtedly is, on account of its almost journalistic style, it is the wider context of the papal visit that is most important to the study of lay piety. The enthusiastic response of Orvietan lay people to the crusading appeal came after a long period of Interdict, and the scale of their enthusiasm probably reflects their relief that the long-standing dispute with the papacy appeared to have been settled at last. The visit also came at a time when heresy was temporarily in abeyance, the Cathars still licking their wounds after the



major setback of Parenzo's murder and its adverse effect on public opinion. It was not long, however, before the Cathars were back in full force, and it would be useful to know for how long and to what extent crusading zeal kept pace with the growing popularity of heresy, especially after Innocent III had died and the memory of his visit began to fade.

The one concrete fact is that a number of Orvietans were absolved from their crusading vows less than a year afterwards. The official registers of Pope Honorius III include a letter, dated 20 February 1217, to Bishop Capitaneo of Orvieto, informing him that any "*crucesignatis*" in his diocese who were unable to fulfil their vows, on account of "age, ill-health, or poverty", could be unconditionally excused<sup>3</sup>. The crusade was preached in Orvieto at least twice after 1216 - by Honorius himself in 1220, and by the Cistercian Cardinal, John Tolet, in 1263/4<sup>4</sup> - but never again with such spectacular effect. This, of course, mirrors the growing disillusionment throughout Europe with the crusading ideal. The only other direct references to crusade in the Orvietan sources are occasional progress reports in local chronicles, and four occasions, between 1275 and 1279, when the ecclesiastical tax known as the *Decima* was specifically assigned "*pro subsidio terre sancte*"<sup>5</sup>.

The subject of pilgrimage is even less well-documented, although the two overlap to an extent, since the Holy Land remained a popular destination for pilgrimage after the crusading period was over. In 1268, one local heretic, Petruccio Ricci Miscinelli, was ordered, as a form of penance, to go "*in subsidium Terre sancte*", and then, on his return, to make two Lenten pilgrimages to Rome. Meanwhile his brother, Cambio, was sent to Compostella. These sentences alone are sufficient to demonstrate that pilgrimage was part of the Orvietan tradition<sup>6</sup>, and further research would probably reveal more individual examples, such as the man who received a papal pardon for murder in 1273, on condition that he go to Jerusalem, "*palmiere*"<sup>7</sup>, or the woman who included a clause in her Will of 1360 to the effect that the sum of four gold florins should be given to each person who went "*ultra mare, pro anima sua*"<sup>8</sup>. Ugolino Lupicini made similar provision in his Will, drawn up some time around 1330, although he seems to have been rather sceptical about the likelihood of anyone making the long journey to Jerusalem. He asked that the money raised from the sale of all his "mules, horses and arms", should be set aside, with a further two hundred *Lire*, to meet the

expenses of any who chose to go to the Holy Land "across the sea". However, he also stipulated that if no-one had claimed the money within twenty years of his death, it was to be redistributed by his testators, as they saw fit<sup>9</sup>.

There would be no difficulty whatsoever in documenting a study of charitable giving in Orvieto in the medieval period. Wills and donations in the *Liber Donationum* and the notarial archive provide ample evidence of the causes and institutions preferred by private individuals, while the *Riformanze* record donations given by civic councils, particularly from the 1340's, when this started to be organised in a more systematic way than before<sup>10</sup>. Only relatively rich people would have made a Will at all, but private donations do cover the whole range, from a few *soldi* to the person's own church or priest, to large-scale charity covering every institution in the town. At the very top end of the scale, Ugolino Lupicini left two thousand gold florins to cover the sixty or seventy religious and charitable benefactions in his Will, but there were many whose giving was more modest, and limited to those institutions in which they had a personal interest. Some legacies were directed, not to any particular church, but to the "poor of the city", as in the Will of Rainerius Iohannes comitis Fumi, drawn up in 1253<sup>11</sup>. Art patronage could also be a profitable area of study, and in particular, there is scope for detailed examination of patterns of giving to the new Cathedral, from 1290 onwards.

The cult of saints is another area which has not yet been tackled in the systematic way which would be necessary to determine its place in the religious life of the laity as a whole<sup>12</sup>. Individual cults and festivals have been investigated to a limited extent, but Ficarelli is the only person so far to have tried to survey the whole subject of Orvietan hagiolatry<sup>13</sup>. Although a useful compendium, his is not a work of great scholarship.

There is thus a great deal of work still to be done on lay piety. The decision to concentrate here on the single area of lay confraternities was taken for a number of reasons. In the first place, although the Franciscan confraternities are much better documented than any of the others, there is a range of evidence concerning religious associations which spans the whole period, from the end of the twelfth century until the fourteenth century, and, indeed, beyond. This makes it possible to monitor changing patterns of devotion: the growing



prominence of the Mendicant Orders, for example; the rise of the *disciplinati* at the expense of earlier groups, such as *laudesi*; or the process by which public procession developed into religious drama. *Confratelli* were probably required to pay a subscription to their society, but membership was not determined by wealth to the same extent as art patronage or charitable giving. Thus it is possible, by looking at lay confraternities, to cover a wide cross-section of society.

Furthermore, of all the possible aspects of lay piety which could have been selected, the confraternities offer the best possibility of comparison with Catharism. Both offered lay people a sense of group identity, with opportunities for social as well as religious interaction among members. Perhaps the strongest proof of the similarities between them is the fact that confraternities were considered by the Church authorities to be one of their most powerful weapons against heresy. There is little evidence of direct contact between Orvietan heretics and confraternity members, but as heresy declined, so the confraternities grew in importance. The fact that heresy did not take hold again after 1268/9 must be attributed in part to the existence of a positive alternative, in the form of a growing number and variety of religious associations for lay people.

One of the main purposes of this thesis is to demonstrate that the dividing-line between heresy and piety is not as clearly-defined as might once have been expected. There is a limited chronological overlap between the two areas, and a much more significant thematic overlap, with parallels of all sorts between the people whose religious needs were met by the Cathar movement, and those who were drawn instead to confraternity membership. It is unnecessary, therefore, to provide an artificial bridge between the two sections of the thesis, since both are part of the same discussion: different aspects of the religious life of lay people in Orvieto.

It is simply because of the nature of the sources that the two subjects will not be treated in precisely the same way. Whereas the *Liber Inquisitionis* provided detailed information about a large number of people involved in a single organisation, the sources relating to confraternities cover a large number of groups, but provide much less personal data about the people who belonged to them. For that reason, the known confraternities will be divided into broad categories, according to their type and function, and then examined in turn. The

purpose is not merely to provide a dossier of facts and figures about these associations. Rather, it is to assess what the confraternities offered to lay people, and why lay people were attracted to them.

One special topic, which will be treated separately at the end, is the effect of the plague of 1348 on membership of the Franciscan confraternity. This is of interest in its own right, but it is also valuable, in the wider context of the religious life of the laity, to be able to see how people reacted in a period of extreme crisis. It is at times like these that beliefs are tested, and priorities revealed, and the existence of a source such as the Franciscan *matricola*, which covers the precise period of the plague, is a unique opportunity for the religious historian. It is notoriously difficult to find a way in to the area which the French describe as "*mentalité*", but a civic catastrophe, such as the Black Death, with contemporary documentation, provides a better chance than most of understanding human thoughts and emotions under a degree of stress more acute even than that experienced by Cathar sympathisers under constant threat of discovery and persecution.

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## B.1 LAY PIETY AND THE CONFRATERNAL MOVEMENT: FOOTNOTES

1. M. Maccarrone, "Orvieto e la predicazione della Crociata", in Studi su Innocenzo III (*Italia Sacra* 3), Padova, 1972, "... civitatem intravit verbum Crucis predicaturus ad recuperationem et subsidium Terre Sancte," "... Numerus cruce signatorum de civitate ipsiusque districtus fuit plus quam duo milia virorum et mulierum tamen paucarum,"
2. Cod. M.465 of the Morgan Library, New York,
3. ed. P. Pressutti, Regesta Honorii Papae III, Roma, 1888, vol. I, p. 63, no. 359, (from Reg. Vat., lib. I, epist. 285, fol. 74), "*ut cruce signatis tue diocesis qui vel senectute aut infirmitate ive paupertate multa gravati non possunt personaliter exequi votum crucis, prout eorum saluti et Terre Sancte succursui vederis expendere, despeses,*"
4. "Chronica Potestatum\*\*", in Eph. Urb., p. 142, 1220, Honorius III "*misit cruciatam ultra mare*", "Chronica Potestatum\*\*\*\*", in Eph. Urb., p. 155, 1264, "The Cistercian Cardinal preached the Crusade against the Saracens",
5. P. Sella, Rationes Decimarum Italiae: Umbria, Vatican City, 1952,
6. Lib. Inq., f. 29<sup>2</sup>, Petrotius Ricci Miscinelli: "... *infra annum debeat transferare ibidem propriis expensis per annum (... )ens in subsidium Terre sancte...* post redditum terre sancte Rome duas faciat quarantenas, secuturus stationes per romanos Pontifices institutas, de visitationibus supradictis secum testimoniales licteras deferendo", ibid., f. 21', Cambius Ricci Miscinelli: "... *visitet limina beati Iacobi de Galitia infra unum annum*".
7. G. Rondoni, "Orvieto nel Medio Evo", in A.S.I., vol. 19, Firenze, 1887, p. 385,
8. Arch. Not., vol. 38/3, f. 110r., 10 November 1360, Will of Madalena, *filia olim Mechi Iacobi*,
9. A. di S., Pergamene, Will of Ugolino Lupicini (c.1330), Published by L. Riccetti, in B.I.S.A.O., ann. XXXVIII, 1982, 564 "...*pretium ipsorum teneant quousque fiet passagium terre sancte ultramarine et, cum ipsum passagium fiet, ipsum pretium dent in subsidium dicti passagii et 200 lib. den. cort. de predictis 2,000 flor. et hoc si ipsum passagium fiet infra viginti annos post mortem dicti testatoris aliter a dictis viginti annis in anna dictum pretium et dictas 200 lib. dent. et expendant pro anima dicti testatoris ubi et qualiter eis utilius videbitur,*"
10. The first list of institutions to receive alms from the commune was recorded in 1341. From 1347 onwards, much longer lists were being included annually, see C. & C. 2.2.85ff.
11. Lib. Don., f. 9v., 3 July 1253, Will of Rainerius Iohannis *comitis Fumi*. According to L. Riccetti (C. & C., 2.5.8), the Will includes a legacy to the "*poveri di Christo*". The actual phrase is, however, "*pauperes civitatis*". The testator had allocated a total of 25 *Lire*, plus ten *raseri* of grain to be spent "*pro anima sua*", and the poor were to receive a share of what was left after all the specific conditions had been fulfilled.
12. cf. M.G. Dickson, Patterns of European Sanctity: the Cult of Saints in the later Middle Ages (with special reference to Perugia), Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1975,
13. A. Ficarelli, Sancta Urbevetana Legio, Orvieto, 1962,

## B.2 ORVIETAN CONFRATERNITIES

It is difficult to know how best to classify the Orvietan confraternities. Some classification is clearly required in order to make sense of the data available, but the fraternities themselves were part of a living tradition, and would not fit neatly into pre-defined categories even if all the relevant documentation had survived, which, of course, is far from the case. The function and composition of any one of these bodies could change significantly with the passing of time, just as its popularity was liable to wax and wane according to the mood of the times. It is this vitality which gives the confraternities their interest, and which makes them potentially useful as a guide to patterns of devotion among lay people, but it does not make the task of analysis any easier.

Some of the Orvietan confraternities are known now only by the name of the church with which they were associated, and all that can be done with these is to note their existence, taking account of the real possibility that there may once have been many more groups, for which not even this limited information is now available.

In other cases, the imprecise use of terminology in the medieval sources makes it difficult to determine the exact nature of the associations being discussed. The word "fraternity", for example, might be used as a collective term for the clergy of a particular church, or for the resident religious community of one of the independent hospitals, as well as for 'genuine' associations of pious laymen. *Confratelli* and tertiaries are often described in similar terms, and there can be confusion between either of these and first order religious, or mendicant friars. This imprecision was often more than just a matter of language: it could also be a reflection of reality, at a time when the different religious groupings were still evolving, and the boundaries between them had not quite hardened. The Third Orders, for example, evolved in most cases out of lay confraternities, and, with the exception of the Franciscan Third Order, which was approved by Innocent III as early as 1209, existed in all but name long before their official recognition. B. Vanna (d. 1306) was living the life of a Dominican tertiary, in a celibate, cloistered Orvietan community, at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, more than a century before the Dominican Third Order was formally approved'.



Not all confraternities performed precisely the same function. Some were concerned primarily with worship and the performance of sacred drama, while others concentrated on charitable work or the upkeep of their local church. Some were involved in the running of a hospital, and others were not. Even here, there was a considerable degree of overlap. Several hospitals were run by 'theatrical' confraternities, and the cathedral in particular seems to have been a centre for every type of activity from celebration of the Mass to painting, drama and funeral procession. The least helpful classification of all would have to be devotion to the Virgin Mary, as almost every confraternity seems to have been orientated towards her cult. Even those groups under the specific patronage of another saint would describe themselves as "*fraternitas sancte Marie de sancto .....*".

Local people themselves do not seem to have felt an exclusive loyalty towards one particular group. Wills frequently include legacies to two or more confraternities, and there is some evidence to suggest that people might belong to more than one group at a time. Narduccio di Ser Sennu, for example, was a member of the Franciscan confraternity from 3 August 1348 to 20 September 1359, and yet his Will, dated 19 February 1350, makes equal provision for the Franciscan and Dominican '*discipline*'<sup>2</sup>. If anything, his first loyalty seems to have been to the Dominican church, as his Will was drawn up in the cloister there, in the presence of six Dominican friars. Forty-five years later, in his Will of 22 April 1395, another prominent Orvietan, Ser Giovanni, asked to be buried in the church of S. Francesco, but to be accompanied there by the *disciplinati* of Santa Maria Maggiore<sup>3</sup>. Throughout the fourteenth century, numerous Franciscan confraternity members were employed to do artistic and manual work on the new Cathedral (see Table 20), and although this proves nothing in itself, it represents a further blurring of boundaries between one religious congregation and another.

Some of the confusion is due to a definite change in the pattern of confraternity membership in the early fourteenth century, as the Mendicant orders came to dominate the religious life of the town, and the Cathedral project progressed. Both of these provided a focus of interest for people from every quarter of the town, thus tending to undermine the regional loyalties which had hitherto determined patterns of devotion. As far as the confraternities are concerned, matters were a lot more straightforward in the early days of the movement, when

those who were so inclined would probably just have joined the confraternity attached to their local parish church.

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a) Church Affiliation

For the sake of simplicity, then, if for no other reason, it will be helpful to start by looking at those confraternities which were affiliated to local churches, and whose members would be drawn mainly from the immediate vicinity of the church. This was by far the commonest pattern in the early stages of the movement, that is, from the end of the twelfth century, when the first reference to an Orvietan confraternity occurs, to the later part of the thirteenth century, when the process of centralisation was beginning to take effect, but in the later period too, church affiliation was still an important aspect of confraternity life. There is nothing to indicate that any of the older, regional fraternities were forced out of existence by the high-profile groups associated with the Cathedral and the Mendicant Orders. It seems, rather, that both types of association benefitted from the general enthusiasm among lay people for devotional activities of every kind.

With the sole exception of the Cathedral, which was used by a number of different groups, the name of the church is the name by which the confraternity was known, and the principal saint of the church was also the patron of the confraternity. In Wills, and other legal documents, terms such as "*fraternitas sancti .....*", "*fraternitas ecclesie sancti .....*" and "*fraternitas sancte Marie de sancto .....*" seem to have been used interchangeably.

Some of the confraternities may have had their own chapel or altar within a particular church, and many owned property in their own right, but none were properly independent. Even the newer ones, which drew support from all four quarters of the town, were closely bound to one church or religious order. This stands in sharp contrast to the clandestine gatherings of Cathars and their supporters in private houses or in remote parts of the *contado*, and the authorities were doubtless pleased to encourage confraternities to keep up their links with local churches, if only so that their activities could be monitored. There is absolutely no evidence, however, that the *confratelli* regarded this as an unwelcome imposition. On the contrary, they seem to have taken a pride in contributing to the upkeep of their local church, refurbishing it



where necessary, and commissioning works of art for its ornamentation.

It is perhaps only natural that pious laymen should have gravitated in the first instance towards existing institutions, if what they were seeking was the chance of a more active role in the life of the church without having to enter the priesthood or a religious order. It is no coincidence that the earliest known "fraternity" in Orvieto was a clerical association, to which lay people were also admitted.

#### The "Clerical Confraternity"

Taken out of context, the phrase "*confraternitas clericorum*" could be read simply as a collective term for the clergy of the area, but it occurs, among other places, in the opening chapters of the *Leggenda* of Pietro Parenzo (d. 1199), where the author, canon Giovanni, makes reference to the infiltration of this group by two heretical Florentine women, who had gained acceptance by a false display of piety: 'Militta of Monteamato and Julitta of Florence'. The obvious inference is that this basically clerical group was already, before the end of the twelfth century, accustomed to accepting lay men and women as members<sup>2</sup>. However unusual the case of the Florentine women in other respects, the fact of their admission seems to have caused no consternation either in the ranks of the clergy or on the part of canon Giovanni, whose account was written only a few years after Parenzo's death. Had their piety been genuine, these women would have been welcome in the community, where there must already have been a good number of lay people: the 'sheep', whose clothing these 'wolves' had imitated.

The existence of a '*fraternitas clericorum*' at this early date is confirmed by a deed of November 1197 <sup>3</sup>, whereby *presbiter* Iohannes, a priest of the church of SS. Apostoli, gave all his considerable wealth to the bishop, as representative of the clerical confraternity, in order that a hospital might be established for the "poor and destitute". There is nothing here to suggest that laymen, far less lay women, were in any way involved, but canon Giovanni's account does nonetheless have the ring of truth, if only because that part of his story is presented in so unsensational a way. The point of the story, and the part for which his outrage is reserved, is the women's treachery, and not the fact that women should have supported the clergy by their prayers.

That is probably as much as was involved in this early example of lay participation in a religious association. It was, in effect, a prayer group, "*causa orationis statuta*", and it is highly unlikely that its lay

members would have had any part in, for example, the running of the hospital, or the administration of its funds. Nonetheless, as one of the first approved outlets for corporate lay devotion in Orvieto, it represents the start of something that was soon to become very important in the religious life of the town.

As time went on, and more such outlets became available, the function of the clerical confraternity changed again. In 1197, when *presbiter Iohannes* made his 'donation', it was Bishop Riccardo who accepted the gift on behalf of his fellow-clergy, but by 1256, when the "*fraternitas clericorum*" is mentioned again<sup>4</sup>, the canons of S. Costanzo had become much more powerful, and the fraternity seems to have evolved into their representative union. No longer their leader, the bishop was more likely to appear as their adversary, as the relationship between bishop and canons became increasingly turbulent in the course of the thirteenth century. On this occasion the issue between them was peacefully resolved, but it was canon Oddorisio, the chamberlain of S. Costanzo, who acted on the confraternity's behalf in the matter of the repayment of a loan from the current bishop, Fra Constantino, O.P. The local clergy had borrowed money from Fra Constantino, giving him a silver thurible as security. On 8 January 1256, the sum of 11 *lib.* 3 *sol.* 3 *den.* was repaid to the bishop's 'vicar', Fra Mangnano, and the thurible was duly returned.

The most interesting aspect of this little interchange is what it reveals about the dominance of the canons over the rest of the Orvietan clergy - that is, if the document does indeed refer to a general "clerical confraternity" and not merely to the resident community in the church of S. Costanzo. The original loan had been to the "clergy of the city" ("*clericis civitatis Urbisveteris*"). The thurible, likewise, belonged to the "fraternity of clergy" ("*fraternitatis clericorum predictorum*"), and yet it was returned to Oddorisio, to be used exclusively in the church of S. Costanzo ("*ut ipsum dicta ecclesia sancti constantii et canonici ad opus eiusdem ecclesie teneant*"). Were it not for the specific reference earlier to the clergy "of the city", the document would have read much more convincingly as a private transaction between bishop and canons. There is certainly no hint of lay involvement in this "*fraternitas clericorum*", but by this time there were many more confraternities open to, and organised by lay people, and so there would not have been the same necessity for them to seek inclusion in an



essentially clerical group.

It is just around this period - the 1250's, and 1260's - that references to lay confraternities begin to proliferate in the Orvietan sources. Two new factors help to account for this: the growing influence of the mendicant orders, and the sudden appearance of flagellant groups, not only in Orvieto, but in all the Umbrian towns, in the aftermath of the "great devotion" of 1260. However, it is important, in the midst of all this activity, not to lose sight of the less spectacular, but no less significant growth of lay societies attached to local parish churches. There is no doubt that the rise of the mendicant orders in the thirteenth century marks a fundamental turning-point in the history of the confraternal movement, but commentators have tended to be too dismissive of the earlier, independent groups. G. M. Monti, for example, describes them as "few in number, living an isolated, unspectacular life alongside monasteries or churches... cut off, in other words, from the major religious currents of the times" <sup>5</sup>.

The Orvietan evidence, such as it is, does not justify such a harsh judgement on these foundational groups, which opened the way to lay involvement on a far greater scale, and which continued to operate alongside the newer types of association. It is not possible, from this distance of time, to say whether all the Orvietan churches had associated confraternities, or to estimate the age of those which are known. Nevertheless, these cover all four quarters of the city, and every type of establishment, including several churches of ancient origin. Lay confraternities may have been a relatively new phenomenon in thirteenth century Orvieto, but they were by no means confined to new orders and institutions.

#### S. Andrea

The church of S. Andrea stands in the present Piazza della Repubblica, formerly the Roman forum and the administrative heart of the town. The original church may well have taken the place of a Roman temple on the same site. Run by a prior and canons, S. Andrea was a serious rival to Santa Maria Prisca as the principal civic church, before the new cathedral unambiguously took over that role. When Pietro Parenzo was killed in 1199, for example, there was considerable disagreement among the townspeople whether his body should rest in S. Andrea or in the cathedral church<sup>6</sup>. Santa Maria won on this occasion, but it was in S. Andrea that early acts of the commune were promulgated,

and diplomatic negotiations were concluded<sup>7</sup>. According to tradition, the coronation of Pope Martin IV was proclaimed here in 1281<sup>8</sup>. If any church was likely to be steeped in tradition, and slow to accept new ideas, this was one, and yet it had a lay confraternity as early as most other churches. The "*fraternitas sancti Andree*" received a legacy of ten *soldi* in a Will of 1264, and was still in existence almost a century later, in 1363, when it was allocated a further forty *soldi* in the Will of another pious lay woman<sup>9</sup>.

#### SS. Apostoli

False hopes could very easily be raised by a document which seems, at first sight, to promise very detailed evidence about a confraternity which would have been one of the earliest in Orvieto, attached to one of the oldest churches in the town. On closer examination, however, the "Inventory of the property of the fraternity of SS. Apostoli", dated January 1212<sup>10</sup>, looks much less likely to be relevant to a discussion of lay confraternities. The inventory was compiled by two priests, *presbiter* Sommeus and *presbiter* Stefanus, and lists twenty-four pieces of property: two houses owned directly by the so-called 'fraternity'; ten vineyards, listed according to size; a further eight from which a proportion of the crop had to be given to the fraternity each year; and three other pieces of property on which a monetary tribute was due. With the exception of the two houses, the name of the property-owner or manager is given in each case.

The inventory overall bears a striking resemblance to the lists of property from which rents were due to other ecclesiastical institutions, such as the Chapter of S. Costanzo or the episcopal curia<sup>11</sup>, and this suggests that the word '*fraternitas*' is being used in this instance as a collective term for the clergy of SS. Apostoli, an ancient church in the Serancia quarter. The only counter-indication is the reference to the two houses '*iuxta dictam ecclesiam*' which belonged directly to the fraternity, and could have been used by a lay association. Other confraternities, such as the Dominican *disciplinati*, certainly did have their own houses, often well-endowed and equipped for worship, but in this case the evidence is inconclusive.

#### S. Cristoforo

The church of S. Cristoforo, in the quarter of Santa Pace<sup>12</sup>, was closely associated with the Chapter of San Costanzo<sup>13</sup>, and the only



reference to its confraternity occurs in a tiny fragment of an entry added at the bottom of a page in the *Codice di San Costanzo* in the capitular archive<sup>14</sup>. Even the date is uncertain, since the year 1292 may refer only to the first part of the inserted entry. The beginning of the relevant sentence is illegible and the end missing, and all that can be deciphered is, "...rectore fraternitatis sancti christofori positarum in dicto regione, ut patet manu Berrardini Massei...". The likeliest construction is that "*positarum*" refers to houses owned by the confraternity, on which it was required to pay duty to the Chapter, but what matters is this pointer to the existence of another lay association, led by a rector, possibly affluent enough to own property in the area, and attached to one of the smaller local churches in Orvieto. It is also worth pondering how easily this one small piece of evidence might have been lost, and the existence of such a group have remained unsuspected.

#### S. Stefano

Another of the smaller Orvietan confraternities is mentioned only once. Indeed, this single reference is in a document later than 1350, but there is at least a possibility that the "*fraternitas sancti Stefani*" existed several years before 1363, when it was one of four confraternities to receive a legacy of ten *soldi* in the Will of *domina Mea*, widow of *domino Giovanni ser Guidonis Ranerii* <sup>15</sup>. S. Stefano was the parish church for the *rione* of that name in the Postierla quarter, to the east of the town.

#### S. Lorenzo de Arari

As the Mendicant Orders grew in influence, so other, smaller churches tended to drift into their orbit, gradually losing their independence. This applies to the church of S. Lorenzo de Arari in the Serancia quarter of Orvieto, and, by implication, to its associated confraternity.

S. Lorenzo, like S. Andrea, was a church of ancient origin: the 'altar' in its title is a large Etruscan stone slab, and the church was established in the paleo-christian period, probably on the site of a Roman temple. In 1156, it was one of the 'possessions' of the chapter of S. Costanzo, confirmed by Adrian IV, but a century later its independence was under threat from another quarter. It was situated very close to the new Franciscan convent, and tradition has it that because the friars were inconvenienced by the sound of the priests of S. Lorenzo singing psalms and celebrating the divine office, they successfully campaigned

for the smaller church to be demolished and relocated, at a distance of forty 'çanne' <sup>16</sup>. There is little doubt that in 1291 the church was indeed transferred to its present location, and that it was given at this time to the Friars Minor, with the full consent of bishop, Chapter and Pope<sup>17</sup>.

There would undoubtedly have been a strong Franciscan influence in S. Lorenzo for a number of years before the actual transfer in 1291, but the first reference to a confraternity there is so much earlier that it cannot simply be regarded as a Franciscan sub-group. For no apparent reason, the "*fraternitas sancti laurentii*" is mentioned twice in a Will of 1226 <sup>18</sup>, receiving gifts of ten *soldi* and five *soldi* respectively. It is possible that one entry might refer to the monastery of S. Lorenzo in Vineis, but just as likely that the duplicate entry was a simple mistake. In any case, the confraternity of S. Lorenzo is one of the earliest known in Orvieto. It must have grown up around the local church before the Franciscans took over, but continued to operate thereafter. The "*fraternitas sancte Marie de sancto Laurentio*" was a beneficiary in the Will of Bonifacio Dominici, dated 2 April 1251<sup>19</sup>, while the "*fraternitas sancti Laurentii*" is mentioned incidentally in a Will of 1305 <sup>20</sup>.

#### Santa Croce

Similar circumstances apply in the case of the church of Santa Croce and its associated confraternity. The Orvietan church and monastery had, since the twelfth century, been subject to the Benedictine monastery of Santa Croce of Sassovivo in the Foligno diocese, but changes seem to have taken place around the end of the thirteenth century, when the monastery building was demolished to make way for the *Piazza del Popolo*, and the church and its religious community were taken over by the Dominican nuns of S. Pietro<sup>21</sup>. Although the precise date of this amalgamation is not known, the only definite reference to the confraternity of Santa Croce certainly predates it. The word "*confrater*" is first applied to the church of Santa Croce in a document of 1249, where the prior, *dompnus* Ofredus, is described as acting "*una cum confratribus suis...*" in an attempt to settle a dispute over the ownership of four pieces of land in the *contado* <sup>22</sup>. The five 'brothers' in question here are clearly the clergy of the church. Their names are given, and they are all described as "*monachis ipsius ecclesie*". It is not until 1264 that the "*fraternitas sancte Crucis*" is mentioned in the Will of *domina* Dolcedona 'wife of Francesco' <sup>23</sup>, in a way that suggests a



lay confraternity rather than a body of clergy. The influence of the Dominicans would undoubtedly be starting to be felt by this time, but there is no reason to give them the credit for the establishment of this group, which could just as easily have been an offshoot of the clerical 'confraternity' mentioned fifteen years earlier.

#### S. Ambrogio

In contrast, the church of S. Ambrogio was probably a Franciscan satellite from the beginning. A Will of 1251, for example, includes a legacy of twenty *soldi* to the "*fratribus minoribus sancti ambrosii*" <sup>24</sup>. Beyond this, little is known either about the church or about its confraternity, which is mentioned in two of the Wills in the *Liber Donationum*. In 1255 the "*fraternitas sancti Ambrosii*" was left five *soldi* by Pepo, son of the late Leonardo 'Farfectorii' <sup>25</sup>, and in 1263 it was one of three fraternities to benefit from the Will of Bartholomeus Faber, this time by the sum of ten *soldi* <sup>26</sup>. What is of particular interest here is that S. Ambrogio had a lay confraternity at least as early as its Franciscan 'mother' church, whose lay organisations are very sparsely documented before 1313 <sup>27</sup>.

#### S. Pietro

There is only one reference to a "*fraternitas sancti Petri*": a legacy of four *soldi* in the Will of Tebalduccius Manadere, drawn up in 1261<sup>28</sup>. It is hard to tell from this precisely which group the testator had in mind. One of the Cathedral fraternities was dedicated to "*B. Pietro Martire*" <sup>29</sup>, but the church most commonly described as S. Pietro was situated in the parish of S. Egidio, in the Postierla quarter, and attached to a female Dominican convent. In the tax-lists for the *Decima* of 1275 and the *Catasto* of 1292, it is described simply as "*ecclesia sancti Petri*", but by 1350, when it appears twice in the town council records as one of the institutions to receive alms from the commune, it was more closely identified with the community of nuns. It is listed in the *Riformanze* as "*ecclesia et conventus monialium monasterii sancti Petri de Urbeveteri*" and later as "*ecclesia sancti Petri dominarum*" <sup>30</sup>.

If this was the establishment to which Tebalduccio's legacy refers, then it is another example of a confraternity attached to a church which came increasingly under the influence of one of the Mendicant Orders, in this case the Dominicans. There is one further hint that this identification may be the correct one. In her Will, dated 13 January

1232, *domina* Abenante, wife of Gualkerino Martini, left a sum of money to her 'patron', a priest of S. Pietro, and a further sum to be used for the worship of the church:

*In primis pro anima mea iudico .i. sold, de quibus habeat  
presbiter petrus meus appatrinus decem sold, et duodecim sold, et  
ij sold, super altare sancti petri...* (31)

If the church was already a focus of lay devotion at this early stage, a more organised confraternity might well have developed by 1261, when Tebalduccio Manadere's Will was made.

#### S. Angelo di Postierla

Perhaps the best example of a confraternity with very strong local ties is the "*fraternitas sancti Angeli*", first mentioned in a Will of 1258, by which it was to receive five *soldi* on the death of the testator, Fortis Massutii Iamfortis<sup>32</sup>. There was another church by the same name - S. Angelo *sub Ripa* - but S. Angelo di Postierla was the older, and more central of the two, and therefore almost certainly the one to which the fraternity belonged. The other three references are later, but quite unambiguous, and so it can be stated with confidence that there was an active confraternity in the S. Angelo region of the Postierla quarter from the mid-thirteenth century at least until 1363, when the "*fraternitas sancti Angeli de Pusterula*" was allocated ten *soldi* by *domina* Mea in her Will<sup>33</sup>.

More than that, however, the combined testimony of two of the later pieces of evidence provides a valuable insight into the nature of this group and of its relationship with the local church: quite independent of the clergy, it was nonetheless proud to be associated with the church. The local hospital seems to have been under joint patronage of the clergy and the confraternity, because the new rector appointed in 1286 had been nominated jointly by the representatives of these two bodies<sup>34</sup>. The interesting feature of this case is that the procurator of the confraternity was also acting on behalf of the local citizens: "*magister Petrus Nicolai syndicus et procurator fraternitatis et hominum regionis dicte ecclesie*". The fraternity was clearly a lay association, concerned to defend the interests of local lay people against possible clerical intrusion, and yet this did not prevent it taking a pride in contributing to the upkeep of the church. A plaque in what was formerly the main part of the church, and is now the sacristy, commemorates the restoration of the vault financed by the confraternity in 1333:



IN NOMINE DOMINI AMEN, ANNO EIUS (1333) ISTA VOLTA NOVA FACTA  
FUIT S. ANGELI EXPENSIS FRATERNITATIS DICTE ECCLESIE, TEMPORE  
MATTHEI NARDI, NUTII BARBERIIS, MAGII SER UGOLINI, DOMINICI  
NARDI, RECTORUM DICTE FRATERNITATIS, (35)

.....

b) Cathedral Confraternities

In view of the extensive work currently in progress on the Cathedral archives', any conclusions reached here about the various fraternities which met on Cathedral premises are almost certain to be superseded before long. It is too important a subject to leave aside, however, and so long as the interim nature of the discussion is recognised, it may be helpful to investigate the evidence presently available, as a prelude to the fuller studies which will eventually follow.

By the mid-fourteenth century, work on the new Cathedral was well underway, and this imposing monument had become the centre for religious activity of every kind, involving clergy, civic officials and lay people alike. It was a focus of civic pride as well as of devotion, and it is not surprising that men and women from all over the town should have flocked to worship there, to commission works of art for it, to request burial in its vaults, and to join its pious associations, even without the added incentive of the various papal and episcopal Indulgences which it attracted. But the roots of all this popular devotional activity go back very much earlier: earlier even than the foundation of the new building in 1290.

Given its close association with the bishop, it is possible that the 'clerical confraternity', with its lay adherents, may have used the old cathedral church, Santa Maria Prisca (or *Maggiore, Antiqua, or de Episcopatu*) as its meeting-place. If so, it was certainly the earliest confraternity to do so, as it was well established by the end of the thirteenth century<sup>2</sup>, long before any of the other Orvietan fraternities. The earliest documented instance is considerably later, but still predates the demolition of the old cathedral by about thirty years.

B. Pietro 'Martire'

On 17 June 1258, Bishop Giacomo conceded an Indulgence of fifty days to all present and future members...

*... vere penitentibus et confessis... de fraternitate beati Petri  
martiris in ecclesia sancte Marie Urbevetane statuta...* (3)

The bishop's seal, which is still attached to the parchment, includes a

clear representation of what can only be the old cathedral, where this confraternity was constituted, and where, presumably, its meetings were held. The Indulgence has, for the most part, a fairly standard formulation, but two points are of interest: firstly, that clergy as well as laity ("*tam clericis quam laicis*" were eligible to join this group; and, secondly, that the fraternity was regulated by a written constitution, which its members are here encouraged to observe:

*... eius Instituta et Capitula que rationi consonant et opus continent pietatis inviolabiliter observetis...*

The chief difficulty here is determining to which Peter 'Martyr' the title refers: Pietro Parenzo, the Orvietan *podestà* murdered by heretics in 1199, or his more famous namesake, Pietro da Verona, the Dominican Inquisitor assassinated in 1252, and canonised in Perugia the following year. In favour of the first reading, which L. Fumi takes to be the correct one<sup>4</sup>, are Parenzo's local connections, not only with Orvieto but also with the cathedral church, where his relics were kept and where, by the middle of the following century, his feast-day was quite definitely being observed<sup>5</sup>. There is also the fact that, despite local attempts to have him canonised, he never progressed beyond the stage of beatification.

On the other hand, the death of St. Peter Martyr was much more recent, his cult was becoming popular throughout the region, and there is evidence, in the form of a pastoral letter written by Bishop Constantino in 1253 <sup>6</sup>, that it was being promoted in Orvieto itself. In his letter, the bishop offers an Indulgence of one year and forty days to any of the 'faithful', "*tam clericis quam laicis*", who will visit the church of S. Domenico in Orvieto on 3 May, the day of the martyr's birth. The Will of Tebalduccio Manadere, compiled in 1261, includes a legacy of four *soldi* to the "*fraternitas sancti Petri*" <sup>7</sup>, and if this refers to the group named in the 1258 Indulgence, then it might add weight to the argument that the Dominican martyr was its patron, since the title "*sanctus*" rather than "*beatus*" is used. The dates are consistent, and Tebalduccio's personal interest in the old cathedral is confirmed by the fact that he also left five *soldi* to his 'patron', a priest of the church of Santa Maria. However, his legacy could also have been intended for a confraternity attached to the Dominican church and convent of S. Pietro, in the Postierla quarter.

In a sense, it hardly matters which identification is correct. The



fact that an indulgence was issued at this date to a confraternity whose patron (whichever of the two martyrs he was) had been killed by heretics, speaks eloquently of the struggle then in progress against the Cathar movement in Orvieto. This is the one clear instance of an Orvietan confraternity deliberately being promoted in order to enlist the support of pious lay people in the fight against heresy.

#### Santa Maria

Still in the period before 1290, the *Codice di San Costanzo* contains an incidental reference to a "*fraternitas sancte Marie*", which is mentioned in the course of defining the boundaries of property in the S. Costanzo region, in an entry dated 15 April 1274<sup>8</sup>. The obvious inference is that this relates to a second early confraternity associated with the episcopal church of Santa Maria. The geographical location is right, but there is still some measure of doubt. It is not until nearly a century later that the confraternity of Santa Maria Maggiore begins to appear regularly in Orvietan testaments, and the 1274 legacy could apply, for example, to the hospital community of Santa Maria della Stella, or to a Marian group attached to one of the other churches.

#### Raccomandati

One other possibility is that the reference is to a fraternity of *Raccomandati*, that is, people who placed themselves under the special protection of the Virgin<sup>9</sup>. There is known to have been a confraternity of this type in Orvieto, but information about it is singularly elusive. Indeed, the only concrete piece of surviving evidence is a painting of the "*Madonna dei Raccomandati*", of uncertain date, which stands at present in the Chapel of the *Corporale*, and which probably raises more questions than it answers<sup>10</sup>.

Piccolomini-Adami, writing in 1883<sup>11</sup>, speaks of the Company of *Raccomandati* as "*antichissima*", and states that it used to meet in the church of Santa Maria Prisca. He also makes reference to a "*catalogo dei fratelli*", where some of the canons of S. Costanzo are described "in gothic characters", but until this volume is rediscovered, there is no way of checking the accuracy of his statements.

Certainly, there were other companies of *Raccomandati* in central and northern Italy from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and although little is known about the links between them, one fourteenth century account of the foundation of the Roman company suggests a possible Orvietan connection. According to this account<sup>12</sup>,



two canons and twelve 'devout people', worried about the impiety of the age, approached Fra Tommaso, the spiritual vicar of Rome, and were referred by him to Fra Benvenuto of Orvieto, the Franciscan Inquisitor. It was as a result of a vision experienced by the latter that the confraternity of *Raccomandati* was established. Léon Kern<sup>13</sup> dates these encounters to around 1264-67, and if the Orvietan group was established at about the same time, there is just time for it to have met in Santa Maria Prisca before it was demolished to make way for the new Cathedral.

The painting at present in the Chapel of the *Corporale* depicts the Madonna, standing, hands joined in prayer, with her cloak spread out over the members of the confraternity<sup>14</sup>. The cloak is supported by two of the angels in the upper part of the picture, and the people below are in two groups, male and female, kneeling on either side of the Virgin. One male figure stands out in front of the others, and this, presumably, was the rector or chaplain of the confraternity. Although it is of no help now in the matter of identification, there is sufficient individuality in the figures to admit the possibility of their being actual portraits of members of the group. Along the lower edge of the painting is the inscription, "*LIPPUS DE SENA NAT. NOS PINX. AMENA*", and despite some disagreement among art historians, the artist is generally taken to be Lippo Memmi of Siena. Enzo Carli<sup>15</sup>, basing his conclusions on a comparison with work done by the same artist in San Gimignano, suggests that the date of the Orvieto Madonna is unlikely to be earlier than 1317, and possibly not much later. On this basis, the confraternity must have established itself in the new cathedral within a short time of the work reaching a suitable stage.

There is one slightly later reference to an "image of the virgin", situated "*in maiori et cathedrali ecclesia civitatis*". On 15 August 1347<sup>16</sup>, Guido Orsini, rector of the *Popolo*, decreed, "*ad laudem et reverentiam omnipotentis dei et gloriose beate marie virginis matris eius*", that certain named prisoners should be publicly absolved in front of the said image of the virgin, on the Feast of the Assumption, "*que hodie est*". By this time, there would certainly have been more than one "image of the virgin", in a grandiose cathedral constructed in her honour, and this particular image cannot definitely be identified with Lippo's Madonna, any more than with the "*figura Virginis Marie*" which *domina* Bartholomea, widow of Ciecho Oddutii, had commissioned, and in front of which she asked to be buried in her Will of 1374<sup>17</sup>. The



request for burial nearby suggests that the painting was in a fixed spot, such as one of the walls of the cathedral, and not, like the *Madonna dei Raccomandati*, on a moveable, free-standing screen. All the same, Bartholomea must have had contact with one of the cathedral confraternities, since she also makes provision in her Will for ten *soldi* to be given to the fraternity "of the said church".

### Disciplinati

By the second half of the fourteenth century at least one, and possibly two or more companies of *disciplinati* were based in Orvieto Cathedral, but these only just qualify for discussion here, as the earliest reference to any of them is in a Will of 1350, and all the other references are later than this. The long gap in documentation between 1274 and 1350 is only partly explained by the disruption caused by the demolition of the old building and the construction of the new one. It is hard to believe that, in a period of such vitality in popular religion, there was no lay activity at all in the principal church of the town, albeit only partially completed. In all probability lay people did continue to meet there or nearby, but there does seem to have been a significant change in the function of the cathedral confraternities in the course of this undocumented period. Some time before 1350, the early Marian and anti-heretical groups must have either come under the influence of the *disciplinati* or been superseded by them, as is known to have happened elsewhere<sup>10</sup>. Certainly, from this date onwards, "*disciplina*" is the word most commonly used to describe the cathedral societies, though their activities were by no means restricted to the penitential discipline which the term suggests.

The "*disciplina sancti Martini*" was mentioned in both Wills made by an Orvietan merchant, Francischus Marchi Petri Bentivenis. He left it a silver cup worth twenty-five *libre* in his first Will of 1350, and a cup worth six gold florins in his second Will of 1361<sup>11</sup>. The later document states that the cup is to be used "*in servitio corporis christi in dicta loco discipline*", which demonstrates not only that celebration of the eucharist was an important element in this group's activities, but also that it had its own meeting-place in which to worship. It is not until 1404, however, that there is definite evidence to link this fraternity with the Cathedral, and to identify its meeting-place as a chapel underneath the Chapel of the *Corporale*. The *Riformanze* of 22 February 1405 record an agreement between the respective chamberlains

of the *Opera del Duomo* and the '*disciplina*' of S. Martino that the *disciplinati* should make an initial payment to the *Opera* of fifteen pounds of wax, followed by an annual rent of eight pounds of wax...

*... pro eo tempore quod dicti disciplinati detinuerunt domum sive disciplinam positam sub cappella corporali dicte fabrice. (20)*

There may have been some connection between this confraternity and the church of the same name in the Postierla quarter, for Angelino Butti, its chamberlain, came from the S. Martino region, but certainly by 1404 it was using the Cathedral crypt as its meeting-place.

In fact, the records of the *Opera del Duomo* show that the crypt was already being used by a fraternity of *disciplinati* nearly fifty years earlier, in 1357 <sup>21</sup>, but there is some confusion over its name. P. Perali, for no reason that is given, describes it as the confraternity of S. Rocco<sup>22</sup>, while Andrea Lazzarini takes it for granted that it is the fraternity of S. Martino<sup>23</sup>. Such clues as are given about the activities of the group, would tend to suggest an identification with the *disciplinati* of Santa Maria Maggiore, who were requested in 1395 to accompany the body of Iohannes Ser Vanni Leonardi to its burial in the church of S. Francesco<sup>24</sup>. The *disciplinati* who met in 1357 in the "*casa di sotto a la volta de la cappella corporali dicte fabrice*" were also concerned with burial rites. People were able to buy burial-places in the nearby part of the crypt under the main altar, which had just been vacated by the *disciplinati* for this purpose; the walls were covered with "*penture belle e divote di storia di morti*"; and, at least once a week, "*la giù si canti messa e officio di morti sollempnemente*".

The simplest explanation is that all these references are to a single group: 'the *disciplinati* of S. Martino, meeting in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore'. In favour of this interpretation is the fact that people like *domina* Bartholomea, who left ten *soldi* in 1374 to the fraternity "of this church", saw no need to be more specific<sup>25</sup>. Similarly, in 1394, Celle, son of the late Petruccio Cecchantoni of Orvieto, bequeathed a large candle worth one florin to the "confraternity of *disciplinati* of the cathedral", as though there were only one<sup>26</sup>. Two further Wills, of 1360 and 1363, refer simply to the fraternity of 'Santa Maria Maggiore' <sup>27</sup>.

The matter may be resolved when fuller cathedral records are published, but in the meantime there is little elucidation in such physical evidence as remains in the cathedral crypt. Alongside several



fragmentary representations of saints<sup>24</sup>, there is a crucifixion scene flanked by two groups of kneeling figures, who are clearly marked out as penitents by their white, hooded robes. Each group is headed by a much larger figure in episcopal robes. Both the date of the work (February 1380), and the names of the artist (Cola di Petruccioli) and the patron (Savino Vanutii) are given, but this proves no more than what was known already: that the crypt was being used by a group of *disciplinati* in 1380. It does not make the process of identification any easier.

It is only very much later, in the journal of Ser Tommaso di Silvestro in 1508, that the two names of S. Martino and Santa Maria Maggiore are specifically linked, but even this does not resolve the issue. Ser Tommaso had seen a performance of the drama of the Antichrist...

*... quale feciario li frustate de Sancta Maria et de Sancto Martino, per ben che ce cantassaro molti preti de altre discipline...* (29)

Interesting as this may be, it could still refer either to a single confraternity dedicated to both saints, or to a joint dramatic effort by two separate groups: presumably the same group or groups responsible for the performance of one of the '*rappresentazione*' in Codex V.E. 528:

*Come santo Martino partio el mantello suo per l'amor di dio ad uno povaro e come prese l'abito e convertissi a Cristo,* (30),

For the time being, it will have to be left open whether there was one company of cathedral *disciplinati* or more than one, and what links, if any, there were between them and the earlier confraternities dedicated to the Virgin Mary and either Pietro Parenzo or St Peter Martyr. It is possible, however, to be unusually specific about the lifestyle and activities of these *disciplinati*.

In addition to their involvement in burial ceremonies and the performance of sacred drama (both of which will be discussed separately later), regular celebration of the Mass was a central part of their function. This means, among other things, that there must have been at least one priest among their number. According to a cathedral statute of 1357, masses were to be said at least once a week in conjunction with the Office for the dead, and this would almost certainly have been the responsibility of the *disciplinati*, whose crypt was adorned with "beautiful devotional paintings of stories of the dead" <sup>25</sup>.

Celebration of the Mass would also have been a high priority for a cathedral confraternity in view of the eucharistic cult which had grown

up by this time around the cathedral's most sacred relic - the blood-stained altar-cloth, associated in the popular mind with the 'Miracle of Bolsena' (1263), and with the feast of *Corpus Domini*<sup>32</sup>. Precise regulations for the town's annual *Corpus Domini* procession had been set out in 1337, and the following year saw the completion of Ugolino da Vieri's elaborate reliquary, used until recently to carry the altar-cloth in the procession. Work on the frescoes in the Chapel of the Corporale, which, like the mosaics on the reliquary, tell the story of the Miracle, began in 1357, the same year as the regulation regarding the celebration of masses for the dead. It was just at this time that Francesco Marchi made specific provision for this aspect of the confraternity's work, by bequeathing them a silver chalice, to be used "in the service of the body of Christ" in their meeting-place, known now to be the cathedral crypt. More altarware was acquired as time went on, again confirming the centrality of the Mass for this group of *disciplinati*. In 1395, for example, Giovanni *ser Vannis Leonardi* made provision for two lamps to be bought after his death, and given to the confraternity for use during the celebration of the Mass:

*Item reliquit pro quodam voto pro duabus faculis in disciplina  
Sancte Marie Maioris de Urbaveteri conburrendis quando celebratur  
missa in disciplina predicta .i. libram et .cc. solidos  
denariorum cortonenses, (33)*

Many members of the Franciscan confraternity are known to have contributed their labour and artistic skills as work on the new building progressed (see Table 20), and in that case it is a reasonable assumption that the cathedral's own *disciplinati* would have been at least as heavily committed to the *Opera*. A considerable amount of their energies - and their budget - must have gone towards decorating their own sanctuary alone, and many individuals were involved in this sort of patronage.

This much is fairly standard, and a similar pattern of eucharistic celebration, drama and artistic commissioning could be documented for other penitential confraternities, in Orvieto and elsewhere. There are also two rather less usual references in the *Archivio del Duomo* to the "*disciplinati* of Santa Maria", which are of interest for the insight which they give into the day-to-day business of a fourteenth century confraternity. They fall just outwith the relevant period, but deserve nonetheless to be quoted in full:



1361, ...Sia memoria che i disciplinati di s(an)c(t)a Maria si  
à(n)no cierte paia d'ale d'angnili, sicome disse Faccho a mie  
Gianotto, le quaiè so(n)no dell'op(er)a.

1368, a di i di sette(n)bre, Bartolomeio di Tono, sicome  
scie(n)dico di disciplinati di s(an)c(t)a Maria, diede a mie  
Gianotto, sicome camo(r)lengho dell'op(er)a, vii paia d'ale  
d'angnili e quatro angnili; e si apare p(er) mano di s(e)r  
Giova(n)ni di mastro Jacouzzo camo(r)lengho dell'op(er)a; e  
p(er)ciò ca(n)ciellai, e cossi so(n)no nella detta op(er)a, (34)

These little snippets provide fascinating comment on the relationship between a confraternity and the church with which it was associated, in this case Orvieto Cathedral. There seems to have been a dispute over certain relics, which belonged to the Opera, but had initially been in the possession of the confraternity. If dispute it was, it was settled in favour of the Opera, when the syndic of the confraternity, Bartolomeio di Tone, handed over to Gianotto di Meo, chamberlain of the Opera, seven pairs of "angels' feathers". Whatever the spiritual significance of these exotic relics, the question of their ownership and possession was a very practical matter, and as such the concern of the administrative officers of the two institutions concerned.

There may already be more unexpected items of this sort in the process of discovery in the cathedral records. These entries from the "Memorie e Contratti" were found purely by chance, in an article on linguistics, where they were quoted as an illustration of medieval Orvietan dialect<sup>36</sup>. It will be fascinating to see what does emerge from the current research. It may be possible in due course to determine precisely how many lay associations there were in the cathedral, and how and when their function changed. In the meantime, what can be asserted with confidence is that there was a continuing confraternal tradition here, which spanned in time the demolition of the old episcopal church of Santa Maria and the construction of the new cathedral, and in scope the veneration of a martyr, celebration of the Mass, corporate penance, artistic patronage, dramatic performance, and even some trading in sacred relics.

.....

c) Disciplinati and Sacred Drama

It was not only in the Cathedral that the *disciplinati* came to dominate the confraternal scene. By the middle of the fourteenth century, there were at least five churches with associated *discipline*, all of which attracted considerable lay interest in the form of gifts and legacies. The one thing lacking, strangely enough, is any evidence of what might be regarded as the core activity of a penitential fraternity: namely, corporate penance or flagellation. This is not to say that such activity did not take place, but it does suggest that acts of physical bloodletting gave way fairly quickly to charitable activities, and to more stylised forms of penance, such as public processions and the dramatic performances which, by the second half of the fourteenth century, were taking place throughout the liturgical year, with the participation of all the known groups of Orvietan *disciplinati*.

The most comprehensive collection of Orvietan dramatic texts is preserved in Codex V.E. 528 of the National Library in Rome. It has already been the subject of some scholarly investigation, and there is more work currently in progress'. The codex itself was not compiled until 1405, but there is good reason to believe that some, if not all of the plays were being performed by Orvietan confraternities well before this date. One of the earliest items in the codex is an inventory, which, with the first, fragmentary matriculation list, belonged to the fraternity of Santa Maria, a mixed group which met in the Franciscan church from some time before 1261 until 1323 at the latest<sup>2</sup>. No instruments of discipline are listed - no rods or scourges, for example - but the inventory does include three banners ('*confalone*'), and two small, two-volume books of sacred songs ("*duo libricioli duo volume in ne' quali sonno scripture le laude*"). Public processions, accompanied by sacred chant, were obviously being undertaken by laymen and laywomen with Franciscan connections well before 1323, when Janni di Pustierla established his exclusively male fraternity of *disciplinati*.

The dramatic texts in this codex are all in the one hand, having been copied in 1405 by Tramo di Lonardo, one of the *disciplinati* of S. Francesco, on the instructions of his confraternity superiors. However, they are not all of the same type or period. The three earliest texts are not plays at all, but '*laude*', or hymns, designed to be sung by one or more of the "devout", without the long cast-lists and complicated



technical effects of some of the later plays.

The penitential motif, which, like the form of these chants, marks them out as earlier than the other thirty-four texts in the collection<sup>3</sup>, is not quite so pronounced in the first of the three examples. This is a set of 'laude' to be sung on 1 January, by three soloists and chorus, in the sombre style known as "*passionale*" <sup>4</sup>. It tells the story of the circumcision of the baby Jesus at the age of eight days, and goes on to denounce the false beliefs of "Saracens, pagans and Jews", before exhorting the audience to pray to Jesus, their one hope of salvation, for constancy in the faith.

The second set of lyrical chants is designated for use at Carnival time, just before Lent, perhaps with the traditional excesses of that season in mind. It is entitled, "How the seven deadly sins lead to repentance", and consists of a prayer of confession, the last seven stanzas of which are put into the mouths of the personified characters of the seven deadly sins<sup>5</sup>.

It is the last, and simplest of the three 'laude' which illustrates most clearly the penitential emphasis of the early *disciplinati*<sup>6</sup>. There are no clever production techniques here. The verses are sung by two "divoti" throughout, "*al canto passionale*". Even the date of performance - the first day of Lent - confirms the primitive origins of these verses, for Lent was the prime season for penitential activity. The two soloists begin by addressing their 'brothers', and exhorting them to instant repentance, since 'now' is the day of salvation. The second stanza gives a very brief account of Christ's temptation in the desert, but the poem quickly returns to its original note of pious exhortation. Following Christ's teaching and example, the brothers are encouraged to maintain their chastity, and to live in sobriety. Fasting and abstinence are suggested as a means of atoning for their sins, and they are to avoid temptation in future by renouncing their 'carnal desires':

*Prendiamo penitenza  
di tutti li nostri peccata dette  
con diiuni et astinenza,  
lassando i carnal dilecti;  
contra de la temptatione  
ciascum sie forte campione,*

In the next four stanzas, the listener is reminded of the brevity of life, the suddenness and unexpectedness with which death can strike, and the necessity therefore to engage constantly in a life of 'infinite

discipline' and prayer. This leads into an imprecation against those who ignore such warnings and refuse to believe in God: "*guai a quel ch'en Die non crede!*" The theme of judgement occupies the next two stanzas, and there follows a further call to repentance:

*Torniamo a penitença,  
ecco el tempo da pentere,  
temiamo la sentenza  
del Signor che da' venire,  
che verrà con tanto fervore,  
ca llà pposta l farà tremore,*

These early chants are of far more than just literary interest, providing, as they do, some valuable insights into the priorities and spiritual concerns of the *disciplinati*. Celibacy, fasting and abstinence were distinguishing features of the "devout", just as they had marked out the loyal Cathar some years earlier. Preoccupation with death and judgement is another feature of these verses, and although precise dating is impossible, they show that it did not take the Black Death to make people aware of their mortality:

*Ciascum pensi de la morte  
com'ella si ci va girando,  
ella vien subita e forte,  
non sapem dove, né quando;  
non ci conosco altro partito  
so non di star con Dio unito,*

Verses such as these were almost certainly being chanted in the streets of Orvieto many years before the disaster of 1348, which was to prove their veracity in such a dreadful way. On the other hand, although death is never far from the mind of the hymn-writer, and the penalties of unbelief are spelt out in no uncertain terms, the tone of the hymn is by no means entirely negative. The Judge who will unflinchingly send the impenitent to the fires of hell, paying no heed to the entreaties of friends or relatives on his behalf, is at the same time capable of great tenderness towards the person who takes heed of the warning and turns to him for mercy. To all such, he will turn and say, "Come to me, my dear sons" ("*venite meco, figliuol miey*"). Woe betide those who reject the offer of mercy, but the offer is open to all, and the help of Christ and his spirit is available, furthermore, to the believer to enable him to stand firm. The closing lines of the hymn hint at the spirit of devotion which must have encouraged laymen to become part of the confraternal community:



*Or preghiam devotamente  
Giesu Cristo glorioso  
che ne 'nfiamme core e mente,  
del suo spiritu amoroso,  
che ne die ferma costanza  
di mantener suo amistanza,*

These three devotional hymns are quite different from the other thirty-four texts in the collection. Not only are they distinctive in style and content, but they are specifically named as '*laude*', rather than '*ripresentationi*'. It would have been pleasing to have been able to demonstrate that even one of the three had been copied from the earlier volumes of '*laude*', listed in the inventory of the 'fraternity of Santa Maria'. This would have placed them quite definitely in the period prior to 1323, but the fact that the same word is used in both cases is suggestive in itself. The three hymns are undoubtedly earlier than any of the other texts, but the process of textual criticism can be taken a stage further, and applied to the '*rappresentazioni*' as well. There is no need to replicate the work already done in this specialised area<sup>7</sup>, but the important fact is that some of the plays are clearly earlier than others. If Lazzarini is right, for example, when he suggests that the story of the Miracle of Bolsena was already being presented in dramatic form around 1325-30<sup>8</sup>, then not only this play, but also the others in similar style, and most certainly the three earlier '*laude*' can legitimately be used in the study of pre-plague piety.

The key entries as far as dating is concerned are the two parallel versions of the play for 8 December, the Conception of the Virgin Mary<sup>9</sup>. The first of these is to be performed "in the old style" ("*al modo antiquo*"); while the second is described as "this new play" ("*questa ripresentatione nuova*"). Comparison of the two makes it possible to identify other plays written in the "new style", which seems to involve juxtaposition of the two earlier musical forms: "*passionale*", which was more solemn in style, and "*pasquale*", which was lighter, and more joyful. The 'new style' can be dated fairly precisely, to the mid-1370's, which has the useful, if negative effect of eliminating nine texts from the present enquiry. The author of some or all of these plays was a prior of the church of Santa Cristina in Bolsena, almost certainly the musically-gifted Buccio or Barnabucciodi Ceccho, who was admitted to the Franciscan confraternity in 1374<sup>10</sup>. It is likely, furthermore, that the Nativity scenes painted by Ugolino di Prete Ilario on the walls of the

apse of the cathedral between 1370 and 1380, were based on the stage-set of the Creation play, one of the 'new style' dramas, and investigation is currently in progress into the links between cathedral art and others of the later *rappresentazioni*<sup>1</sup>. The consensus so far seems to be that the frescoes and sculptures were inspired by the plays, rather than *vice versa*. If so, they could be a valuable source of information about sets and production techniques at a fixed point in time, albeit slightly later than 1350.

Leaving aside the three *laude* and the nine plays written in the new, 'polyphonic' style, the five earliest of the remaining twenty-five texts can be identified as Perugian in origin. They are all based on New Testament narratives: the Annunciation (25 March); the Christmas story (25 December); the Temptation of Christ (Lent I); the Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem (Lent VI); and the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost<sup>2</sup>. As time went on, and the Orvietan theatrical tradition developed in its own right, a more local emphasis can be detected. The Bolsena play, for example, is of Orvietan provenance, as are the group of plays at the end of the codex, which tell stories from the lives of local saints.

All of these, indeed the majority of the plays, are in the older 'paschal' style, which suggests that Orvietan theatre was already well established by the middle of the fourteenth century. It is impossible to give more than a broad outline of its development over the years; but the general pattern is fairly clear. Pilgrimage and penitential processions were not unknown before 1260, but that year saw the start of the flagellant movement, in which religious theatre had its origins. The first Orvietan *discipline* were probably established then, or very shortly afterwards, and were soon engaged in the singing of lauds, in the solemn style known as '*passionale*', to accompany their public processions and acts of corporate penance. Under Perugian influence, these hymns were supplemented by dramatic dialogues and plays, at first only in the lighter 'paschal' style. These were probably being performed in Orvieto by the mid-1320's, and had already by then taken on distinctive local characteristics.

Some time later, probably in the 1370's, several new plays were written, using a combination of both literary styles, and demanding much more ingenuity in the way of scenery and technical effects<sup>3</sup>. Heaven and earth were represented, for example, by different levels of staging,



and mechanical devices may have been used to enhance the dramatic impact of the angels and angel choirs which also figured prominently in these productions. By 1405, when Tramo's playbook was commissioned by his Franciscan colleagues, performances of every kind were being held in Orvieto throughout the Christian year<sup>14</sup>, but there may already have been some murmurings of disquiet on the part of the religious authorities at the way in which these spectacles were getting out of hand. When the cathedral Statutes were compiled in 1421 <sup>15</sup>, only sixteen years later, they included a universal ban on all productions by any group of *disciplinati* or "*Fustigati*" whatsoever:

*... duximus statuendum, quod nulli disciplinati sive fustigati alicuius Discipline de ipsa Civitate quocumque nomine nuncupentur, audeant vel presumant de cetero aliquas eorum Representationes sive Devotiones nuncupatas, que verius sunt derisiones, de quibuslibet actis et gestis Domini nostri Ihesu Christi filii Dei sive Matris eius gloriose Virginis Marie, aut aliquorum eius Sanctorum sive de aliquo miraculo intervenio alicuius sacramenti et rei sacre, vel de ipso filio Dei et eius Matris Virginis Marie, sive de aliquo sancto, in dicta maiori ecclesia Urbebetana vel in aliqua parte ipsius Ecclesie, videlicet in toto et per totum pavementum, ordinare vel facere quoquo modo, sive aliquo tempore, aut in aliqua forma, ad penam centum solidorum denariorum...*

The compilers of the Statutes acknowledged that the original aims of the theatrical *disciplinati* had been entirely laudable, but complained that the situation had now been totally reversed:

*Fustigatorum sive Disciplinatorum actus et mores, qui ab initio fuerant ad Dei et Sanctorum eius laudem et honorem, hodie ad mundi laudes et vanitates totaliter fiunt,*

What seems to have given them particular cause for concern was the disrespectful way in which the actors chose to portray members of the clergy:

*... precipue in vestibus sacris et Deo dicatis indumentis, que clericis et sacerdotibus in divinis tantum officiiis sunt concessa, quibus dicti Disciplinati in huiusmodi eorum actibus utuntur eaque manibus immundis pollunt et abusive profanant, ut autem pastoribus et prelatibus, que tam detestanda consentiunt et fieri permittunt, non sine gravi iniuria et offensa Salvatoris et eius Ecclesie sancte et totius Cleri,*

And so, the *disciplinati* were forbidden to perform in the cathedral or its precincts. This ban did not bring an end to the theatrical tradition in Orvieto, for Ser Tommaso di Silvestro gives detailed accounts in his Diary of the performances at which he was present almost a century later<sup>16</sup>. By this time, much had changed, however, and the original



*disciplinati*, sober-minded penitents as they appear from the texts which they left behind, would have found little that was familiar in the elaborate, light-hearted spectacles provided for the entertainment of Ser Tommaso and his contemporaries.

The changes which took place in the dramatic tradition of Orvieto were lasting and significant ones, but it would be wrong to leave the impression that each new stage wiped out all traces of the one before, just as it would be misleading to suggest that neat boundaries can be drawn between one stage and the next. The very diversity of the texts in Codex V.E. 528, which makes it possible to trace the growth and development of the genre, also proves that the old hymns and the new plays were being performed side by side as late as the fifteenth century. Nor had the early practice of penitential procession been superseded by the new style of dramatic performance. Thus in September 1349, when the town was shaken by a great earthquake, barely a year after the plague had abated, the townspeople in desperation held daily processions for at least the six days that the tremors continued:

... *Et ogni di si facevano processioni et discipline...* (17)

And fifty years later, there was no shortage of Orvietan recruits for the *Bianchi* procession which reached the town on 6 September 1399, even if the chronicler was slightly overstating his case when he said that "all Orvietans, men and women" put on the white habit to go to Rome in that year<sup>18</sup>.

It is also important to remember that the *disciplinati* engaged in many activities other than the public processions and dramatic performances for which they are chiefly remembered. They held regular, private services of worship, including celebration of the mass, and their charitable activities included the provision of hospital care for the poor, and spiritual services for the dead and bereaved. Their administrative burden was such that many had their own secretarial staff, with official seals to authenticate the documents which they produced<sup>19</sup>. Some of these wider activities will be discussed in more detail later, but it is important to retain a sense of the overall picture while individual components are under examination.

Far more than the earlier, regional confraternities, the individual groups of *disciplinati* saw themselves as part of a larger movement, affecting the whole of the town, and indeed beyond. To give just one example of the wider context in which the local fraternities were



operating, the Dominican fraternity of the Virgin in Perugia in 1337 held a number of indulgences issued by bishops from other areas. One of these was a forty-day indulgence, granted by Bishop Tramo Monaldeschi of Orvieto (1328-45) to any of the confraternity who were prepared to attend mass in the Dominican church, to give alms to sick paupers, to pray regularly for the well-being of christendom, the Pope and the city of Perugia, and who could remember, finally, to greet each other with the words, "Blessed be our Lord Jesus Christ and his Mother!"<sup>20</sup>.

The same sense of belonging to a wider community than just a single confraternity applied within Orvieto as well. The collection of plays may have been the property of the Franciscan *disciplina*, but its purpose was to co-ordinate the dramatic activities of all the different theatrical groups. As far as location is concerned, the performances were probably held more frequently in the cathedral than anywhere else, and although only one company other than the Franciscans is specifically named in the codex, there can be little doubt that each of the hagiographical plays at the end of the collection was designed to be performed by those '*divoti*' whose patron was the saint in question.

#### S. Giovenale

The fraternity of S. Giovenale is the only one to which a particular play is assigned. Its members had the distinction of performing the first play in the cycle, the new-style drama of Creation:

*Questa rappresentazione si fa come Dio padre fece el mondo, el  
cielo e la terra, a fasi per quelli di Santo Iovenale,*

This was probably staged during Advent, in the vicinity of the related sculptures on the cathedral façade<sup>21</sup>. The Creation play must have been composed later than 1350, but the final play, which tells how San Giovenale came to be appointed bishop of Narni, and which was almost certainly performed by the same company, is in the 'paschal' style, and therefore earlier<sup>22</sup>. The fraternity must, in fact, have been founded many years before either of the plays was composed: probably in the earliest years of the flagellant movement. It was certainly in existence by 1263, when Bartholomeus Faber included in his Will a legacy of five *soldi* to the "*fraternitas ecclesie sancti Jovenalis*". The church itself, one of the two titular churches of the quarter of SS. Giovanni & Giovenale, was one of the oldest in the town, and had belonged since the twelfth century to the Williamite brothers<sup>23</sup>.

### S. Giovanni

There is much more detailed evidence relating to the fraternity of *disciplinati* attached to the neighbouring church of S. Giovanni de Platea, which was probably responsible for the play performed annually on 27 December:

*Come santo Iovanni evangelista andò in cielo in anima e in corpo,*

If not then, they were certainly involved later in dramatic productions, for Ser Tommaso di Silvestro records that the "*frustato overo disciplinati de Sancto Giuhanni*" were able to raise no fewer than sixteen actors and a chorus of about twenty-five singers for their presentation of the 'devotion' for the feast of St Gregory Martyr on Pentecost Tuesday, 1508 <sup>24</sup>.

The church of S. Giovanni, known usually as '*de Platea*' but sometimes also as '*Evangelista*', was an ancient and influential institution, rededicated by Innocent III in 1216. It had its own Chapter, and was for many years the repository of the official civic archives<sup>25</sup>. Its fraternity, like that of S. Giovenale, is first mentioned in the Will of Bartholomeus Faber, drawn up in 1263<sup>25</sup>. There is then a long gap in the sources, followed by a proliferation of legacies from 1329 onwards. In March of that year, *domina* Chaterina, of the Monaldeschi family, drew up her Will, which included legacies to three local confraternities. She left ten *soldi* each to the fraternities of S. Francesco and S. Domenico, and only five *soldi* to the "*fraternitas sancti Johannis*", but she had already given five *libre* for the fabric of the church, with a request that she be buried there<sup>26</sup>. Another woman, *domina* Madalena, left twenty *soldi* each to the fraternities of S. Giovanni, S. Agostino and Santa Maria Maggiore in her Will of 10 November 1360 <sup>27</sup>. The group was still in existence by 1374, when it was allocated a further twenty *soldi* in the Will of Ceccharellus Ture, *vascellarius*, who also wished to be buried in the church<sup>28</sup>. Unlike the earlier benefactors, he was quite specific that the fraternity consisted of '*disciplinati*'.

By far the most informative entry concerns the execution in 1349 of the Will of *domina* Agnes, who was connected by marriage to the prominent Della Greca family<sup>29</sup>. Certain houses in the Sancta Pace region had been bequeathed by her to the "fraternity of *disciplinati* of the church of S. Giovanni di Platea, and the hospital of the said fraternity". Following her death, her brother, Cecchino, as executor of the Will, handed over the property to Marchecto Mancini, "syndic and



procurator" for the men of the fraternity, with the stipulation that it be used to further the work of the hospital among "paupers and pilgrims". The hospital was obviously well established by this time, and its oversight must have been an important part of the confraternity's work, but nothing would have been known about it at all were it not for the chance survival of this single document.

#### S. Agostino

The *disciplinati* of S. Agostino also had their own hospital, to which a new rector, Pietro Stephani Vannis, was appointed in 1377 <sup>30</sup>. Although this reference is so late, the hospital must already have been in existence for a number of years, as Pietro's late father had held the post of rector before him. The confraternity was certainly founded earlier than 1350, though a precise date cannot be given for the Will of Ugolino Lupicini, which includes the handsome legacy of ten *libre* to the "*fraternitas sancti Augustini de Urbeveteri*" <sup>31</sup>. Slightly later, in 1360, the same fraternity was one of three to receive twenty *soldi* in *domina Madalena's Will* <sup>32</sup>. In view of the popularity of this group in the middle years of the fourteenth century, when most of the plays in the Franciscan collection were being written, it is unlikely to be coincidental that the cycle includes a dramatic piece for the feast-day of St. Augustine, on 28 August:

*Questa ripresentatione si fa come santo Agustino si fe'  
cristiano, Et come fu facto vescovo di Pavia...* (33)

#### S. Angelo di Postierla

There is only one of the hagiographical texts which cannot readily be assigned to one of the known *discipline*. This is the representation for 8 May:

*Come Cristo concedete all'angilo Michaela la sua casa nel monte  
Gargano,* (34)

A solution to the problem may lie in the fact that the 'angel' who gave its title to the church of S. Angelo, in the Postierla quarter of the town, was none other than the archangel Michael himself. This church had a lively confraternity, which predated the flagellant movement by two years at least, and which was still active well into the fourteenth century. Furthermore, although it is never explicitly called a '*disciplina*', it was, like several of the other *discipline*, involved in the administration of a local hospital. These snippets of information can hardly be regarded as proof that the *confratelli* of S. Angelo were

flagellants, or that they were in any way involved in the performance of sacred drama. It is no more than a possibility to be considered, but it is at least that.

#### S. Domenico

With the possible exception of the cathedral *disciplinati*, the two most prominent flagellant confraternities were those associated with the principal Mendicant Orders, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, but there is an added complication in both these cases, in that there seems to have been a separate Third Order as well as the fraternity of *disciplinati*, and it is not always possible in the sources to distinguish between the two.

With regard to the Dominican community, Andrea Lazzarini assumes, in fact, that there was only one lay association: "*il sodalizio teatrante del Terz'Ordine Domenicano*" <sup>35</sup>. His thesis is not readily disproved, and indeed the boundaries between the different groups, and the different activities of lay people with Dominican connections, may not have been as clearly defined as the historian would like. However, it is hard to imagine someone like B. Vanna (1264-1306), the only tertiary whose lifestyle is documented in any detail, being keen to take part in public spectacles such as the play for 4 August, which was almost certainly performed by the Dominican *disciplinati*:

*Questa ripresentatione si fa ne la festa di santo Domenico a .V.  
di d'agosto, . Come converti i Patarini co' la sperienza del libro  
che pose nel fuoco.* (36)

Apart from anything else, Vanna belonged to a celibate, female community, and most of the the parts in the play were for men. There could, of course, have been another house for male tertiaries with thespian inclinations, but the real barrier to accepting the idea of a single group is not a matter of practicalities, but of a more fundamental difference in orientation. Everything that is said in her *Leggenda*<sup>37</sup> about the life of the community to which Vanna belonged suggests that these women would have shunned the public eye. They lived together in the one house, and although her sisters may not have matched Vanna in virtue or devotional fervour, their chief concern seems to have been for their own spiritual growth.

Furthermore, if the Dominican *disciplinati* followed the pattern set by their Franciscan brothers, it is likely that, by the mid-fourteenth century at least, only men would have been admitted to full membership.



There is nothing to suggest that women took part in any of the public dramatic performances in Orvieto, and several indications to the contrary, and yet there was still at least one house of female tertiaries in the town in the late 1370's, when B. Daniela of Orvieto, a Dominican tertiary, was in correspondence with St Catherine of Siena<sup>33</sup>.

If only G. della Valle had given a more detailed description of the documents which he found in the Dominican archive in 1791 <sup>34</sup>, or, better still if the documents themselves had survived, the matter might have been resolved. However there is now no trace of the thirty-four page codex which, according to della Valle, contained a copy of the confirmation of the "*status et ordinis fratrum et sororum de penitentia sancti Dominici*", together with a Bull of confirmation, a list of twenty-two Statutes, and an appendix of privileges conceded to the Order. All it has been possible to find so far is a letter from the Dominican Master General, Fra Munio di Zamora, dated 7 December 1286, to the "*providis et honestis confratribus et confratressis in honorem beate Virginis et beati Dominici in Urbeveteri congregatis*" <sup>40</sup>.

This highly significant document could, just conceivably, be another copy of the confirmation to which della Valle refers, but this is by no means certain. The reference to "*confratres*" and "*confratresses*" seems at first to suggest a lay confraternity, but the letter goes on to describe a way of life more consistent with a Third Order. The 'brothers and sisters' are to be granted full participation in the privileges, and responsibilities, of the Dominican Order:

... *omnium missarum, orationum, predicationum, ieiunorum, abstinentiarum, vigiliarum, laborum, que per fratres ordinis nostri Dominus per mundum fieri dederit universum, participationem concedo tenore presentium specialem,*

After their death, provided due notification is given, they are promised that prayers and masses will be said for them in the Chapter General, in exactly the same way as for Dominican friars who have died ("*sicut pro fratribus nostris defunctis fieri consuevit*"). Privileges of this sort are much more likely to have been granted to a small community of full-time tertiaries than to a large, amorphous band of *disciplinati*. On the other hand, it may be a fruitless endeavour to try to draw clear-cut distinctions where none existed.

What is clear is that a lay confraternity of some sort was established in Orvieto, under the auspices of the Dominican Order, some years before 1260, when the flagellant movement brought its own



particular stamp to lay piety in the region. By 1260, the Dominican fraternity had already been promised a number of legacies: twenty *soldi* in a Will of 1256, two separate legacies of forty *soldi* in 1258, and a part share of the forty *soldi* to be spent for the good of the testator's soul in Pietro Cruki's Will of 1259 <sup>41</sup>.

Less is known about the Dominican than about the Franciscan fraternity, but the existence of Codex V.E. 528 gives prominence to the latter group, without necessarily proving that it was larger, or more important than the former. The fraternity of S. Domenico received a great many legacies in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: seven of these prior to 1350, and it is mentioned no fewer than thirteen times in a single volume of the notarial archive, dated 1362-3 <sup>42</sup>. This cluster of entries illustrates once again the hazards of historical research, as it is impossible to know whether they represent a genuine surge in the group's popularity, whether other volumes, if they had survived, would reveal a similar concentration of entries, or whether this particular notary, Teio di Matteo di Guidone, just happened to have a personal interest in the affairs of this particular confraternity.

In late fourteenth century documents, it is quite common for the Dominican fraternity to be described as '*disciplina*', but it is not clear how soon it had come under the influence of the flagellants. In the earliest Wills, prior to 1260, it is identified as "*fraternitas sancti dominici*", "*fraternitas ecclesie sancti dominici*" or "*fraternitas sanctemarie de sancto domenico*". The word '*disciplina*' was not used until 1350, when Narduccio di Ser Sensi not only left half of the residue of his estate each to the *disciplinati* of S. Francesco and S. Domenico, but also appointed their rectors as joint executors of his Will<sup>43</sup>.

The change in title may not, in fact, be all that significant, as it was by no means uncommon for several different titles to be applied to a single group. Indeed, as time went on, and the penitential fervour of the original *disciplinati* gave way to more moderate forms of religious expression, the word '*disciplina*' seems to have become little more than another synonym for 'confraternity'. There is unlikely to have been a specific point at which the Dominican group 'became' a *disciplina*, as opposed to some other sort of confraternity, and even if there was such a turning-point, it is likely to have come earlier than 1350. The watershed, if there was one, must have been some time after 1260, but



probably before 1319, when the first of a new series of legacies is recorded in the *Archivio Notarile*. The word '*disciplina*' was not used by either of the two women who remembered the confraternity in their Wills of 1319 and 1329, nor, for that matter, by Ugolino Lupicini, whose Will was drawn up at approximately the same time. *Domina* Angela Magalotti left twenty *soldi* to the "*fraternitas ecclesie sancti Dominici*" in 1319; while *domina* Chaterina, ten years later, assigned her legacy of ten *soldi* to the "*fraternitas sancti Dominici*" <sup>44</sup>. Ugolino Lupicini also described the group as "*fraternitas ecclesie sancti Dominici*", when he assigned it a legacy of fifteen *libre* <sup>45</sup>. Nonetheless, the flagellant tradition was so well established in Orvieto by then, that the Dominican confraternity would certainly have been part of it.

Some further information about the life and organisation of this association is to be gained from the cluster of references in the 1362/3 volume of the notarial archive, which is not so far beyond the relevant period as to be excluded from the discussion. It emerges from these entries that the *disciplinati* already had one house by 9 October 1362, when they were granted permission by their Dominican superiors to build another nearby <sup>46</sup>. A third house in the *Valle Piatta* region was added to their property holdings in 1363, while a gift of twenty *soldi* in the same year to the "*fabbrica discipline*" also points to an active building programme <sup>47</sup>. At least one of these properties must have been used for worship, as the *disciplinati* also received, in the course of the year 1363, three separate gifts of candles, plus a legacy of four florins for the purchase of a missal <sup>48</sup>. One of the donors, *domina* Viatrice Peponis, was particularly concerned that her gift be used only in the celebration of the Mass:

*Item reliquit et legavit in domo discipline sancti dominici de Urbeveteri unum cereum cere valoris unius floreni de auro in servitio corporis christi et non ad alium usum.*

The five remaining entries in this register are all straightforward legacies, of ten *soldi* each <sup>49</sup>, but one occurs in the Will of the notary himself, Teo di Matteo Guidoni. This strengthens the impression that his interest in this confraternity may have been a personal one: in other words, that he may well have been a member of it. The main problem in dealing with this wealth of material is that it is impossible to tell whether it represents a genuine upsurge in the popularity of the Dominican *disciplina*, or whether the picture is seriously distorted by

the chance survival of a large body of documentation for one particular period and one particular lay association.

### S. Francesco

Codex V.E. 528 ensures that more information is available about the Franciscan confraternities than about any of the other Orvietan lay associations, but this does not mean that it is entirely either clear how many groups there were, or how they were related. It seems likely that there were at least two lay confraternities, in addition to a Third Order, but opinion is divided as to whether one group took over from the other, or whether they continued to exist side by side.

There are two distinct bodies of material in Codex V.E. 528: in the first place, a fragmentary matriculation list, dated 1313, and an undated inventory; and, secondly, the large collection of dramatic texts, which was compiled in 1405, and a matriculation and a necrology list beginning in 1337 and 1324 respectively.

The first two items clearly belong together, and can be attributed to a mixed confraternity, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and whose activities included the singing of lauds. Only the names of men are included in the small fragment of the *matricola* which survives, but the superscription leaves no doubt that women also belonged to the group:

*Infrascripti sunt homines et mulieres de fraternitate sancte  
Marie virgine que est in ecclesia fratrum minorum de ordine  
sancti Francisci de civitate Urbavetana...* (50)

Although written in Italian, the superscription of the inventory is so similar that the two documents can only have belonged to the same body:

*Queste sonno le cose della fraternita di sancta Maria la quale  
stane in nela ecclesie di santo Francescu de l'ordine de'frati  
Minorum in nella città d'Orvietu...* (51)

The Inventory is undated, and it has not been possible so far to identify the five men who were in office when it was compiled. Nonetheless, the presence of three papal and episcopal privileges among the items listed goes a long way towards dating both the Inventory and the confraternity whose possessions it records<sup>52</sup>. The Inventory must have been compiled later than 1302, when Guido Farnese became bishop of Orvieto, but the fraternity must have been in existence before 1261, when Pope Alexander IV died. There is thus strong reason to believe that the confraternity was one of those founded around 1260, in the wave of flagellant enthusiasm which spread throughout the region in



that year<sup>53</sup>. This tallies well with what can be gleaned about the activities of the group from other items listed on the Inventory. The three banners, two holders ('Capagna') for carrying candles, and two books of lauds all speak of public processions of the type associated with groups of *disciplinati* and *laudesi*.

It is equally clear that the remaining material in Codex V.E. 528 should be treated as a single unit<sup>54</sup>, and that it belonged to a different confraternity from the one described above. This second group was exclusively male, and its foundation can be dated to a precise day, 1 October 1323:

*... Questi sonno luomini de la fraternita e disciplina del biato  
sancto francesco... La quale fraternita fu començata per frate  
Ianni di pustierla patre spirituale nel M° CCC° XXIIJ di primo  
doctobre... (55)*

The new fraternity was still in the flagellant tradition, but like most societies of *disciplinati* by this time, its penitential processions had largely given way to more formal theatrical performances.

Thus far, there is no serious disagreement among scholars. The work of Andrea Lazzarini, in particular, has successfully corrected the false assumption of earlier writers that all the material in Codex V.E. 528 belonged to a single confraternity, thus attributing to the earlier society "the entire history of the second one, right up to 1480" <sup>56</sup>. It is now generally accepted that there were two confraternities, separated by an important turning-point of some sort in the year 1323. Where opinion differs is as to the nature of the change which took place in that year.

Lazzarini argues for the continuous parallel existence of two Franciscan confraternities throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, apparently basing his case on Ser Tommaso's account of dramatic performances which he had seen in 1508, acted by, among others, the *disciplinati* of S. Francesco and Santa Maria<sup>57</sup>.

Lazzarini's argument depends far too heavily on names, however. Both he and de Bartholomæis refer to the fraternity of Santa Maria, and the fraternity of S. Francesco, as though these two titles were used consistently and with no possibility of confusion<sup>58</sup>. In reality, this was far from the case. Devotion to the Virgin was common to all confraternities at this time, and her name was often mentioned alongside the titular saint of the church to which the group was attached. In the case of the two Franciscan societies in Orvieto, similar designations



were used before and after the crucial date of 1323, and there is strong evidence that both groups looked to S. Francesco and to Santa Maria, as well as to other Franciscan saints, for blessing and protection. The 1313 *Matricola* was dedicated not only "to the honour and praise of the glorious virgin Mary", but also "to the honour of the holy confessors, the blessed Francesco and Ambrogio". The 1398 necrology and the collection of dramatic texts, meanwhile, begin with an ascription of praise not only to S. Francesco, but also to Christ, the Virgin Mary, S. Louis, and the entire heavenly court:

*Benedecto e lodato sia el nome del nostro signore gieso christo  
crucifissu e de la sua benedecta madre vergene maria, E del  
biato misser sancto francesco e sancto Iodovico con tucta la  
corte del sancto paradiso,*

An even stronger objection to the theory that the old Franciscan fraternity of *laudesi* continued to exist alongside the new theatrical company is the fact that no-one, either before or after 1324, seems to have felt it necessary to distinguish between the two. In the case of legacies, it would have been particularly important, if there was more than one group, to make sure that the money was paid to the correct one, and yet none of the six people who left money to a Franciscan confraternity between 1291 and 1394 gave any assistance to their executors in this respect. It might have been reasonable, before 1323, to refer simply to the "fraternity of (the church of) S. Francesco" (as did Rainerius Rainerii Lodigerii in a donation of 1291 and *domina* Angela Magalocci in her Will of 1319<sup>59</sup>), even if the name of Santa Maria, the supposed patron of the earlier group, was omitted. After this date, however, if Lazzarini's theory is correct, and both groups were still active, then this sort of title would have been far too imprecise. Nonetheless, the same designation was used by *domina* Chaterina when she left ten *soldi* to the "*fraternitas sancti Francisci*" in her Will of 1329<sup>60</sup>, and again by Ugolini Lupicini, who seems to have had no fear that his substantial legacy of fifteen *Lire* to the "*fraternitas ecclesie sancti Francisci*" would not reach its destination<sup>61</sup>. Likewise, Narduccio Ser Sensi referred simply to the '*disciplina*' of S. Francesco, when he provided in 1350 for his assets to be divided between it and its Dominican equivalent<sup>62</sup>, and the title used by Bartolomeo Giovanni Totti some time before 1394 - "*fraternitas disciplinatorum ecclesie sancti Francisci de Urbeveteri*" - is longer, but no more specific<sup>63</sup>.

Lazzarini's most obvious error, finally, is to assume that the



"frustate de Sancta Maria" encountered by Ser Tommaso in 1508 was associated in any way with the Church of S. Francesco. Not only did the spectacle in question, "*la representatione del Nante Christo*", take place in the Cathedral rather than in front of S. Francesco<sup>64</sup>, but it was a joint performance with the *frustati* of S. Martino, whose meeting-place was the Cathedral crypt<sup>65</sup>. By far the most natural interpretation is that the play of the Antichrist was performed in 1508 by the Cathedral confraternity of Santa Maria Maggiore<sup>66</sup>.

Even if Lazzarini had been correct in ascribing this performance to the early Franciscan confraternity, it would have required a very large intuitive leap to assume that this group had had an unbroken existence since the last reference to it in 1313, or possibly 1319. There is, in fact, no real evidence for the continued existence of the mixed fraternity of *laudesi* dedicated to the Virgin after 1323, when the new *disciplina* was founded<sup>67</sup>. It would, in any case, have been superfluous for a single convent to have two lay societies with very similar functions - the chanting of lauds, and the performance of sacred drama.

Ironically, Lazzarini was probably closer to the mark in his short article published in the *Enciclopedia Cattolica* in 1952, than in his scholarly study written more than twenty years later. In the article for the encyclopedia, he remarked simply that the fraternity of *laudesi*, which was formed around 1260, "adapted in 1323 to become a fraternity of theatrical *disciplinati*, in competition with many similar societies"<sup>68</sup>. Despite the questions which it leaves unanswered, this is probably as near as it is possible to get to the truth of what happened in 1323.

On this basis, the history of Franciscan lay associations in Orvieto may be reconstructed roughly as follows. A mixed fraternity of *laudesi* was established some time between 1240, when the Franciscan convent was founded, and 1261, when Alexander IV died. It was granted 'privileges' by that pope, and also by two local bishops, Francesco (1295-1302) and Guido (1302-28). There is no documentary evidence to associate the group's foundation with the penitent movement of 1260, but this has to be retained as a real possibility. Membership in 1313 was substantial, including men and women drawn from all four quarters of the town. As early as 1291, "*fraternitas (ecclesie) sancti Francisci*" seems to have been regarded as an adequate alternative to "*fraternitas gloriose virginis marie*" or "*fraternitas sancte Marie*" as a designation for the group. A confraternity by that name was still functioning in 1319, but



the next important development took place on 1 October 1323, with the foundation of the "*fraternita e disciplina del biato sancto francesco*" by frate Janni di Postierla, its 'spiritual father'. For the reasons suggested above, it is unlikely that the two groups overlapped more than a very short time, if at all. Certainly, by 1405, the fraternity of *disciplinati* of S. Francesco was such a large and influential body that it is difficult to envisage another confraternity surviving for long in the same church. The most likely explanation is that the 1323 foundation represents a change in the emphasis and organisation of the existing confraternity. There had been little time since 1319 for the older society to fall into abeyance altogether, and there is evidence of continuity in the fact that the later *disciplinati* took the trouble to include two early documents, and, more importantly the texts of some of the ancient lauds, among their own records and dramatic scripts. The only people left out of this reconstruction are the women who belonged to the earlier fraternity, and were excluded from full membership of the later one. The plays would have been performed by men, but there would certainly have been opportunities for mothers and daughters of *confratelli* to be involved back-stage, if there was not a form of associate membership for women. Essentially, then, there was one lay confraternity associated with the Franciscan convent, not to be confused with the Third Order, or Order of Penance, which maintained an independent existence throughout<sup>22</sup>. The *disciplina* changed and developed with the passage of time, and underwent a particularly significant transition in the early 1320's. It continued to receive legacies throughout the fourteenth century, was the leading theatrical company among several at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and was still performing sacred drama in 1508, when a local diarist was there to observe and record the occasion.

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#### d) Hospital Oversight

There may seem at first sight to be little connection between the performance of sacred drama and the mundane business of hospital administration, but in fact it is in no way incongruous that religious confraternities should have been involved, as they were, in both these pursuits. Although there were professional doctors in Orvieto, medical treatment was haphazard at best, and healing was closely associated in



the popular mind with spirituality. This association manifested itself in a number of ways.

The ability to perform miracles of healing, for example, was commonly accepted by lay people, and sometimes also by the religious authorities as proof of sanctity. Saints' lives, compiled with a view to securing official recognition of the cult of a local holy man or woman, invariably include long lists of attested miracles of this sort. One such example is the canonisation process for B. Ambrogio di Massa, a Franciscan friar in the Orvietan convent<sup>1</sup>. Many of the miracles attributed to him were performed after his death, on 17 April 1240, but in his lifetime, too, he was revered as a healer, and used to go round people's homes, offering medical treatment and advice, in precisely the same way as the Cathar *perfecti* did for their followers<sup>2</sup>.

If healing was generally associated with sanctity, then the converse was also the case. Spiritual error was regarded as a form of disease, so that houses tainted with heresy had to be treated in the same way as those contaminated with a deadly disease. It was for this reason that the Inquisitors in 1268/9 ordered the total destruction of homes in which the *consolamentum* had been performed<sup>3</sup>. Spiritual disaster was treated with the physical remedies, such as fines, banishment and the destruction of property; and physical disaster, in the form of the bubonic plague which swept throughout Europe in 1348, was met with a rush of applications for membership of the Franciscan confraternity in Orvieto<sup>4</sup>. Illness and healing, in other words, were matters of profound spiritual concern, and it is therefore no coincidence that one way of expressing religious devotion was to endow a hospital, or to take part in its administration.

For some people, establishing a hospital was more or less equivalent to taking religious vows. In 1281, for example, a tertiary from Acquapendente, Fra Giovanni *dictus Capellarius*, and his wife Ascebilis, having decided that heavenly possessions were of more value than earthly ones, gave their home in the parish of Santa Maria to the "fraternity of continents", to which Giovanni at least belonged already, in order that a hospital should be provided for the poor, and for members of the fraternity who became ill<sup>5</sup>. This dual function was quite typical. Medical fees were high (one Orvietan doctor was charging four Lire for three days' treatment around 1240)<sup>6</sup>, which meant that poor people were dependent on Christian charity for any sort of medical care.



Confraternity members, on the other hand, would expect their society to take care of them when illness struck, since the groups were formed with practical, as well as spiritual support in mind.

As far as Giovanni and Ascebile were concerned, once the new hospital was established, they would continue living in their old home, although it no longer belonged to them. They had agreed to act as joint "rectors and governors" of the hospital for the remainder of their lives, and to pay one pound of wax each year, "*nomine census*", to the bishop of Orvieto, whose permission was required for any of this to take place. Nothing is said about the implications of this arrangement for the couple's marriage, but the fact that they were so heavily committed to a 'continent' fraternity suggests that they may already have agreed to live together in celibacy. Becoming rector of a hospital was generally a lifelong commitment, which often had financial implications for the person or persons concerned. *Magister* Borgia, who became rector of the hospital of S. Iacobo in 1285, had to promise not only to live and work there for the rest of his life, but also, "*pro salute anime sue*", to give forty *Lire* towards the care of the sick<sup>7</sup>. This work was clearly regarded as a form of religious service, and was not something to be embarked upon lightly.

The hospital in Acquapendente was nevertheless a small-scale concern, meeting a purely local need, and relying on the generosity of two private individuals. Although the fraternity was happy to endorse their decision, there is no suggestion that it would have made the effort to establish a hospital had this particular offer not been forthcoming. Giovanni's title of "Capellarius" may indicate that he had some official rôle within the confraternity, but the gift of his house was a purely private gesture.

At least two other hospitals in the Orvietan area had very similar origins. On 13 November 1197, another Giovanni, this time a priest of the church of Santi Apostoli, gave all his considerable worldly possessions - houses, lands, vineyards, trees, mills, and even an aqueduct - to bishop Riccardo, on behalf of the clerical confraternity, in order that a hospital should be provided for the "poor and sick and destitute"<sup>8</sup>. Although there were lay people associated with the clerical confraternity at this date, this hospital was essentially a clerical foundation. It was, of course, on a larger scale than the one in Acquapendente, and there is no suggestion that *presbiter* Giovanni was



to be involved in the running of it, but the basic principle is the same. Endowing a hospital was one of several possible outlets for Christian charity, with the expectation of spiritual benefit to the soul of the donor.

For obvious reasons, donations of this sort, involving a person's entire estate, were often included in his or her Will, to be implemented only after the person's death. Audigerius Rubei was already ill when he drew up his Will some time before 1284. He left his house, in the Perleone region of Bolsena, to the fraternity of Santa Maria and Santa Christina, on condition that it be used as a hospital "for the poor and the sick" <sup>9</sup>. Bishop Francesco, in turn, had no hesitation in authorising the hospital's foundation, provided that its rector pay the customary annual tribute of one pound of wax on the feast of the Assumption.

It is impossible to tell how many of the hospitals run by local confraternities originated in this way, as a result of a chance gift or legacy rather than a deliberate policy decision. Certainly, once the hospital was established, it would then be likely to attract more donations, so that it might grow quite rapidly and come to play a more important part in the life of the confraternity. Like the earlier testators, *domina* Agnes, widow of Poncello Conticini, had left an unspecified number of houses and a plot of land in the Santa Pace quarter of Orvieto, in order that hospital care might be provided for "pilgrims and paupers" <sup>10</sup>. In this case, however, the confraternity in question - the *disciplinati* of S. Giovanni di Platea - already had an established hospital, and this woman's gift represents only a substantial expansion of its assets.

By 18 August 1349, *domina* Agnes was already dead, and it was left to her brother, Cecchinus Francisschi Andree, as executor of her Will, to make sure that her property, or, more likely, the proceeds from its sale, were used, as she had wished...

*... pro dicta fraternite et hospitalis ipsius fraternitatis et in  
perpetuum subsidium dicti hospitali peregrinorum et pauperum in  
eo degentium,*

The hospital, like others in the town, would have had its own rector and staff, but on this occasion its interests were represented by Marchectus olim Mancini, syndic and procurator of both the hospital and the confraternity, and this illustrates the close bond that there was between the two institutions. A legacy specifically intended for use in

the hospital was processed through the fraternity's administrative structure, with no apparent qualms on either side.

Not all Orvietan hospitals were run by lay confraternities. Indeed, the largest and most important one, the hospital of Santa Maria della Stella, was an independent foundation with its own religious community. There is some confusion over terminology, as the word "*fraternitas*" is also used for independent communities such as these, but the hospital of S. Iacobo *extra portam maiorem* probably comes into this category too<sup>11</sup>. Judging by its location, outside the main part of the city, it would have specialised in infectious diseases, or those believed to be so. There was also a '*lebbrosario*' in the Orvietan *contado*.

The confraternities may not have been the only institutions to provide medical care, but they did have an important role to play. The *disciplinati* were prominent in this, as in other areas, although the two main *discipline*, S. Francesco and S. Domenico, do not seem to have specialised in hospital care. In addition to the hospital of S. Giovanni di Platea, already discussed, the *disciplinati* of S. Agostino had their own hospital, at least by February 1377, when the appointment of its new rector was confirmed by bishop Pietro<sup>12</sup>. No details are given about the origins of this hospital, but it may have been another family foundation, since the new rector, Pietro Stephani Vannis, was taking over from his late father, Stefano.

The hospital of S. Angelo di Postierla, finally, is in a slightly different category from any of the others, because of its close association with the local clergy and residents of the parish as well as the lay confraternity. All three interested parties were represented when Fra Bonfilio of Arezzo was appointed rector in 1286<sup>13</sup>, although a single procurator acted for the fraternity and the "men of the region". Unlike some of the others, this particular hospital was clearly more than just an offshoot of the confraternity: it existed primarily to provide a service for the local community, and was administered by clergy and laity together.

It would be misleading to suggest that hospital oversight was the primary function of any of the Orvietan confraternities. However, it was an important aspect of the work of some of them, and probably of considerably more than surviving documentation would indicate. Although the provision of medical care was a specialised area, not directly



related to the devotional or theatrical activities of the groups, it was more than just one form of charitable work among many. There have always been spiritual overtones to physical healing and wholeness, and this was particularly true in an age when professional medical care was expensive and unreliable, and the causes of disease imperfectly understood. At their best, confraternity hospitals provided an opportunity for rich people to benefit their souls as well as the sick and needy, and for poor people to receive medical treatment which they could not otherwise afford, in an environment where spiritual, as well as physical needs could be met.

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#### e) Funerals

Another specialised service offered by some, but not all of the lay confraternities in Orvieto, was to accompany funeral processions, and offer burial facilities within their own premises. Again, this was far more than just a practical matter, since it meant interacting with people at times of personal crisis, when they would have been most in need of spiritual help, and most open to spiritual influence. Death was, of course, no stranger to medieval men and women, and it would be wrong to over-dramatise this aspect of the confraternities' work, but it is clear from the wording of many of the Wills of ordinary lay people that they were genuinely concerned about setting their spiritual affairs in order before they died. If proper Christian burial had not been a high priority for most people, there would have been neither deterrent nor punitive effect in denying it to those convicted of heresy, and desecrating the tombs of those who had already died. There can be little doubt, then, that the prayers of pious *confratelli*, as well as their practical support in times of bereavement, would have been greatly valued by many lay people.

Like hospital care, the provision of funeral services would have been primarily for the benefit of confraternity members. Indeed, one of the reasons for keeping a register of deaths among *confratelli*, as at least two of the Orvietan confraternities did<sup>1</sup>, was so that prayers could be said for them, and the anniversary of their death remembered in the group. This sort of care could also be extended to non-members, usually on receipt of a substantial legacy. The fact that several women were among those who received confraternity burial, at a time when the *disciplinati* were exclusively male, is proof in itself that some at least

of the privileges of confraternity membership could be acquired for financial payment, in much the same way as crusading vows could be commuted for cash, prayers and masses could be 'bought' for the dead, or lay people could arrange to be buried in the habit of one of the religious orders. This is one respect in which the bereavement care offered by the confraternities to non-members differed from their provision of hospital treatment. The latter was reserved specifically for the poor, whereas the former seems to have depended upon the person's ability to pay.

Nearly all the evidence for confraternity involvement in the funerals of Orvietan laymen and lay women dates from the period after 1350: that is, after the Black Death, which must have had a profound effect upon people's attitudes to death and the hereafter. However, the seeds of later developments were already present before this date. For example, the inventory of the possessions of the Franciscan confraternity of *laudesi*, which was disbanded some time before 1323, included four large candles, "*per portare a' morti*"<sup>2</sup>. The "dead" in question may only have been the confraternity members listed in the "*quaternu di bambasciu*" described immediately above, but this entry proves that at least one of the Orvietan confraternities was accustomed to taking part in funeral processions a number of years before the plague.

Considerably earlier than this, in fact, Orvietan citizens had the chance to observe a funeral on the grandest of scales, when Cardinal Guglielmo de Braye, who had been staying in the town with the court of pope Martin IV, died there on 29 April 1282. Three days earlier, probably anticipating his own death, the French cardinal had drawn up a new Will, in which he instructed his executors to see that a "decorous and suitable" tomb was constructed for him in a religious place of their choosing. The result was the huge marble monument, designed by Arnolfo di Cambio, which is still one of the main artistic features in the church of S. Domenico<sup>3</sup>. There is no written description of the ceremonial which saw him to this magnificent resting-place, but it is likely to have been on an appropriate scale.

Cardinal de Braye was a figure of international standing, and few local funerals would have matched up to his in terms of cost or grandeur. From this point onwards, the question of burial procedures is one which crops up periodically in the records of the town.



In 1287, the Orvietan authorities were already facing problems with regard to undecorous behaviour on the part of mourners, and a group of three entries in a judicial register for this year sheds considerable light on contemporary burial customs, as well as on popular attitudes to death and bereavement. On 4 June 1287, Petrus Rodilossu, who is known from other sources to have been a notary, was accused by the "secret funeral guard" (*"secretus custos luctuum"*) of "improper behaviour" at the tomb of *domina* Amata of Perugia, the previous April<sup>4</sup>. The exact nature of his offence is not spelled out, but it may be deduced from the following two cases. Four men, Martinus Stefani Manentis, Ligo *domini* Francissci, Ugolinus *domini* Gisi and Pucius *domini* Milioris, were denounced by the same custodian, and, like Pietro, fined twenty *soldi* each, for having stayed behind at Amata's grave after the official funeral service in the church of S. Domenico was over:

*... remanserunt post predicationem factam ad Ecclesiam sancti  
Dominici ad luctum domine Amate Peruscine contra formam statutis  
dicti comunis...*

Similarly, another three men, a furrier, a builder and a butcher (Pecorella, *pelliparius*, Vannes *magistri* Rainucii, *murator*, and Dominicus, *carnaiolus*), were each fined twenty *soldi* for having stayed by the body (*"de late illuc mortue"*) of *domina* Allebrandina after her funeral in the church of S. Francesco.

It was quite common for sumptuary legislation to be enacted in the Italian communes around this time, but the fact that it was considered necessary at all suggests a concern on the part of the civic authorities about the underlying situation (see Appendix). In the Orvietan instance cited, strong measures were taken. The guard was guaranteed anonymity (*"custos luctuum quem in secreto retinere debemus"*); his word had to be accepted without question (*"constet nobis predictam vera esse denuntiatione dicti custodi secreti cui credere debemus ex forma statutis dicti comunis"*) ; and he received half of any fines imposed as a result of his unchallengeable denunciations.

The offence itself seems mild for such drastic counter-measures. Obviously, this was not the only occasion on which mourning behaviour had got out of hand, but the reason for the problem is harder to deduce. Had cases of this sort been recorded sixty years later, in time of famine, drought and plague, the whole situation might have been more readily comprehensible, but Orvieto in 1287 was at the height of its

power and prosperity. The dispute with the papacy was not yet fully resolved, but heresy was a thing of the past, the Mendicant Orders were flourishing, as were lay confraternities, and plans for the magnificent new Cathedral were well underway. The sumptuary legislation, may perhaps be pointing to a rather less positive aspect of lay devotion at this time.

What is not clear is where, precisely, the confraternities fit in to the picture of excessive grief and uncontrolled mourning by otherwise respectable members of Orvietan society. It could be that their involvement in burial rites was encouraged by the local authorities as a means of controlling private excess. On the other hand, the fact that the confraternities were able to provide the additional ceremonial which people clearly wanted may simply have encouraged a morbid interest in such matters, and made the problem worse.

It was not only lay people who put high value on an impressive funeral. Fra Giovanni Caccia's chronicle of the Dominican convent in Orvieto cites several instances, from the early part of the fourteenth century, of prominent local friars whose burial services were attended by members of the nobility and upper clergy<sup>6</sup>. The scale of the funeral, and the importance of those who attended it was seen as a measure of the respect in which the dead friar had been held. In 1313, for example, many "great men and prelates" came to pay their respects to *frater Iohannes Ritius*, a priest, a "good preacher", and a "talkative and affable" man:

*... In cuius exquis funeralibus interfuerunt magni viri et prelati multi, propter reverentiam antedicti domini...* (6)

This was nothing, however, to the august company, including no fewer than seventeen cardinals, who attended the funeral of Bishop Tramo Monaldeschi at the papal court in Avignon in 1345:

*... LXVI etatis sue anno, episcopatus autem XVII, apud Avinionem migravit ad Dominum, et in ecclesia suorum confratrum patri nostri beati Dominici tumulatus, convenientibus ad eius honorabiles exequias funerales presentialiter, qui fuerunt XVII venerabiles patres et domini Cardinales, et quasi omnes pontifices et alii prelati mitrati qui in romana curia residebant,* (7)

Fra Giovanni was obviously impressed by grandeur of this sort, but it was not the only measure by which a funeral could be assessed. The death of Fra Andrea, known as "*Quinta Ferie*", in 1326, was marked not by expensive ceremonial or the presence of high-ranking mourners, but by the genuine grief of all who had known him. Fra Andrea was a local man,



from the region of S. Biagio, but had spent most of his working life in Rieti. According to the chronicler, who may have been among the mourners, they had all wept for him "like a mother grieving for her only child":

*... in cuius sepulture hora qua traditus est fuerunt quasi omnes  
qui noverant eum, super ipsum gementes et flentes ut mater super  
unigenitum...* (8)

This particular case is reminiscent of the uncontrolled grief demonstrated by Pietro Rodilossu nearly forty years earlier, on the death of *domina* Amata of Perugia, and Caccia's chronicle provides one further point of contact with this earlier incident. The death is recorded in 1327 of Fra Iohannes Petri Rode Loosa, who was almost certainly the notary's son. He was sub-prior, and later prior of the Orvietan convent, as well as chaplain to bishop Theoderic of Orvieto, but he died in Perugia, where he had spent the last thirteen years of his life. In the course of a long illness, he wrote a book of meditations, but eventually, in old age, after forty-three years in the Order, he died, and was buried...

*... in Ecclesia nova, iusta Altare sancti Petri martiris, pro  
cuius cappella construenda utiliter et fideliter laboravit...* (9)

Unfortunately, it is not stated whether the "new Church" was in Orvieto, in which case the altar in question would be that of S. Pietro Parenzo in the new Cathedral, or whether it was in Perugia, in which case the saint would have been the more famous Peter of Verona.

It is thanks to Caccia's chronicle that there happens to be more information about the funerals of Dominican friars than about those of lay people or the members of other Orders. It is fairly safe to assume, however, that patterns of mourning revealed in the chronicle would have been reflected in the rest of society. In other words, for those who could afford it, an elaborate funeral in an important church would be something to be prized, and for people from all levels of society, public manifestations of grief would be expected as proof of sincerity.

By 1357, a rather different problem had arisen in relation to private burials, and on this occasion the co-operation of the Cathedral *disciplinati* was definitely enlisted by the officials of the *Opera del Duomo*. The new Cathedral had become such a popular place for burial that demand was greater than the space available. Old graves were therefore being desecrated, and the bodies removed to make way for new ones. In an attempt to regulate matters, the Cathedral administrators

decreed that the room under the main altar, "*ove stanno i disciplinati*", should be prepared as a burial-place, and that the *disciplinati* should move to the room under the new Chapel of the *Corporale*. Anyone wishing burial in the crypt would have to pay the full cost of constructing their tomb<sup>o</sup>.

From this point onwards, although burial was often enough requested in other churches, it is clear that the Cathedral *disciplinati* were the funeral specialists among the Orvietan confraternities. Their former meeting-place was to be adorned with "*penture belle e divote di storia di morti*", and the Mass and the Office for the dead were to be solemnly sung there at least once a week. It is not explicitly stated that these matters were to be the responsibility of the *disciplinati*, but the implication is clear, given the other evidence that exists for their attendance at funerals, even when the person concerned was to be buried in another church.

The best example of this is the case of a wealthy local notary, Ser Giovanni Ser Vannis Leonardi, who found a compromise solution to his personal conflict of loyalties. On the one hand, his ancestors were buried in the church of S. Francesco. On the other hand, he had close personal ties with the Cathedral church of Santa Maria, whose *disciplinati* were best able to provide him with an elaborate funeral ceremony. In a masterly attempt to balance family loyalty with personal inclination, Ser Giovanni stipulated in his Will of 22 April 1395 that his body should be buried in the church of S. Francesco, in the family vault, but that it should be accompanied there by the *disciplinati* of Santa Maria Maggiore. He left the sum of one hundred *soldi* to the Franciscan church, "*pro acconcimine dicte ecclesie*", and an equal sum to the Cathedral *disciplinati*, on condition that they dress his body in their robes for its final journey:

*Item eligit sui corporis sepulturam si eum mori contingerit in Ecclesia Sancti Francisci predicta in pilo antecessorum ipsius testatoris. Item reliquit corpus suum portari ad dictam sepulturam per disciplinatos sancte Marie Maioris de Urbeveteri. Et reliquit ipsi discipline si dicti disciplinati eum inducant vestem et portabunt ipsum ad dictum sepulturam, centum sold, den, corton,*  
(11)

The "*vestis*" in question would almost certainly have been the white penitential garment worn by the figures in the crucifixion scene commissioned by Savinus Vanutii in 1380, and still clearly visible on the wall behind the altar in the Cathedral crypt. The painting is divided



into three panels, the central one representing the crucified Christ, flanked by St John and St Mary Magdalene, with blood pouring from his feet over a skull at the foot of the cross. The panels on either side depict kneeling *confratelli* - about a dozen in all - dressed in white robes, with the hoods pulled up over their heads. They are all male, and at the head of each group is a larger figure, identified by Fumi as San Costanzo and San Brizio respectively. Along the foot of the panel is the following inscription:

*HOC OPUS FECIT FIERI SAVINUS VANUTII SUB ANNO DOMINI M<sup>o</sup>. CCC<sup>o</sup>.  
LXXX<sup>o</sup>, DIE MENSIS FEBRUARII, COLAUS PETRUCCIOLI PINXIT AMENAM.*

Cola's painting and Ser Giovanni's Will together convey a vivid impression of a rich man's funeral procession in the late fourteenth century. Both also illustrate the extent to which personal loyalties might be divided between two or more religious bodies, with no apparent conflict. Ser Giovanni, as has been seen, was closely associated with both the Cathedral and the church of San Francesco, and left equal sums of money to both. The fact that he asked to be clothed in the robes of the *disciplinati* as a special privilege after his death suggests that he was not himself a member of the Cathedral confraternity. This was, however, his local church (he lived in the region of *Santa Maria Maggiore*), and may even have been his regular place of worship. A later clause in the Will makes reference to a vow made some time previously, by the terms of which two lamps were now to be given to the *disciplinati* for use when the Mass was being celebrated:

*... Item reliquit pro quodam vota pro duabus faculis in  
disciplina Sancte Marie Maioris de Urbeveteri conburrendis quando  
celebratur missa in disciplina predicta i lib, et ii sold, den,  
cort...*

Thus, despite his decision to be buried in S. Francesco, Ser Giovanni was not using the services of the Cathedral *disciplinati* in any impersonal way. He was genuinely committed to both institutions, and there is no suggestion that the *disciplinati*, for their part, had any objection to the arrangements he had made.

In a rather different way, the artist, Cola di Petrucciole, was also involved with more than one religious association. His name appears in the matriculation list of the Franciscan confraternity, as does that of the man who commissioned the work, Savinu di Vannuççu. There is no neat chronological correspondence here, as Savino had been expelled from the confraternity in 1346, two years before Cola was admitted, and



thirty-three years before the Cathedral painting was completed. However, it is one more instance of overlap in function, and general co-operation between the different groups of *disciplinati*. They were working together already to provide the town with theatrical performances throughout the year, and it is quite reasonable that one group should have come to specialise in the provision of funeral services for people other than its own members.

Closer examination of the Cathedral records will enable a much fuller picture to be built up of burial practices, and of the sort of people who could afford to take advantage of the services offered there. In the meantime, one other case is of interest because of what it reveals about the practice of art patronage, and in particular about the expectations of patrons. *Domina* Bartholomea, widow of Ciecho Oddutii, had already commissioned a painting of the Virgin Mary, and seems to have taken it for granted that this entitled her to be buried alongside it in due course. In her Will of 19 February 1374 - drawn up by none other than Giovanni di Vanni di Leonardo - she asked to be buried in the Cathedral, "*ante figuram Virginis Marie quam depingi fecit ipsa testatrix*" <sup>12</sup>. She also left twenty *soldi* to the *fabbrica* of the Cathedral, and ten *soldi* to "the confraternity of the said church".

Despite the high profile of the Cathedral and its *disciplinati* as far as Orvietan society funerals were concerned, it did not by any means have a monopoly in this area. There are plenty examples of people requesting burial in other local churches, and although the role of the confraternities is seldom made explicit, the fact that they often received gifts of money in the person's will suggests that they may have been involved in some way. In 1263, for example, *domina* Viatris Peponi, asked to be buried in the church of S. Domenico, and as well as various gifts to the church itself, she left a candle worth one florin to the house of the *disciplinati* <sup>13</sup>. The following year, Cecharino Lelli not only requested burial in S. Domenico, but also left twenty *soldi* to the *fabbrica dei disciplinati* <sup>14</sup>. Finally, in the Will made by Ceccharellus Ture, *vascellarius*, on 14 September 1374, a legacy of twenty *soldi* to the fraternity of *disciplinati* of S. Giovanni di Platea is followed immediately by a record of the testator's decision to be buried in that church <sup>15</sup>. It would be going too far to see the legacies as a direct payment for the attendance of the *confratelli* at the funeral service and the assurance of their prayers thereafter, but the testator may well



have had this sort of expectation in mind.

Attendance at local funerals, and the celebration of masses for the dead, were thus the special concern of one Orvietan confraternity in particular - the *disciplinati* of Santa Maria Maggiore, whose meeting-place in the Cathedral crypt was the preferred place of burial for many prominent citizens. Other confraternities could also offer this type of service to local people, but probably concentrated on their own members, for whom the comforting assurance of a decent Christian burial must, especially in post-plague times, have been a powerful inducement to belong to such a group.

.....

#### f) Third Orders

The penitent confraternities were by no means the only religious groups to benefit from the desire of lay people to make provision for their souls after death. Every local church and religious Order depended to some extent upon income from legacies, given with this express intention. There are also two instances of local people - one man and one woman - who looked to the Franciscan Third Order rather than to one of the fraternities of *disciplinati* for support in the event of their death. However, it was all part of the same phenomenon of wanting somehow to participate in the spiritual benefits of a religious association without necessarily having to take on all the responsibilities of membership during one's lifetime. There are similarities, indeed, with the Cathar practice of waiting until death was imminent before receiving the *consolamentum*.

In their Wills of 1369 and 1374 respectively, Ser Cipta Butti Leonardelli and *domina* Sibilia, daughter of Giovanni and wife of Freducciole, both asked to be buried in the habit of a Franciscan tertiary'. Ser Cipta's request was made in the following words:

*Item reliquit dictus testator quod si deus concedet mori sibi Ser Cipte antedicto voluit se indui tertii ordinis habitum sancti francisci et apud Ecclesiam sancti Francisci de Urbevetera sepelliri corpus suum.*

Despite Lazzarini's belief that the *laudesi* of Santa Maria were, in fact, tertiaries, there is no doubt that Ser Cipta had a different sort of body in mind. By 1369 there had been a separate Franciscan Third Order in Orvieto for over a hundred years, and Ser Cipta clearly wished to be associated with these men, rather than the *disciplinati*, in death. He recognised the existence of the latter by leaving the sum of five soldi

to each confraternity, as well as to every church, monastery and convent in the town:

*Item reliquid cuilibet cappelle sive ecclesie et monasterio et conventui et fraternitatibus omnibus de Urbevetera solidos quinque pro quolibet...*

It is not always so easy to distinguish between Third Orders and confraternities. This is partly because they all had similar origins, and the boundaries between them took some time to become clearly defined. It is also because similar terminology was used to refer to different types of group. The two key words, as far as the Third Orders are concerned, were "continent" and "penitent", but these were used in a variety of ways. *Magister* Laurentius Franki, who promised an annual payment to Bishop Giacomo in 1258 for property in the the S. Stefano region of the town, was described as "*frater continens civis urbevethanus*" <sup>2</sup>, while *frater* Iacobus Clavari, whose property is mentioned incidentally in a donation of 1291, was described simply as "*continens*"<sup>3</sup>. Mention has already been made of the "*fraternitas continentium*" in Acquapendente, which agreed that one of its members should be allowed to establish a hospital in his home in 1281<sup>4</sup>, but the term '*Ordo*' is also used of the 'continents'. In her Will of 1319, for example, *domina* Angela Magalocci left twenty *soldi* each to sisters Tora and Tanna, "*de ordine Continentium*" <sup>5</sup>. And *domina* Lina, of the Baschi family, was even more specific in her Will of 1374, when she left two florins to sister Clara, "*terti Ordinis Continentium sancti Francisci*" <sup>6</sup>.

The word "penitent" seems to have been synonymous with "continent", and was used in a similar variety of ways. The earliest example is the case of Domenico di Pietro Rossi, the Franciscan tertiary convicted of heresy in 1269. The Order to which he belonged is described quite explicitly as "*sanctissimus Ordo Penitentium, a beato Francisco patre nostro conditi*" <sup>7</sup>. Four years later, in 1273, *frater* Albiçus, "*ordinis fratrum de penitentia*", was given permission by bishop Aldebrandino to build an oratory in the *contado* <sup>8</sup>, and in 1315, an entry in the *Riformanze* refers to the fact that the church of Santa Chiara was by this time being used by the same "*fratres de penitentia*" <sup>9</sup>.

So far, despite the variety of terms used, there has been no real possibility of confusion, but the case of Fra Nerio Borgaruti, in 1282, is rather more ambiguous. Like Fra Albiço, he requested, and was granted permission to found an oratory, in a place known as "Collis



*Pornellis*" near Monte Giove in the diocese of Orvieto<sup>10</sup>. This man, however, was described as "*frater de prima ordinis continentium*". Unless this represents a simple error on the part of the notary, Appollenaris Benentendi, it is hard to know what is intended. "First Order" would normally refer to Franciscan friars, while "continents" were usually tertiaries.

The clearest illustration of the complexity of religious life towards the end of the thirteenth century occurs in a "donation *inter vivos*" made by Ranerius Ranerii Lodigerii on 18 August 1291<sup>11</sup>. To all intents and purposes, this was the same as a Will, since Ranerio had decided to give everything he possessed to his brother, Pietro, on condition that the latter honour the substantial religious commitments in an earlier Will. One of the beneficiaries was the Franciscan confraternity, but special prominence was given to the so-called "*fratri de rigori*" and "*fraticelli*":

*Item cuilibet fratri de Rigori viginti solidos et cuilibet alii fraticello eiusdem vite unum Turnensem crossum de argento, Item fratri Guillelmo unam Tunicam et unum Mantellum de Romagnolo pro quolibet.*

No reason is given for the decision of this very wealthy man to dispose of all his property before death, but it is by no means impossible that he had chosen to enter a religious Order, such as this one. In any case, the interesting feature of this document is the number of different categories of 'brother' mentioned in the course of it. There was *frater* Diotaluti, "*ordinis minorum*", a First Order Franciscan, who was to receive ten *Lire*, and the lay members of the "*fraternitas Sancti Francisci*", whose legacy was forty *soldi*. There were also the "*fratres de Rigori*", who could be distinguished somehow from the "*alii fraticelli eiusdem vite*", and finally, there was Fra Pietro, "*continens*", who lived in S. Severo, and who was also to receive forty *soldi* from Ranerio's estate. This all serves to emphasise the fact that there was room, even within a single Order, for considerable variety of religious expression.

As far as the Orvietan sources are concerned, it is safe to assume in most cases that the terms "continent" and "penitent" refer to Franciscan tertiaries, even when this is not spelt out as clearly as in the Indulgence issued by Pope Nicholas III in 1279 to the "Third Order of St. Francis, known as Penitents"<sup>12</sup>. However, there were tertiaries associated with at least two other Orvietan convents. Female Dominican tertiaries are represented by B. Vanna (1264-1306), whose biography was

written by her confessor, P. Giacomo Scalza, who was prior of the Orvietan convent until his death in 1337, and B. Daniela, who is known from the letters which she received from St Catherine of Siena around 1378<sup>13</sup>. It is likely also that the mother of one of the Dominican friars, *frater Iohannes de Fiordemaio*, was buried in the tertiary's habit, some time after her son's death in 1305:

*... post cuius mortem mater eius, ob gratiam filii et propter dilectionem quam habebat ad ordinem, nostro conventui reliquit libras VII C, usualis monete, que et obiit in habitu Ordinis, (14)*

The Servite convent, too, had a Third Order or its equivalent from a very early date. The Servite friars had only moved to their present site, in the parish of S. Martino, in 1265 <sup>14</sup>, but by 1292 there was an established lay company, which was granted a forty-day Indulgence by Bishop Francesco on 10 April and another by Fra Lottaringo, Prior General of the Order, on 9 May <sup>15</sup>. At this early stage, it is a moot point whether this lay association, described by Fra Lottaringo as the "*congregatio seu societas gloriosæ virginis Mariæ*" was a formal Third Order as such, but that was certainly one of the names by which it came to be known in later years, as well as "*Compagnia dell'Abita di Maria Santissima*" and "*Compagnia dei Sette Dolori*" <sup>17</sup>. Both of the 1292 Indulgences illustrate the close links which there were between the tertiaries and the regular Servites. Bishop Francesco's official letter was addressed jointly to the prior and friars of the convent and the members of the confraternity, while Fra Lottaringo granted members of the "congregation of the Virgin" the same spiritual privileges as First Order Servites.

The slight ambiguity which exists over the status of the Servite 'congregation' raises again the question of the difference between tertiaries and *confratelli*, between Third Orders and other religious associations for lay people. For the reasons outlined already, it is not a question to which a hard and fast answer can be given, but the life of a tertiary did have certain distinctive features. Although the tertiary was technically still a member of the laity, his or her lifestyle was somewhere between that of a pious lay person and a full-time religious. The tertiary lived in a permanent state of canonical Penance, and wore the religious habit at all times, unlike the *disciplinati*, who wore their white penitential robes only on special, ceremonial occasions. Some tertiaries lived in community, and others did not, but all would have



submitted to some sort of voluntary ascetic regime, as a mark of their desire to achieve spiritual perfection by emulating the monastic life.

The best way to understand what it meant to belong a Third Order in thirteenth and fourteenth century Orvieto will be to look in slightly more detail at the three-best documented examples: the two saintly Dominican women, B. Vanna and B. Daniela, and the one, or possibly two heretical Franciscan men, Domenico di Pietro Rossi and Lotho di Guglielmo Surdi.

Despite the stylised nature of Scalza's account, certain basic facts can be established from it about Vanna's life. She was born in Carnaiola, into a family impoverished by war, and after losing her parents at an early age, she was brought up by relatives, and sent to train as a dress-maker. She must have entered the community in 1284, at twenty years of age, because the *Leggenda* states that she was forty-two, and had been in the Order for twenty-two years when she died in 1306. There is no basis in the legend for M.C. de Ganay's assertion that the fraternity consisted of at least a hundred sisters<sup>10</sup>, but it was certainly a resident community. It must also have been a celibate one, because one of Vanna's chief virtues, according to her confessor, was her determination to preserve her virginity. It was in order to escape the advances of several ardent suitors and lustful vagrants that she had decided to become a tertiary in the first place:

*Cum ergo videret, habitare cum scorpionibus non esse securum, cepit adhuc puellula cogitare qualiter mundum, qui jam in ejus corde marcuerat, actibus etiam exteriorebus abdicaret. Disposuit itaque, Divina Providentia suggerente, habitum Sororum Vestitarum Beatissimi Dominici, primi fundatoris, et Patris Ordinis Predicatorum assumere.* (19)

The habit is described in some detail, and the significance of its colours explained:

*Et juste habitum Predicatorum albo, nigroque confectum induitur, ut vite puritatem pretendat in albo, et in nigro carnis mortificationem servatam,*

Mortification of the flesh seems to have been one of Vanna's main preoccupations, although it should not necessarily be assumed that she was typical in this respect of other members of her community. Indeed, she cannot have been universally popular among her fellow sisters if she made a habit of reporting them to the prioress when they failed to observe their religious duties, as happened on one occasion when the bishop had been assured of their prayers:

*Post aliquod tempus, vocat hæc Virgo Prioram dicens: "Mater, Tu cum aliquibus Sororibus orationes promissas Episcopo reddidistis; talis autem soror, et talis minime reddiderunt". Quod illa diligenter inquirens, invenit ita esse, sicut virgo fuerat prosecuta,* (20)

Unlike her less conscientious sisters, Vanna habitually engaged in fasts, vigils and various forms of abstinence:

*Jejuniis etiam, et orationibus, vigiliis, abstinentiis, et sanctis meditationibus, celestium contemplationi ardentem inherens carnis quoque pondus cum merore jam portans illis hymni dicis Angelorum choris inhiabat totis affectibus interesse,* (21)

Her ascetic programme was particularly intense at special seasons of the Christian year, such as Lent, Easter, and the feast of the Assumption, but all year round, from the time she entered the Order, she would stand immobile each day from morning until evening in silent prayer and meditation, so that her clothes would have been soaked in sweat had she not stripped to a light undergarment, in summer and winter alike.

Extreme ascetic practices of this sort would not have been expected of all tertiaries. Indeed, if Vanna had not been seen as exceptional, there would have been no impetus to write up her Life or to encourage her cult. On the other hand, the *Leggenda* does give an accurate account of the qualities which were admired in a saintly person at this time. This suggests that other tertiaries would have admired her lifestyle, whether or not they wanted to emulate it.

One further detail may be gleaned from the Scalza's *Leggenda* about life in the religious community to which Vanna belonged. The sisters were apparently accustomed to going in a group to church to receive communion, at least on special festivals, for Vanna was twice prevented by illness from accompanying them. The first occasion was at Christmas-time:

*Cum etiam semel propter corporis infirmitatem, quam patiebatur, in festo Natalis Domini ad Ecclesiam venire, et cum aliis Corpus Christi, ut moris est fidelium, maxime autem Religionis suæ, sumere non potuisset; in crastino diei festi, super eam lux calica emissa refulget, nimium admiranda,..* (22)

The time of year is not mentioned in the second case, but again she had to stay at home because of illness ("... infirmitatis causa, in Ecclesia cum aliis communicare non potuisset..."), and the sacrament was miraculously brought to her by the Blessed Virgin in person.

The ascetic tradition which was the hallmark of Vanna's life undoubtedly persisted in the Dominican Third Order well into the



fourteenth century, because B. Daniela, too, was renowned for her rigorous lifestyle. Indeed, her spiritual adviser, St Catherine of Siena, had to reprimand her on one occasion for going beyond all bounds of discretion in her denial of the flesh. Although elsewhere she encouraged Daniela to defeat the enemies of the Church with "vigils, tears, sweat, with mournful and loving desires, with humble and continual prayer" <sup>23</sup>, there was another letter (c.1378), in which she wrote to her disciple about the "holy virtue of discretion, which it is necessary for us to have if we wish to be saved":

Penance to be sure must be used as a tool, in due times and places, as need may be... But if the body is weak, fallen into illness, the rule of discretion does not approve of such a method. Not only should fasting be abandoned, but flesh be eaten; if once a day is not enough, then four times. If one cannot stand up, let him stay on his bed; if he cannot kneel, let him sit or lie down, as he needs. This discretion demands. Therefore it insists that penance be treated as a means, and not as a chief desire. (24)

Like these two saintly women, the Franciscan tertiary, Domenico di Pietro Rossi, was exceptional, though for a different reason: his involvement with the Cathar sect. Nonetheless, his case (and to a lesser extent that of Loctho di Guglielmo Surdi, who was tried with him, and who may also have been a tertiary)<sup>24</sup> also contains some clues as to the normal duties of a tertiary's life. Although Domenico was tried by the regular Inquisitors, part of his punishment, or possibly his rehabilitation, was to be under the supervision of his own Order. In this way, he was to provide clothing for twenty-five paupers, to go on pilgrimage to Rome, performing the "stations instituted by the Roman pontiffs", to say the *Pater Noster* and the *Ave Maria* fifty times, day and night, and to confess three times a year to an approved Franciscan confessor. There is no suggestion that these stringent conditions were imposed on all tertiaries: this was, after all, part of the punishment for a severe offence. Nonetheless, it is reasonable to assume that practices such as prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, confession and acts of charity were part of the normal life of an Orvietan tertiary.

The available evidence therefore goes some way towards building up a picture of life in the Franciscan and Dominican Third Orders (the Servite community was rather different, and is less well-documented), but there are still a number of questions which have to be left unanswered. It is not clear, for example, what vows were required of Orvietan



tertiaries. B. Vanna lived a celibate life, but Fra Giovanni, of the "*fraternitas continentium*" of Acquapendente, was a married man, and there is no proof that he and his wife had taken any special vow of continence before establishing a hospital in their home.

Again, although this couple had chosen to give up all their property to the Order, poverty cannot have been a condition of membership, because several 'penitents' and 'continents' are named as property-owners elsewhere. Fra Giacomo Clavari, for example, is only known because his property happened to border on that of the Williamite, Fra Pietro, and there is no reason to believe that Lorenzo Franki did not own the house for which he had to pay tribute to the bishop in 1258. When Ranerio Ranerii Lodigerii decided to give all his belongings to his brother in 1291, it might have been thought that he was embracing a life of poverty as a necessary prelude to becoming a "*frater de rigoris*" or "*fraticelli*". This possibility is ruled out by the fact that he gave sums of money to all the other brothers in these categories, apparently taking it for granted that there was nothing in their Rule to prevent them accepting his generous gifts.

As far as community life of the tertiaryaries was concerned, some, like B. Vanna, seem to have lived in a single-sex household with other tertiaryaries, while others continued to live at home. It could be, of course, that the Dominican model was different from the Franciscan one, or that female tertiaryaries were expected to live in community, while male tertiaryaries were not. This would certainly fit the Orvietan evidence, since the two cloistered Dominican tertiaryaries were women, and most of the Franciscans, some of whom lived in their own homes, were men. There is still some confusion, though, over arrangements in the church of Santa Chiara. *Domina* Angela Magalocci left twenty *soldi* to the fabric of this church immediately before her legacies to sisters Tora and Tanna of the "Order of Continents". One might have concluded from that, and from the fact that St Clare was the figurehead for Franciscan women, that the church of Santa Chiara in Orvieto was the focal point for a community of female tertiaryaries. The entry in the *Riformanze* of 1315, however, is quite specific that this was the church of the "brothers of penance", represented on this occasion by their "rector or chaplain".

What this variety of sometimes conflicting evidence does is to emphasise once more the wide range of outlets for religious expression which were increasingly becoming available to lay people in Orvieto in



the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Some, like Vanna, may have chosen to live a life which was virtually indistinguishable from that of a First Order religious, if not more demanding than theirs, while others preferred to wait until after death to participate indirectly in the benefits of confraternity membership. The point is that these options - and the whole range between - were open to people in a way that would not have been the case in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, when heresy had its strongest grip on the town.

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## B.2 ORVIETAN CONFRATERNITIES: FOOTNOTES

1. On Third Orders, see ed. A. Fliche & V. Martin, Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours, vol. 14 (1378-1449), Belgium, 1962; also P. Raffale Pazzelli, T.O.R., Il Terz'Ordine Regolare di S. Francesco attraverso i secoli, Roma, 1958, pp. 30ff. For the Life of B. Vanna, see P. Giacomo Scalza, Leggenda Latina della B. Giovanna detta Vanna d'Orvieto del Terz'Ordine di S. Domenico, ed. P. Vincenzo Mareddu, *con traduzione e note*, Orvieto, 1853.

2. Cod. V.E. 528, f. 9v. (Matriculation list of the Franciscan confraternity), Arch. Not., vol. 2, ff. 26r.-v., 16 February 1350. Will of Narditius Ser Sensi, (Chiese e Conventi... 4.19.17.

3. Arch. Not., vol. 33/2, ff. 75v-76r, 22 April 1395.

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### a) Church Affiliation

1. ed. V. Natalini, S. Pietro Parenzo: La Leggenda Scritta dal maestro Giovanni... Roma, 1936, § 2, p. 98.

2. In an editorial footnote (op. cit., p. 99), V. Natalini cites a similar example from Arezzo, where the Statutes of the "confraternità del clero" refer not only to clergy but also to "*laici fratres et sorores*" as members. Statutes published in the appendix to Corrado Lazzeri, Guglielmo Ubertini, Vescovo di Arezzo, Firenze, 1920, pp. 330ff.

3. C.D., Doc. LX11, 13 November 1197.

4. Arch., Cap., Codice di S. Costanzo, f. 119r, 8 January 1256.

5. G. M. Monti, Le confraternite medievali dell'alta e media Italia, Venezia, 1927, vol. 11, p. 83. "... poco numerose, vivevano una vita non troppo florida accanto a monasteri o a chiese... vivevano una vita isolata... non rientrando, insomma, nelle grandi correnti religiose dei tempi..."

6. ed. Natalini, S. Pietro Parenzo: La Leggenda... p. 166.

7. Of the 25 documents given by Fumi (C.D.) for the period 1137-1200, 1 was promulgated in the church of S. Andrea, 2 in front of it and 2 in the Piazza outside (see Carpentier (thesis), vol. 1, p. 18). In 1203, conditions of peace were agreed between the Sienese and Count Aldobrandino in the church of S. Andrea (G. Pardi, "Il Catasto d'Orvieto dell'anno 1292", in B.R.D.S.P.U., vol. 2, 1896, p. 263). In 1217, the division of the Aldobrandeschine *contado* between four members of the family was also settled there (Eph. Urb., p. 99).

8. Simon de Brie came to Orvieto immediately after his coronation as Pope Martin IV in Viterbo on 22 February 1281 (Eph. Urb., p. 133).

9. Lib. Don., f. 70v., 4 January 1264. Will of *domina Dolcedona uxor Francisci*. Arch. Not., vol. 38/4, ff. 102r.-v., 9 June 1363. Will of *domina Francischa filia olim Tei Petri domini Sinibaldi*.

10. Arch. Vesc., Cod. B, fol. 78v., January 1212. The inventory begins as follows: "*Hoc est inventarium de bonis fraternitatis sanctorum apostolorum quod fecerunt (sic) presbiter sommeus et presbiter stefanus episcopo Iohanni. Anno M.CC.xii. mense Januarii.*".

11. Three of the codices in the capitular archive, including the *Codice di San Costanzo*, consist mainly of this type of material. Codices A, B & C of the episcopal archive also contain many entries of this sort. Payments are frequently said to be "*in nomine pensionis*", a phrase which occurs twice in the 1212 inventory.



12. Its exact location is not known, but it must have been near S. Leonardo, in the neighbouring Postierla quarter, for the two parishes were eventually amalgamated.
13. It was among the possessions of the Chapter confirmed by Alexander III in 1171 (see Carpentier (thesis), vol. I, p. 17).
14. Arch. Cap., Codice di S. Costanzo, fol. 40v.
15. Arch. Not., vol. 38/4, ff. 102r.-v., 9 June 1363. Will of "*domina Mea uxor olim domini Iohannis Ser Guidonis Ranerii*". The other three confraternities are Santa Maria Maggiore, S. Domenico and S. Angelo di Postierla (q.v.).
16. Renato Bonelli, "*La supposta ricostruzione della chiesa di San Lorenzo 'de Arari' in Orvieto nel 1291*", in B.I.S.A.O., Ann. 11, Fasc. 11, Jul.-Dec. 1946, pages 8 - 12. Citing an 18th C. manuscript as well as architectural evidence, Bonelli demonstrates that the 'new' church was in fact a 12th C. building, conceded to S. Lorenzo in 1291.
17. Carpentier (thesis), vol. I, p. 34; quoting F. Marabottini, Catalogus Episcoporum Urbisveteris, Orvieto, 1667, p. 17; "*Anno 1291 una cum Capitulo donavit Ecclesiam S. Laurentii urbisveteris noviter constructam coenobis Minoritorum et donationem Nicolaus Papa Quartus confirmavit*".
18. Lib. Don., fol. 2v., 1226. Name of testator missing. The entry "*Item fraternitate sancti laurentii xx soldi*" is followed immediately by "*Item ipsi ecclesie sancti laurentii x soldi*", and there is then a gap of some twenty entries before a legacy of twenty *soldi* to the "*monasterio sancti laurentii*". The duplicate entry occurs between these last two; a further five *soldi* is given to the "*fraternitati sancti laurentii*".
19. Lib. Don., fol. 41r., 2 April 1251. Will of Bonifatius Dominici.
20. Lib. Don., f. 232r., May 1305. Name of testator unclear. This Will is extremely difficult to decipher, but appears to mention the fraternity only incidentally, in the course of defining boundaries for the testator's property.
21. Carpentier (thesis) vol. I, pp. 17-18; 24; 34. Also F. Marabottini, Catalogus episcoporum, p. 7; G. Pardi, "*Il Catasto*", pp. 225-320; T. Piccolomini-Adami, Guida Storica-Artistica della città d'Orvieto, Siena, 1883, p. 231. According to Marabottini, the churches of Santa Croce and S. Egidio were handed over by the bishop to the monastery of Sassovivo in 1119, but Carpentier suggests that at this stage it may only have been the sites which were conceded. She dates the amalgamation with S. Pietro to around 1300, nearly twenty years after the construction of the *Piazza del Popolo* in 1281.
22. Orvieto, Biblioteca Comunale, Pergamene, XIV-4-C(6)-2826, "... *una cum confratribus suis dompno Paulo, dompno Compagno, dompno Gratiano, dompno mariano et fratre Ianni monachis ipsius ecclesie*...". The occasion was the appointment of *presbiter* Iacobo of Montenibio as arbiter between the clergy of Santa Croce on the one hand and Venantius Ranuctii of Montenibio and Ranerius Bardanele of Castelloncio on the other, in a case of disputed ownership of four pieces of land.
23. Lib. Don., f. 70v., 4 January 1264. Will of *domina Dolcedona uxor Francisci*. Legacy of 10 *soldi*.
24. Lib. Don., f. 41r., 2 April 1251. Will of Bonifatius Dominici.
25. Lib. Don., f. 30v., 7 September 1255. Will of *Peponis filius quondam Leonardi Farfectorii*.
26. Lib. Don., f. 67r., 14 (?month) 1263. Will of Bartholomeus Faber.



27. This is the date of the earliest confraternity matriculation list (Cod. V.E. 528). There was probably a group of *laudesi* from about 1260, and certainly Franciscan tertiaries well before 1269, when Domenico di Pietro Rossi was convicted of heresy (Lib. Inq., f. 32').

28. Lib. Don., fol. 27v., 19 November 1261. Will of Tebalduccius Manadere.

29. A. di S., Pergamene, 17 June 1258, (in C.D., p. 222) Indulgence conceded by bishop Giacomo to the faithful "*de fraternitate beati Petri martiris in ecclesia sancte Marie statuta*".

30. For 1275 *Decima*, see P. Sella, Rationes Decimarum Italiae nei secoli XIII - XIV; Umbria, Vatican City, 1952. For 1292 *Catasto*, see G. Pardi, "*Il Catasto...*", p. 263. For council records of 1350, see A. di S., *Riformanze*, vol. LXIX (matric. 137), ff. 103r. & 137r., 7 March & 17 August 1350, (Chiese e Conventi... 2.2.96 & 2.2.97).

31. Lib. Don., f. 6r., 13 January 1232. Will of *domina Abenante uxor Gualkerini Martini*.

32. Lib. Don., fol. 43r., 5 July 1258. Will of Fortis Massutii Iamfortis.

33. Arch. Not., vol. 38/4, ff. 102r.-v., 9 June 1363. Will of *domina Mea uxor olim domini Iohannis Ser Guidonis Ranerii*.

34. Arch. Vesc., Cod. C, fol. 57v., 26 March 1286.

35. quoted in T. Piccolomini-Adami, Guida Storica-Artistica..., p. 247.

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#### b) Cathedral Confraternities

1. One book has been published as a result of recent investigations into the Cathedral records (L. Ricetti, Il Duomo di Orvieto, La Terza edition, 1988), but a vast amount of material has been transcribed on to a computer database without being analysed or used in any way. The immediate focus of all this work is a conference planned for November 1990, to celebrate the 700th anniversary of the foundation of the Cathedral.

2. see ed. Natalini, S. Pietro Parenzo: La Leggenda..., 52. Also discussion above on the "clerical confraternity".

3. A. di S., Fondo Diplomatico, 17 June 1258. Jacobus Maltraga was bishop of Orvieto from 1258 to 1269.

4. Fumi, C.D., p. 222.

5. Rif., vol. 65, f. 38r., June 1347. In order to secure Parenzo's continued intercessions for the town and people of Orvieto, the 16 councillors unanimously agreed that one candle, weighing 20 pounds, should be given to the Cathedral each year on his feast-day, 21 May. He is described as "*idem beatus, Petrus martir*", and the document states specifically that his body was buried in the Cathedral.

6. in C. Cappelletti, Le Chiese d'Italia dalle loro origini sino ai giorni nostri, Venezia, 1844-70, vol. 5, pp. 484-6. "...*copiata fedelmente da una pergamena dell'archivio di S. Domenico di Orvieto*".

7. Lib. Don., f. 27v., 19 November 1261. Will of Tebalduccius Manadere, including a legacy of five *soldi* to "*presbitero franco suo appatrino et presbiteris ecclesie sancte marie episcopatus*". cf. discussion of this fraternity above.

8. Arch. Cap., Cod. di S. Costanzo, f. 232r., 15 April 1274.

9. There were other types of 'Raccomandati', such as the "Arichomandati" or "Rachomandati di Gesù Cristo Crocefisso" identified by P.L. Meloni (Topografia, diffusione/



diffusione e aspetti delle Confraternite dei disciplinati, Perugia, 1972, p. 45) in Viterbo and Siena respectively. From the Lippo painting alone, however, it is clear that the Orvietan group was a Marian one.

10. In a private letter of 28 April 1987, Catherine Harding, an art historian, states that to the best of her knowledge there is no documentation for the Lippo Madonna.

11. T. Piccolomini-Adami, Guida Storica-Artistica della Città di Orvieto, Siena, 1883, p. 127.

12. cited in León Kern, "Notes sur la fondation de la confrérie des recommandés à la vierge et ses rapports avec les flagellants", in B.R.D.S.P.U., App. no. 9, Il Movimento dei Disciplinati nel settimo centenario dal suo inizio, 1962, pp. 253-4.

13. *ibid.*, p. 254.

14. Brief descriptions and comments in: L. Fumi, Il Duomo di Orvieto e i suoi restauri, Roma, 1891, p. 362; T. Piccolomini-Adami, Guida Storica-Artistica, pp. 123-4; G. Della Valle, Storia del Duomo di Orvieto, Roma, 1791, p. 196; L. Luzi, Il Duomo di Orvieto, Firenze, 1866, pp. 205-7; E. Carli, Il Duomo di Orvieto, Roma, 1965, p. 79; P. Perali, Orvieto: Note Storiche di Topografia e d'Arte, Orvieto, 1919, p. 100. More detailed treatment in: E. Carli, "Ancora dei Memmi a San Gimignano" in Paragone: Arte, Ann. XIV, num. 159, marzo 1963, pp. 27-44.

15. in Paragone: Arte, Ann. XIV, num. 159, marzo 1963, p. 40. Also Il Duomo di Orvieto, Roma, 1965, p. 79 (fn. 2).

16. Rif., vol. 65, lib. 2, f. 20r., 15 August 1347.

17. Arch. Not., vol. 35, ff. 71v.-72v., 19 February 1374. Will of *domina Bartholomeo olim uxor Ciechi Oddutii dicti Carroccio*. She asked to be buried "*ante figuram Virginis Marie quam depingi fecit ipsa testatrix*". "...*Item reliquid fraternitati dicte ecclesie decem sol. den.*".

18. In Rome, for example, the confraternity of the 'Gonfalon' originated as a fraternity of *Raccomandati*, founded c.1264-7, independently of the flagellant movement. It was at some point in the mid-14th century that this early group developed into, or merged with the penitential confraternity of the Gonfalon. (Léon Kern, *art. cit.*).

19. Arch. Not., vol. 38/2, ff. 34v.-35v., 7 March 1350; and vol. 38/3, ff. 159r.-v., 14 September 1361.

20. Rif., 1391-1411, c. 296. cited in L. Fumi, Il Duomo di Orvieto e i suoi restauri, Roma, 1891, p. 391.

21. Arch. Duomo, Memorie, c. 20. cited in L. Fumi, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

22. P. Perali, Orvieto: Note Storiche di Topografia e d'Arte, Orvieto, 1919, p. 107. Perali does not cite his source, but is clearly referring to the document partly published by Fumi. Examination of the original might reveal whether the name of 'S. Rocco' is in fact mentioned.

23. Andrea Lazzarini, "Il Codice Vitt. Em. 528 e il teatro musicale del Trecento", in A.S.I., vol. 113, Firenze, 1975, p. 496.

24. Arch. Not., vol. 33/2, ff. 75v.-76r., 22 April 1395. Will of Iohannes ser Vannis Leonardi.

25. Arch. Not., vol. 35, ff. 71v.-72v., 19 February 1374. Will of *domina Bartholomea olim uxor Ciechi Oddutii dicti Carroccio*.

26. Arch. Not., vol. 40/2, ff. 215v.-218v., 22 May 1394. Will of Celle "condam Petrutii Cecchantoni de civitate Urbisveteris et regione Sarancis (C. & C. 4,21,3).



27, Arch. Not., vol. 38/3, ff. 110r.-v., 10 November 1360, Will of *Madalena, filia olim Mechi Jacobi*, (C. & C. 4,19,52), Legacies of 20 *soldi* each to the fraternities of S. Giovanni, Santa Maria Maggiore & S. Agostino, *ibid.*, ff. 102r.-v., 9 June 1363, Will of *domina Mea, uxor olim domini Iohannis ser Guidonis Ranerii de Urbeveteri et regione S. Stefani* (C. & C. 4,19,91), Legacies of 10 *soldi* each to the fraternities of Santa Maria Maggiore, S. Domenico, S. Stefano & S. Angelo.

28, P. Perali (op. cit., p. 107) describes 13th C. figures of S. Pietro Parenzo and Santa Caterina on the west wall; a late 14th C. Maestà with SS, Pietro, Paulo & Costanzo on the east wall; and, from the same period, two Saints and an Annunciation on the south wall. The latter is still to be seen, and one of the two saints is identifiable as St. Catherine by the wheel which she carries. High on the wall are fragments of two bearded male figures with haloes.

29, Diario di Ser Tommaso di Silvestro, canonico e notaro (1482-1514), in Eph. Urb., vol. 2, pp. 372-4.

30, Cod. V.E. 528, ff. 62v.-63v., published in B.R.D.S.P.U., App. 5, Sacre Rappresentazioni, text XXXV, pp. 132-6, cf. A. Lazzarini, art. cit., p. 496.

31, Arch. Duomo, Memorie, c. 20, cited in L. Fumi, op. cit., p. 385.

32, There is an extensive literature on the feast of Corpus Domini, and its supposed association with the Miracle of Bolsena. See, for example, articles in general bibliography by L. Sandri, F. Callaey, F. Buchicchio, A. Lazzarini, A. Moretti, and 1966 volume of Studi Eucaristici.

33, Arch. Not., vol. 33/2, fol. 75v., 22 April 1395, Will of Iohannes ser Vannis Leonardi.

34, Arch. Duomo, Memorie e Contratti, vol. 1 (1353-64), ff. 4v., 7r., & 55v.

35, Sandro Bianconi, "Ricerche sui dialetti d'Orvieto e di Viterbo nel Medioevo", estr. di Studi Linguistici Italiani, vol. 111, Friburg, 1962.

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c) Disciplinati and Sacred Drama

1, The texts have been published in full in B.R.D.S.P.U., App. 5, "Sacre Rappresentazioni per le fraternite d'Orvieto nel Cod. Vittorio Emanuele 528", Perugia, 1916, pp. 1-140. All quotations here are from this edition, but there is another complete edition, with detailed introductory comments, by Vincenzo de Bartholomaeis in Le Origini della Poesia Drammatica Italiana, Bologna, c. 1924, pp. 287-305. For discussion of the codex, see items in main bibliography by de Bartholomaeis, A. Lazzarini, P. Perali & A. Giannotti. Scholars currently studying the texts include Prof. Jonathan B. Reiss, of the University of Cincinnati, and Dr Catherine Harding, of Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, both art historians. Prof. Kathleen Falvey, of the department of English in the University of Hawaii at Manoa, has taken a particular interest in the Creation play.

2, The earlier date is established by the privilege of pope Alexander IV (1254-61) listed in the inventory, and the later date by the foundation of the new Franciscan confraternity, which seems to have taken over from the earlier one, in 1323.

3, There is some disagreement over the total number of texts in the codex. Tenneroni, who was responsible for the B.R.D.S.P.U. edition, numbers them from 1 to 36, but de Bartholomaeis treats his number [XXI], the play for Easter Monday, as two separate texts, thus coming to a total of 37.

4, Text 8, "*Queste laude si cantono el primo di di Jannaio. Come Cristo fu circumciso in capo d'octo di po cche nacque.*"



5. Text 12, "*Queste laude si cantano el dì di Carnelevare, Come le septe peccata mortali si conducono a contritione.*"

6. Text 13, "*Queste laude si cantono il primo dì di quaresima al canto passionale*"

7. see articles by A. Lazzarini & V. de Bartholomeis. A potentially useful article by A.M. Terruggia ("In quale momento i disciplinati hanno dato origine al loro teatro?", in B.R.D.S.P.U., App. 9, 1962, Il Movimento..., pp. 455ff.) turned out in fact to have little to add.

8. A. Lazzarini, "La data originaria della sacra rappresentazione del Miracolo di Bolsena", in B.I.S.A.O., Ann. VI, 1950, pp. 1-6.

9. Text 2: "*Questa ripresentazione si fa ad VIIJ di dicembre, al modo antiquo; come la Vergine Maria fu conceputa nel ventre di santa Anna per virtù delu Spirito Santo nelu scontro che fece Gioacchino ala porta aurea di Gierusalem.*" Text 3: "*Questa ripresentatione nuova, compilata per lo proposto di Sancta Cristina, si fa come sancta Anna concepecte la Vergine Maria per virtù delu Spiritu Sancto ad VIIJ dū di dicembre*".

10. "*Butio di Ceccho, rectore di Bolsena*" is registered in the matriculation list in 1374 (Cod. V.E. 538, f. 15). Entries in the Cathedral archive for 1388 & 1392 (Arch. Duomo, Riformanze 1388, f. 118v., 9 December; 1392, f. 27, 29 June) prove that this man was not only a priest, *confratello*, and musical composer, but also wanted to test his skills as a mechanical engineer. His project to build a large mechanical organ for the cathedral was unsuccessful, but he may well have used the same skills on staging for the plays put on by the *disciplinati*. The evidence is discussed fully by A. Lazzarini in A.S.I., vol. 113, 1975, pp. 519-20; also in B.I.S.A.O., Ann. VI, 1950, p. 2 & fn.

11. see P. Perali, "Scenotecnica medioevale nelle sacre rappresentazioni del Natale", in L'Illustrazione Vaticana, Ann. V, n. 24, 16-30 Dec., 1934, pp. 1055-60. Research is currently being done by Prof. Jonathan Reiss into the theme of the Antichrist in the codex and the cathedral frescoes and by Dr Catherine Harding into the frescoes in the Chapel of Corporale.

12. Texts 5, 7, 14, 18 & 23 (or 24).

13. cf. P. Perali, art. cit.

14. The plays in Codex V.E. 528 are not in strict chronological order, but the main seasons of the liturgical year are represented: Advent, Christmas, Lent and Pentecost. The one serious omission is Holy Week, and it may be that the plays for this period were in a separate collection.

15. Cathedral Statutes, 555 *De prohibitis Fustigatorum Representationibus in dicta Ecclesia*. Published, in a footnote, by V. de Bartholomaeis (Le Origini della Poesia Drammatica Italiana, Bologna, c.1924, p. 302), following Fumi's edition (Statuti e Regesti..., pp. 56ff.)

16. Diario di Ser Tommaso di Silvestro, in Eph. Urb., vol. 11.

17. Discorso Storico..., in Eph. Urb., vol. 1, pp. 27-29.

18. Cronaca del Conte Francesco di Montemarte, in Eph. Urb., vol. 1, pp. 266-268. "*si vestiro tutti gli Orvetani, huomini e donne*". The cathedral archive includes a papal indulgence issued the same year to all who would put on the habit of the Bianchi. (Arch Duomo, Pergameni). The processional tradition must still have been alive 11 years later, in 1410, when a local artist, Andrea di Giovanni, was commissioned to paint an elaborate banner, presently in the church of S. Lodovico, which depicts the slaughter of the Innocents, and which was almost certainly intended for processional use.



19. P. Perali (Orvieto: Note Storiche, p.117) refers to a 14th century flagellant seal held in the Museum of the *Opera del Duomo*, but it has proved impossible to trace this in the large, uncatalogued collection there, cf. G. Bascapé, "I sigilli delle Confraternite" in *B.R.D.S.P.U.*, App. 9, 1962, Il Movimento, pp. 591-6.
20. "Elenco delle indulgenze vescovili per la confraternita della Vergine di Perugia", 1337, Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale, ms. 1319, f. 11. Published in G.G. Meersseman, Ordo Fraternitatis, vol. 11, p. 1070, doc. 53.
21. In a draft copy of a paper to be delivered at the International Congress on Medieval Studies, 1980, Kathleen Falvey outlines her theory that the Creation play in Codex V.E. 528 and the bas-relief on the same theme on the first pilaster of the cathedral façade "offer moving commentary on each other".
22. Rapp, 37 (or 36), "*Questa ripresentatione si fa come sancto Iovenale fu facto vescovo di Nargne*".
23. see C. Pacetti, L'antica chiesa di S. Giovenale in Orvieto, Roma, s.d. (post-1934), also Alberto Satolli, "Il complesso architettonico di S. Giovenale e S. Agostino a Orvieto", in *B.I.S.A.O.*, Ann. XXIV, 1968, pp. 3-72.
24. in Eph. Urb., vol. 11, pp. 364-5.
25. A. di S., Lib. Don., fol. 67r., 1263. Will of Bartholomeus Faber. This fraternity also received a legacy of five *soldi*.
26. Arch. Not., vol. 5, f. 79r., 8 March 1329. Will of *domina Chaterina, uxor Monaldutii domini Nerii Monaldi*.
27. Arch. Not., vol. 38/3, f. 110r.-v., 10 November 1360. Will of *Madalena, filia olim Mechi Jacobi*.
28. Arch. Not., vol. 33/1, ff. 43v.-44r., 14 September 1374. Will of *Ceccharellus Ture, vascellarius de Urbevetera*.
29. Arch. Not., vol. 5, ff. 29r.-v., 18 August 1349. Execution of the Will of *domina Agnes, uxor olim Poncelli Conticini domini Nerii de Greca*.
30. Arch. Vesc., Cod. B, f. 53v., 3 February 1377.
31. A. di S., Pergamene. Will of Ugolino Lupicini (c.1330), 530.
32. Arch. Not., vol. 38/3, f. 110r.-v., 10 November 1360. Will of *Madalena, filia olim Mechi Jacobi*.
33. Biblioteca Nazionale, Roma. Cod. V.E. 528. Text 30 (or 29).
34. Cod. V.E. 528. Text 35 (or 34).
35. A. Lazzarini, "Il Cod. V.E. 528...", in *A.S.I.*, vol. 113, 1975, p. 495.
36. Cod. V.E. 528. Text 34 (or 33).
37. P. Giacomo Scalza, Leggenda Latina della B. Giovanna detta Vanna d'Orvieto del Terz'Ordine di S. Domenico, ed. & transl. by P. Vincenzo Mareddu, Orvieto, 1853.
38. St Catherine wrote four letters to the B. Daniela, urging her to be more moderate in her ascetic practices. see Robert Fawtier, Sainte Catherine de Sienne, vol. 11, Les Eyres, Paris, 1930. Edmund G. Gardner, Saint Catherine of Siena, London, 1907. Johannes Jorgensen, Saint Catherine of Siena, London, 1938. Vida O. Scudder, Saint Catherine of Siena as seen in her letters, London, 1905.
39. G. della Valle, Storia del Duomo di Orvieto, Rome, 1791, p. 83.
40. published in G.G. Meersseman, Ordo Fraternitatis, vol. 11, Roma, 1977, pp. 1041-2.



41. Lib. Don., f. 50v., 6 January 1256, Will of *Johannes...*, *Brunatii Capponis* (20 *soldi*); f. 10v., 16 November 1258, Will of *Ranaldus quondam domini Landrini* (40 *soldi*); f. 47v., April 1258, Will of *Monaldus...*, *Lodigerii* (40 *soldi*); f. 18v., 10 August 1259, Will of *Petrus Cruki* (40 *soldi* "pro anima sua").
42. Arch. Not., vol. 38/4. Last of four volumes of the registers of Teo di Matteo di Guidone, notary, 1347-1363.
43. Arch. Not., vol. 2, ff. 26r.-v., 18 february 1350. Will of *Narditius Ser Sensi*.
44. Arch. Not., vol. 1/2, f. 154v., 21 August 1319. Will of *domina Angela uxor Guidi Magalotti*. Arch. Not., vol. 5, f. 79r., 8 March 1329. Will of *domina Chaterina uxor Monaldutii domini Nerii Monaldi*.
45. A. di S., Pergamene. Will of Ugolino Lupicini (c. 1330), 529.
46. Arch. Not., vol. 38/4, f. 60r., 9 October 1362. Permission granted to *disciplinati* to build on a piece of land owned by the Dominican convent.
47. *ibid.*, fol. 118v., 23 July 1363. Gift by *domina Viatricis condam Peponis* of a house in the Valle Piatta region, on condition that she be allowed to live in it during her lifetime. *ibid.*, fol. 112v., 28 June 1363. Will of *Marchus condam Martini*, which includes legacy of twenty *soldi* to the "*fabrice disscipline sancti dominici de Urbeveteri*".
48. *ibid.*, ff. 107v.-108r., 19 June 1363. Will of *domina Viatrice condam Peponis* (gift of a candle worth one gold florin to be used "*in servitio corporis christi*"). *ibid.*, ff. 113v.-114v., 1 July 1363. Will of *Mechus condam Lorutii civis Urbevetanus* (gift of two candles worth two florins, plus four florins to buy a missal). *Ibid.*, ff. 129r.-v., *Andreutius ser Picioli civis Urbevetanus...* (gift of a candle to the house of *disciplinati* of S. Domenico).
49. *ibid.*, ff. 15r.-v., 25 February 1363. Will of *Mechus condam Petri...*; ff. 29v-30r., 4 May 1362. Will of *domina Angela Benefacti de Urbevetere...*; ff. 102r.-v., 9 June 1363. Will of *domina Mea uxor olim domini Iohannis ser Guidonis Ranerii de Urbevetere...*; ff. 131r.-v., 8 August 1363. Will of *Lentius condam Robberti, civis Urbevetanus...*; ff. 132r.-133r., 10 August 1363. Will of the notary himself, *Teus Macthei Guidonis*.
50. Cod. V.E. 528, f. 4r. 8 March 1313. Start of matriculation list.
51. *ibid.*, f. 1r. Start of inventory.
52. There are three privileges, given by pope Alexander IV (1254-61), bishop Leonardo Mancini (1295-1302) and bishop Guittone Farnese (1302-1328)
53. This must be the reasoning which lies behind P. Mariano's statement that a Franciscan fraternity of *laudesi* was active in Orvieto in 1260 ("*Ordo Penitenium...*", p. 183), as I know of no other evidence for its existence at this date. The papal indulgence is explicitly cited by Vincenzo de Bartholomais as the basis for his conclusion that the fraternity of Santa Maria, "*risalga al primo anno del movimento flagellante*" (*Le Origini...*, p. 288)
54. The calligraphy in the plays, the necrology and the later *matricola* is consistent; many of the same individuals appear in the necrology as in the *matricola*, and the wording of the preambles to the plays and the necrology is almost identical.
55. Cod. V.E. 528, f. 52r. Start of Necrology.
56. A. Lazzarini, "Il Cod. V.E. 528...", p. 493.
57. "*Diario di Ser Tommaso di Silvestro*" in Eph. Urb., vol. 11, pp. 366-7 & 372-4.
58. A. Lazzarini ("Il Cod. V.E. 528...", pp. 493 & 496) refers to the "*fraternità di Santa*



*Santa Maria*", which he describes as a "society of Franciscan tertiaries", and the "*fraternità di S. Francesco*", which was founded in 1323, and was still "in fervore teatrale" in 1405. V. de Bartholomais (Le Origini...) describes two distinct flagellant confraternities, "*una di Santa Maria Vergine*" and "*una di S. Francesco*", both of which met in the Franciscan church.

59. Lib. Don., f. 174v., 18 August 1291. Will of Ranerius Ranerii Lodigerii (legacies of 40 *soldi* to the Franciscan confraternity and 20 *soldi* each to certain "*fratres di rigori*"). Arch. Not., vol. 1/2, ff. 153r.-154v., 21 August 1319. Will of *domina Angela uxor Guidi Magalotti* (20 *soldi* to Franciscan confraternity).

60. Arch. Not., vol. 5, fol. 79r., 8 March 1329. Will of *domina Chaterina uxor Monaldutii domini Nerii Monaldi* (10 *soldi*).

61. A. di S., Pergamene. Will of Ugolino Lupicini (c. 1330), 529.

62. Arch. Not., vol. 38/2, ff. 26r.-v., 18 February 1350. Will of Narditius ser Sensi.

63. Arch. Not., vol. 40/2, f. 204r., 10 April 1394. Dispute between the Franciscan *disciplinati* and the Augustinian convent over houses which had allegedly been left to the fraternity by Bartholomeus Iohannis Totti in his Will.

64. By contrast, the performance of the story of S. Lazaro by the *disciplinati* of S. Francesco took place in the *piazza di S. Francesco* on 25 June 1508 ("*Diario di Ser Tommaso di Silvestro*" in Eph. Urb., vol. 11, pp. 366-7).

65. To give just one example, the *Riformanze* of 1404 record a gift of wax from the town to the fraternity of S. Martino for use in their "house" under the Chapel of the *Corporale* (Rif., ad. an., f. 296 & discussion above).

66. Kathleen Falvey does not discuss this question, for the simple reason that she takes this obvious interpretation for granted. (K.C. Falvey, The Orvietan Creation Play in Context - draft of a paper to be given at Viterbo, July 1983).

67. On the contrary, if Lippo and Meo "di Vanni di Pietro", who joined the *disciplinati* in 1241 and 1248, were the sons of Vanni di Pietru di Gulinu di Volgia, one of the rectors of the *laudesi* when their inventory was compiled, then the loyalty of one family at least was transferred from the one group to the other.

68. Andrea Lazzarini, "*Orvieto; diocesi di*" in Enciclopedia Cattolica, vol. IX, Firenze, 1952, p. 394.

69. A. Lazzarini ("*Il Cod. V.E. 528...*", p. 493) wrongly assumes that the earlier confraternity was the same as the Order of Tertiaries to which, for example, Domenico di Pietro Rossi belonged. He produces no real evidence to support this conclusion, and P. Mariano d'Alatri, who has studied the Third Order in much more detail, takes it for granted that the two bodies were separate ("*Ordo Penitentium...*", p. 183).

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#### d) Hospital Oversight

1. "Processus canonizationis B. Ambrosii Massani", in Acta Sanctorum, Nov. IV, Brussels, 1925.

2. For example, d. Rainerio d. Munaldi confessed to Fra Giordano in 1263, "*quod locutus fuit Stephano Narniensis heretico et socio suo in Monte-Marano, et recepti ab eo consilium pro sua infirmitate*," (Lib. Inq., f. 4<sup>a</sup>).

3. Discussed more fully above, 5A.3b) Local consolatii.

4. Discussed more fully below, 5B.5 The Franciscan confraternity and the plague.

5. Arch. Vesc., Cod. A, fol. 244r., 7 November 1281.



6. Canonisation process for B. Ambrogio, 930. Cencio di Oddo had contracted with a doctor to operate on his son's hernia, but when the time came he was too frightened to allow the operation to proceed. This case, and others, is discussed by Anna Imelda Galletti, in "'*Infirmis*' e terapia sacra in una città medievale (Orvieto, 1240)", in *La Ricerca Folklorica*, vol. VIII, Milano, 1983, p. 24.

7. Arch. Vesc., Cod. A, f. 238, 1/2 April 1285.

8. 13 November 1197. In C.D., doc. LXII.

9. Arch. Vesc., Cod. A, f. 251v., 20 November 1284.

10. Arch. Not., vol. 5, ff. 29r.-v. Execution of the Will of *domina* Agnes, widow of Poncello Conticini.

11. Arch. Vesc., Cod. A, f. 238, 1/2 April 1285. When a rector was appointed to the hospital of S. Iacobo on this date, the nominee was an "oblate" of the hospital, *magister* Borgia, and the nomination was made by two "*fraternitarii*".

12. Arch. Vesc., Cod. B, f. 53v., 3 February 1377.

13. Arch. Vesc., Cod. C, f. 57v., 26 March, 1286.

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#### e) Funerals

1. The inventory of the Franciscan fraternity of Santa Maria (c. 1313-23) refers to a book containing the names of those who had died or left the confraternity (Cod. V.E. 528, f. 1r), while the same codex includes part of a necrology belonging to the later Franciscan fraternity of *disciplinati* (ibid, ff. 52ff.).

2. Inventory of Franciscan *laudesi*, Cod. V.E. 528, f. 1r.

3. The monument is described and discussed briefly in P. Perali, Orvieto: note storiche di topografia e d'arte, Multigrafica, 1979 (reprint of 1919 edn.), p. 76.

4. A. di S., Fond. Giud., 1287-89 Register, f. 63v., 4 June 1287. Petrus Rodilossu is named as a notary in several documents, e.g., Lib. Don., f. 154v., 27 July 1287.

5. Cronica fratris Iohannis dicto Caccia Urbeveterani, ed. A.M. Viel & G.M. Girardin, Rome & Viterbo, 1907.

6. Caccia, Cronica, 559, p. 88. Frater Iohannes Ritius (d. 1313).

7. ibid., 589, pp. 123-5. Frater Trans domini Corradi de Monaldensibus (d. 1345).

8. ibid., 565, pp. 97-8. Frater Andreas, dictus Quinta feria, de regione sancti Blasii (d. 1326).

9. ibid., 566, pp. 98-9. Frater Iohannes Petri Rode Loossa (d. 1327).

10. Arch. Duomo, Memorie, c. 20. Quoted in L. Fumi, Il Duomo di Orvieto e i suoi restauri, Roma, 1891, p. 385.

11. Arch. Not., vol. 33/2, ff. 75v.-76r., 22 April 1395. Will of Ser Iohannis ser Vanni Leonardi.

12. Arch. Not., vol. 35, ff. 71v.-72v., 19 February 1374. Will of *domina* Bartholomea, *olim uxor Ciechi Oddutii, dicti Carroccio*.

13. Arch. Not., vol. 38/4, f. 118r., 21 July 1363. Will of *domina viatrix filia olim Pepi* (revised version). This woman also left some money to the cathedral, and arranged for masses to be said there for her.

14. ibid., f. 133v., 13 August 1363. Will of Cecharinus *condam* Lelli.

15. Arch, Not., vol. 33/1, ff. 43v.-44r., 14 September 1374, Will of Ceccharellus Ture, *vascellarius*.

f) Third Orders

1. Arch, Not., vol. 6, f. 24r., 27 August 1369, Will of Ser Cipta Butti Leonardelli *de Urbevetera*, *ibid.*, vol. 35, f. 24v., 7 April 1374, Will of *domina* Sibilia, *filia olim Iohannis, et nunc uxor Freducciole*,...
2. Arch, Vesc., Cod, C, f. 135v., 14 November 1258.
3. Lib, Don., f. 168v., 1 February 1291, "*Donation inter vivos*", from a Guglielmite friar, fra Petrus olim Sulceri.
4. Arch, Vesc., Cod, A, f. 244r., 7 November 1281. Also discussed above, 5B,2d) Hospital Oversight.
5. Arch, Not., vol. 1/2, ff. 153r.-154v., 21 August 1319, Will of *domina* Angela *uxor* Guidi Magalocci (reference wrongly given in C. & C. as Arch, Not., vol. 3).
6. Arch, Not., vol. 5, ff. 43v.-44r., 28 March 1374, Will of *domina* Luna, *filia olim colucci de Baschio, et olim uxor Monaldi Petrutii domini Nerii de Turri*.
7. Lib, Inq., f. 32'. Dominicus Petri Rossi, *civis urbevitanus*.
8. Arch, Vesc., Cod, A, f. 154r., 3 February 1273.
9. A, di s., Rif., vol. XV/6, f. 22v., 21 June 1315.
10. Arch, Vesc., cod, A, f. 170v., 24 October 1282.
11. Lib, Don., f. 174v., 18 August 1291, "*donation inter vivos*", from Ranerius *condam* Ranerii Lodigerii to his brother, Petrus.
12. Brief of Nicholas III, dated 24 March 1279, as described by G. della Valle in Storia del Duomo di Orvieto, Roma, 1791, p. 33. According to U. Nicolini ("*I frati della Penitenza a Perugia alla fine del sec. XIII*", in B.R.D.S.P.U., app. 9, Il Movimento dei Disciplinati..., p. 372), the term "*fratres de penitentia*" was being used exclusively in the Perugian sources from 1282 to refer to Franciscan tertiaries.
13. Leggenda Latina della B. Giovanna detta Vanna da Orvieto, by Ven. P. Giacomo Scalza, O.P. For editions of this, and the letters of Catherine of Siena, see Bibliography, 53. B. Vanna and B. Daniela were among those cited by F. Tommaso Caffarini in his Tractatus de Ordine FF. de Penitentia S. Dominici (1402-1407, ed. M.-H. Laurent, Firenze, 1938), the purpose of which was to secure the official recognition of the Third Order of S. Domenico.
14. Caccia, Cronica..., 550, p.79.
15. see P. Roberto M. Fagioli, O.S.M., "La Chiesa e il Convento di Santa Maria dei Servi di Orvieto", in Studi Storici dell'Ordine dei Servi di Maria, Ann. VII, 1955-6, fasc. I-IV, p. 33. In a Bull of 11 April 1265, Clement IV urged the Premonstratensians to allow the Servites to settle in their parish.
16. in F.A. dal Pino, I Frati Servi di S. Maria dalle origine all'approbazione (1225-1304), vol. II, Documentazione, Louvain, 1972, section II, docs. 34-35.  
1233ca
17. see P. Roberto M. Fagioli, "Settecento anni: 5. Il Convento di Orvieto e le Associazioni Laicali", in L'Apostolato del Crocifisso e dell'Addolorata, Ann. XXVIII, II° Ser., ann. IV, n. 5, maggio 1965, p. 14.
18. M.-C. de Ganay, Les Bienheureuses Dominicaines. 1190-1577. d'après les documents inédits, Paris, 1913, p. 119. Even more ridiculous is his suggestion that Vanna must often have disputed with the "Patarines" (i.e. Cathars). She was only four years/



years old when the Inquisition effectively put an end to the Cathar heresy in Orvieto.

19. Leggenda Latina della B. Giovanna detta Vanna d'Orvieto, ed. & transl. P. Vincenzo Mareddu, Orvieto, 1853, Chapter IV, pp. 8-9,

20. *ibid.*, Chapter VIII, p. 30,

20. *ibid.*, Chapter V, p. 12,

21. *ibid.*, Chapter VI, p. 20.

22. Edmund G. Gardner, Saint Catherine of Siena: a study in the religion, literature and history of the 14th century in Italy, London, 1907, pp. 284-5,

23. Vida D. Scudder, Saint Catherine of Siena as seen in her letters, London, 1905, pp. 144-153,

24. see discussion above, 5A,2b) "Priests and tertiaries".

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### B.3 COMPOSITION AND MEMBERSHIP

It would have been ideal, for purposes of comparison, if Codex V.E. 528 had provided, for confraternity members, the same type and quantity of information as the *Liber Inquisitionis* provides for Orvietan heretics. This is not the case, however. In all but a very few instances, all that is given is the person's name, region, and membership dates. Thus, although an attempt will be made here to draw together the little that is known about individual *confratelli*, any general remarks must be prefaced by a word of caution. At least four hundred men passed through the ranks of the Franciscan *disciplina* between 1323 and 1350, and the combined membership figures for all Orvietan religious associations in the relevant period must have been a great deal larger. It would be unrealistic, therefore, to read too much into the brief comments which will follow about the wealth, employment, and family and social connections of a very small proportion of these people.

A profitable line of enquiry for future research might be to investigate the social background of the people who gave financial support to religious confraternities, particularly in the form of legacies. Women sometimes left money to all-male confraternities, and some Wills contain legacies to several different groups. Therefore, it cannot be assumed that benefactors were invariably members of the societies to which they gave money. Nevertheless, they must have been sympathetic towards their aims, and most would probably have belonged to one society or another. Personal testaments are a rich source of information for the social historian in any case, and there is the additional advantage that the names of people affluent enough to employ a notary to draw up their Will are more likely than most to appear in other documentary sources, such as council records and legal deeds.

In the meantime, attention is drawn to Tables 1 to 6, which summarise most of the personal data provided in Codex V.E. 528 about members of the Franciscan confraternities, and which will be supplemented, as before, with such information as is available about members of other religious associations.

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#### a) Wealth, Occupation and Social Status

As far as personal wealth is concerned, it has already been noted



that Domenico di Pietro Rossi, the Franciscan tertiary tried for heresy in 1269, must have been a person of some substance if he was to perform the acts of charity which were required by the Inquisitors as part of his penance'. Detailed study of Orvietan Wills might be productive of more examples, but there is at least one relevant Will in the notarial archive. This was drawn up by Narditius Ser Sensi, one of the Franciscan *disciplinati*, on 19 February 1350<sup>2</sup>. There is no doubt that this was the same man who joined the Franciscan confraternity on 3 August 1348 and was expelled ("*fu cacciato*") on 20 September 1359<sup>3</sup>. His name is given in Latin in the one source, and in the vernacular in the other, but the form is otherwise identical, and if further confirmation is required, the Will states that he lived in the Santa Pace quarter of Orvieto, while the matriculation list places him in the region of "*Valle Piattu*", which was part of that quarter. The Will is doubly relevant, since it was made during Narduccio's eleven-year period of confraternity membership.

The Will provides three important pieces of personal information about this man. In the first place, it states explicitly that he was a nobleman:

*Narditius Ser Sensi de Urbeveteri regione sancte pacis, corpore mente et intellectu sanus, qui presentis vite conditione nobilem statum habet...*

Secondly, he must have been married, because the profits from all his estates were to be set aside for his wife, *domina* Lippa, so long as she chose to live "honestly and chastely" in her late husband's home:

*Item reliquit dominam Lippam suam uxorem duam massanam et usufructuarum omnium suorum bonorum in vita sua si oneste et caste stare voluerit in domu dicti testatoris...*

Thirdly, it is likely that the couple were childless, as in the event of Lippa's death all Narduccio's possessions were to be divided between named churches and charitable causes. The reason given is that "the soul is worth more than the body", but although the man's sincerity is not in question, he might not have been quite so generous if there had been direct heirs to his estate.

The full extent of Narduccio's wealth is not stated, but he had property in the *contado* as well as in the town itself. His house in the Santa Pace quarter was to be given to the Cathedral ("*fabrice Maioris Ecclesie Sancte Marie*") after his wife's death. He had land in Allerona worth five hundred *Lire*, and the fact that he left twelve *Lire* to the

poor of Chiusi, and six *Lire* to the poor of S. Venanzo, strongly suggests that he had property interests in both these areas too. Thus, although the cash legacies amount to only a hundred *Lire* or so in total, it is likely that the *discipline* of S. Francesco and S. Domenico were both substantially better off after they had divided the residue of Narduccio's estate between them, as stipulated at the end of the Will.

The case of Narduccio Ser Sensi illustrates how difficult it is to make a proper assessment of a person's social status on the basis of the form in which his name appears in a document such as the confraternity list. The *matricola* specifies only that his father was a nobleman, and yet his Will makes it clear that Narduccio, too, was a recognised member of the nobility. Nine other *confratelli* had the title "Ser", which undoubtedly implied noble status, one was "Misser" and one man, Angnillo di Ser Pippo<sup>4</sup>, was given a title in the matriculation list, but not in the necrology (see Table 2). No fewer than forty-four members were in the same position as Narduccio, in that their father was given a title (*Ser*, *Misser*, or *Maestro*), while they were not. This probably indicates nothing more than the fluidity of such designations in the medieval period.

The title '*Maestro*' or '*Mastro*' was normally reserved for master craftsmen, but the actual trade is only specified in one of the sixteen cases where it is used in Codex V.E. 528. *Mastru* Barto was a builder ('*muratore*') who belonged to the Franciscan fraternity of *laudesi* in 1313. The early *matricola* also gives the names of two notaries and one barber. Clearly, if the whole of this list had survived, it would have been much more informative than the corresponding list for the later fraternity of *disciplinati*, for the latter gives the professions of only six members, out of a much larger total. Three men are described as '*sartore*', one as '*vascellario*', one as '*baliere*' and one as '*coltraio*' (see Table 3). These examples confirm that tradespeople did have a place alongside members of the nobility in at least one confraternity, but they are otherwise too few in number to be of any real significance.

By chance, it is possible, with regard to the subject of employment, to supplement the data in the fraternity's own register with material from the Cathedral archive. This has not yet been consulted directly, but even the very limited selection of documents available in secondary sources<sup>4</sup> has yielded a significant amount of additional information about Franciscan confraternity members, many of whom were employed, in



one capacity or another, in the work of building Orvieto's new Cathedral. There is, of course, some ambiguity over names, but altogether around twenty-five of the *disciplinati* have been identified so far as Cathedral employees (see Table 17).

These ranged from simple carters, like Cecco di frate Vanni, Giovanni Turella and Severo di Vanne, hired to transport marble from the quarries to the building-site, to highly-skilled craftsmen such as the master mosaicist, Fra Giovanni di Buccio Leonardelli. The list even includes a number of administrative officials. Two of the *disciplinati* (Giovanni di Stefano and Meo di Nuto) were *capomæstri* in the *Opera del Duomo*, another three (Marco di Ciano, Meco di Pietri, and Vannuccio di Pepo) were 'superstites', and one man, Meo di Vanne di Pietro, had served as both supervisor and chamberlain. In the last case, the man's personal names are all very common ones, but they appear in the same form three times in the Franciscan membership lists: once in 1313, and again relating to a new entrant on 6 April 1348, and to a death in 1376<sup>5</sup>.

Among the other Cathedral craftsmen who happened also to be confraternity members were five stonemasons or sculptors employed on the façade (Angeluccio di Pietro, Cecco di Peruccio, m. Miglioretto di Morico, Meuccio di Vanne, and Petrucciolo di Angeluccio); two other mosaicists (Pietro di Nuto Somay and Petruccio di Vanne); one painter (Cola di Petrucciolo); one carpenter (m. Lippo di m. Barto); one specialist in wrought ironwork (Pietro Paulu di m. Pandolfo); one in bell-repairing (Angeluccio di Cecco); and one in clock-making (Meo di m. Andrea). There was also one merchant (Vannuccio di Meo), who received payment in 1330 for two items ('*squatri piscis*') used for cleaning the wood in the choir. Finally, two other confraternity members (Pietro di Federigo and Meo di Tino di Gianne) appeared, in 1310 and 1362 respectively, among the civic officials present at council meetings where decisions were being taken which affected the Cathedral project.

This survey picture is of interest in its own right, conveying, as it does, a sense of the wide range of men who might be interested in joining a religious confraternity. Nonetheless, there are a few individual cases worth highlighting.

Two men occupied positions of leadership in both the Franciscan confraternity and the *Opera del Duomo*. Vannuccio di Pepo, one of the superintendents of the *Opera* in 1362, had been rector of the *disciplinati* four years earlier, in 1358, at the time when Cecco di

Peruccio, a stonemason, who had worked on the Cathedral façade intermittently between 1337 and 1347, was expelled "because he would not obey the rules" <sup>6</sup>. There is nothing unusual about Cecco's expulsion, as he was one of a large batch of new entrants in the summer of 1348, many of whom were subsequently expelled, presumably because their zeal began to flag after the immediate danger of plague was past. Nor is there anything to suggest that Cecco was ever under Vannuccio's direct professional supervision. Nonetheless, the coincidence is worth noting. Pietro Paulu di m. Pandolfo is the second person to have taken responsibility in both groups. An ironworker to trade, this man was one of seven 'priors' listed in the Cathedral *Memorie* for 15 November 1352. He had a chequered career in the confraternity, since he was expelled some time after joining in 1344. Nevertheless, he was serving as rector in 1360, and his death is recorded on 22 June 1363<sup>7</sup>.

Another name worth noting is that of Cola di Pietrucciolo, one of the artists who worked with Ugolino di Prete Ilario on the Chapel in the crypt beneath the apse, where the Cathedral *disciplinati* met<sup>8</sup>. In particular, he was responsible for the Crucifixion scene, commissioned by another member, or former member of the Franciscan confraternity, Savinu di Vannuccio (exp. 1346). No precise correlation can be drawn here. As noted already (p. 317), the patron, Savino, had been expelled from the confraternity two years before the painter, Cola, was admitted, and thirty-three years before the completion of the work, but it is one more point of contact between the Cathedral project and the Franciscan *disciplina*.

Fra Giovanni di Buccio Leonardelli, master mosaicist, was not only a confraternity member, but also a highly respected craftsman<sup>9</sup>. Apart from one occasion in 1347, when he received payment for a piece of linen cloth, most of his work for the Cathedral was done in the ten years from 1360 to 1370, during which period he demonstrated considerable versatility. He not only produced the large-scale mosaics for which he is most famous, such as the Assumption scene above the main door (completed 1366), but he had also worked with Ugolino di Prete Ilario on the frescoes in the *Cappella del Corporale* (1357-8), and was later to be involved in the restoration of the huge stained-glass window in the apse (c.1369-70/75). Contemporary respect for his skill is indicated by the scale of the projects with which he was entrusted, and this opinion was upheld by the four judges who were commissioned in June 1363 to inspect



his work on the façade. It rested with them whether he should receive the gold florin which he had been promised only if the work was satisfactory:

*... viso et inspecto dicto opere, et habito colloquio et deliberatione ad invicem, coram ser Tino Lutii Camerario dicti operis, declaraverunt et dixerunt dictum opus factum per fratrem Johannem predictum esse perfectum et bonum et pulchrum, bene missum, planum et etiam pulcre figure et cum bona colla...*

Quite apart from the quality of his work, Fra Giovanni is of interest because of his special status as a Franciscan tertiary. In fact, it is the Cathedral records which clear up any ambiguity about his status. In the confraternity matriculation list, he is described only as "Giuovanni di Bucciu di Lonardelle", while in the necrology he is named as "Fra Giovanni di Buccio", but had there been any doubt whether these referred to the same person, this would have been removed by looking at the Cathedral account-books, where he is often given his full title, "*frater Johannes Bucii Leonardelli*". It was evident even from the necrology that "*Fra*" must have referred to more than just his confraternity membership, since otherwise all the brothers would have had the same designation, but this, too, is made explicit in the Cathedral records which describe him as:

*... honestus et religiosus vir, frater... tertii ordinis fratrum minorum Ecclesie sancti Francisci de civitate (Urbisveteris)".*

One might have thought that membership of the lay confraternity and the Third Order would have been mutually exclusive, but this case provides incontrovertible evidence that the two groups overlapped to an extent.

Finally, one of the seven 'priors' of the *Opera del Duomo* in 1352 was Ser Vanni di Lonardo, who was in all probability the father of "Ser Iohannes ser Vannis Leonardi". It is not known whether or not this man belonged to one of the Orvietan confraternities, but he left the sum of one hundred *soldi* to the *disciplinati* of Santa Maria Maggiore in 1395, with the request that they accompany him to his burial in the church of S Francesco<sup>10</sup>.

Considering the very restricted range of evidence from which these examples have been drawn, it is clear that there would be much to be gained from a detailed comparison of the two sources: Cod. V.E. 528 and the account-books of the *Opera del Duomo*. It has already been demonstrated, first of all, that many skilled craftsmen chose to join a religious confraternity which also had some noblemen among its number,

and, secondly, that the Franciscan *disciplinati* were very closely involved indeed in the Cathedral project, even working on occasion in the premises of the Cathedral's own confraternity. If so much has been learnt almost by accident, then a full-scale study of confraternity membership among Cathedral employees could not fail to yield results. Such a project will be greatly facilitated by the computerisation of all the Cathedral records, which is currently underway.

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b) Family and Regional Ties

Much of the discussion has focussed so far on individual laymen, but piety in the medieval period was not only, nor even primarily an individual matter. Membership of a religious confraternity, or, for that matter, a local Cathar cell, gave a real sense of identity not only to particular men and women, but to broader categories of people, such as widows, in the case of heresy, or to prosperous artisans, whose growing responsibility in business and civic affairs was not matched by opportunities for participation in traditional religious groups. It has already been demonstrated that family relationships were a very important factor in determining which people became involved in heresy. Certain families, such as the Tosti and Miscinelli, were the mainstay of the sect, and there were few in these family circles who would not have been drawn into the movement, often from early childhood. It should come as no surprise, then, to find family relationships among confraternity members, and there were almost certainly a great many more than have so far been identified (see Table 4). Despite the many innovations in lay religion in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which meant that people were breaking away from traditional practices, parental influence was still a powerful force, and confraternity membership, like allegiance to heresy, was something which could effectively be passed on from one generation to another.

One father and son, Michele di Bofratellu and his son Vanni, were listed together as members of the fraternity of *laudesi* of Santa Maria in 1313. It would have been helpful if the rest of this matriculation list had survived, since family relationships were obviously specified in it. It would also have been useful from the point of view of comparing membership of the two Franciscan fraternities, to discover how many men, and how many families, transferred their allegiance from the one to the



other between 1313 and 1323. As it is, there is only one possible family connection between the two groups, though it is a fairly strong one. Meio di Vanni di Pietru was one of the *laudesi* in 1313, and Vanni di Pietru di Gulinu di Volgla was chamberlain when the group's inventory was compiled around the same time. The later *disciplinati* included two men with similar names. At the very least, it can be assumed that Meio di Vanni di Pietro, who was accepted as a *disciplinato* on 6 April 1348, and Lippu di Vanni di Pietro, who died on 20 October of that year, seven years after his admission, were brothers'. This is made all the more likely by the fact that they both lived in the Serancia quarter. The first "Meio" lived in the S. Costanzo region, and Vanni's home region is not known. However, it is at least possible that this family spanned the gap between the first and second Franciscan confraternities.

Other possible family relationships within the Franciscan *disciplina* are indicated in Table 4. There are a further seven pairs and groups of men who, from the form of their names, may have been brothers, and at least three of these groups belonged to families with noble connections. Although they lived in different regions, and may have been of different rank, Ser Pietru di Francescu and Lorençu di Francescu seem to have joined the confraternity more or less together, as their names appear one after another on the register. Other identifications are based purely on similarity of names. As a general rule, the more unusual, and the more specific the names are, the more likely it is that the men were, in fact related. On that basis, the sons of "Ser Senu", "Ser Pietro" and "Janu da Sucanu" are more likely to have been brothers than the sons of "Nardo", or the two men described as "del Rossu". In the case of the two men from Guadignolo, there is no real reason to believe that they were related, simply because they were born in the same town and had moved to Orvieto.

Other family connections might well be revealed by careful use of other sources. For example, it is not impossible that the two *confratelli* from the "del Rossu" family may have been related to two Dominican friars, Petrus and Iohannes Rubeus<sup>2</sup>. It is also interesting, if not particularly informative, to speculate on the particular circumstances surrounding some of the more complex entries in the Franciscan register, and on the internal relationships between members of a pious lay family. To give another example, if Pitrucciole, Giovanni and Jacovuccio 'di Nardo' were all brothers, the question arises whether

it was only the shock of the plague which caused the second two in 1348 to follow the example of their more devout brother, who had already been a member of the confraternity for eleven years.

The remaining four sets of relationships suggested in Table 4 span at least two generations within a family. Buccio di Salamone may have been the son of Salamare, who was rector in 1346, although this family was a large, as well as a prominent one, and these particular members of it need not have been so closely related<sup>13</sup>. There is, in contrast, a strong case for connecting Matheio di Sulino with Sulino d'Angnieluccu, although it is harder to be sure whether Neri di Sulinu was a second son of the same man. Matheio and Sulino both belonged to the same region, the 'son' joined a few years after the 'father', and both were expelled on exactly the same date. Similarly, of the three men with the surname "di Conte", only Tomasso and Symonettu di Monalduccio lived in the Santa Pace region, and they had both entered during the plague year, whereas Simone, who lived in the region of SS. Apostoli, had joined four years earlier. Even so, there is always the possibility that 'Simonettu' had been named after his second uncle, Simone.

The most complex set of relationships is at the same time one of the most secure. Monaldo and Berardo "di misser Ormando" belonged to the same region and died on the same day. The younger Berardo not only joined on the same day as his uncle, but is registered immediately after him in the matriculation list, where he is described as "Berardo di Currado del decto missere Ormando". Three generations of one prominent Orvietan family are thus represented here, and it is, in fact, possible to identify the individuals concerned (see Appendix).

The existence of family relationships such as these within the Franciscan confraternity adds another dimension to what is known about the nature of the group. It contributes to a picture of the *disciplina*, not as some bizarre form of experimentation for religious fanatics, which the connection with flagellation might have suggested, but as a stable, respected institution with a strong element of continuity among its members. This will be particularly important when it comes to examining membership patterns during the crisis of the Black Death in 1348. On the one hand, the sudden influx of new members meant a sudden break in continuity, but on the other hand, the stability of the group may have been part of its attraction for frightened people in a time of extreme personal danger.



Regional affiliation is in some ways an expansion of the subject of family relationships among confraternity members. It would be useful if this could be examined across all the Orvietan confraternities, to see to what extent people joined their local association, and whether, as seems likely, the movement became more centralised as time went on. This is not possible, of course. The fraternity of S. Angelo did have a very close association with local residents, even acting for them on such occasions as the election of a new rector to their hospital in 1286<sup>14</sup>. However, the only detailed information comes from Codex V.E. 528, which was compiled by one of the largest confraternities in the town, and one of the groups most likely to draw its membership from all four quarters of Orvieto. The four quarters were not, in fact, equally represented in the fraternity, but they were not of equal size, and it was the Postierla quarter, the largest of the four, which had provided the largest number of *disciplinati* (see Table 5)<sup>15</sup>.

There were, finally, a number of *confratelli* from towns other than Orvieto (see Table 6), but this is in no way exceptional, and simply reflects the presence of a certain proportion of immigrants in the population as a whole. The same pattern may be seen in the *Catasto* of 1292, which lists fifty-eight "strangers", from places such as Perugia, Cremona, Lucca, Siena and Viterbo, living within the city boundary of Orvieto<sup>16</sup>. Approximately forty of the Dominican friars listed in Caccia's chronicle were not native Orvietans<sup>17</sup>, and even the Cathar sect attracted the support of resident aliens, such as Amatus and Stradigottus "Senensis", who were both identified by the Inquisitors as "*habitor civitatis*"<sup>18</sup>. The presence of "foreigners" in the Franciscan *disciplina* simply confirms G. Pardi's observation that "the condition of these foreigners, labourers or merchants, need not have been substantially different from that of other citizens"<sup>19</sup>.

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### c) Women

The fact that the best-documented confraternity - the *disciplina* of S. Francesco - was an exclusively male group severely limits what can be said about the important subject of female spirituality in Orvieto. It has already been seen that many women, and particularly those whose lives had been disrupted in any case by widowhood, were attracted to heresy. It is inconceivable that their need for spiritual support would

April 1405

Preamble to the collection of dramatic texts compiled by the Franciscan  
confraternity of *disciplinati*.

Benedecto e lodato sia el nome del nostro signore Gieso Christo  
crucifissu e dela sua benedecta madre Vergene Maria e del biato misser  
sancto Francesco e sancto Lodivico, con tucta la corte del sancto  
paradiso.

Queste sonno le ripresentatione le quale si degono fare l'anno per  
le fraternite d'Orvieto, e scripture nel presente libro per me Tramo di  
Lonardo, disciplinato dela fraternita di santo Francesco benedecto, de  
voluntà, e di Colo di Berardino, sorrectore dela decta fraternita, nele  
Mille CCCC.V. e del me' d'aprile.

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fraternity of *Raccomandati* was a mixed group<sup>24</sup>.

In the case of the Dominican confraternity there is documentary proof that women as well as men were allowed to join. This is slightly surprising, as this group was part of the flagellant tradition, but it could be that the Dominican society underwent a similar transformation to that experienced by the Franciscan group in the early fourteenth century. In any case, as far as the late thirteenth century is concerned, Fra Munio's letter of 7 December 1286 is quite unambiguous. It was addressed to:

*... providis et honestis confratribus et confratris in honorem  
beate Virginis et beati Dominici in Urbeveteri congregatis...* (23)

In addition to the possibility of joining one of these mixed confraternities, women with a deep religious commitment also had the option of becoming a tertiary in either the Dominican or the Franciscan Third Order. There was a residential community of female Dominican tertiaries in Orvieto by the end of the thirteenth century<sup>24</sup>, but the Franciscan Third Order for women was probably established long before the first documentary reference to it. This occurs in a Will of 1374, where the testator, *domina* Sibilia, asked to be buried in the tertiary's habit<sup>25</sup>.

Nonetheless, the fact remains that women were excluded from the *discipline*, which increasingly came to dominate the confraternal movement in Orvieto. Just as the painting of the *Raccomandati* shows men and women together, so the crucifixion scene in the crypt used by the *disciplinati* of Santa Maria Maggiore makes it equally clear that no women were allowed to wear the white, hooded robes which were the public uniform of this group<sup>26</sup>. And just as there is documentary evidence that the Dominican fraternity was mixed in 1268, so there is firm proof that the fraternity of S Giovanni di Platea in 1349 was exclusively male. A document relating to the confraternity hospital in 1349 describes its representative, Marchectus olim Mancini, as "*syndo et procuratore universitatis et hominum fraternitatis dissciplinatorum...*"<sup>27</sup>.

Lest it be thought, however, that the women of Orvieto were all deeply resentful of their treatment at the hands of arrogant men, it is important to remember that many of the gifts and legacies, even to male confraternities, came from women. These women were free to distribute their money as they chose, and they would not have supported the *disciplinati* unless they approved of their activities, and genuinely felt

part of the flagellant movement, if only at second-hand.

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d) Priests and Religious

Religious confraternities and Third Orders would not be relevant to the present study at all if they had not been run primarily by and for lay people. That said, one central element of their corporate worship - the celebration of the Mass - would have been impossible without the presence of a priest. In some cases, where there was a close connection between the lay confraternity and the local church, the parish priest would be able to perform this function without necessarily being seen as a member of the group. Many of the larger, and the later fraternities would have had one or more priests among their members, sometimes, but not always in the official rôle of chaplain.

When it comes to identifying First Order Dominicans or Franciscans who may also have been *disciplinati*, there is more of a problem, because the title "Fra" or "*frater*" was commonly used of tertiaries as well as friars. It has already been seen that Fra Giovanni di Buccio Leonardi, would not have been identified as a tertiary without information from the Cathedral archive to supplement the records of the Franciscan confraternity, to which he also belonged<sup>2a</sup>. His name appears sometimes with the prefix "Fra", and sometimes without. The rectors of two local hospitals - Fra Giovanni, who was the first rector of a hospital in Acquapendente in 1281, and Fra Bonfilio of Arezzo, who was elected rector of the hospital of S. Angelo di Postierla in 1286 - were also described in this way<sup>2a</sup>. The first man was definitely a tertiary, and in the second case, the man's status is not clearly explained. The title "*frater*" may even have come automatically with the rectorship, regardless of the man's previous status.

It was not usual for a man to belong to more than one type of association. There was no conceptual problem in belonging to more than one lay confraternity, as some people did, but in principle a First Order Franciscan or Dominican could not simultaneously be a lay person or a member of the Third Order. Nevertheless, the flagellant confraternities had become so large and so active in the course of the fourteenth century that there were some priests, friars and tertiaries who wanted to be part of this vital movement. Andrea Lazzarini is convinced, in fact, that many of the plays in the Orvietan cycle of sacred drama could



only have been composed by someone with a sound theological education

*... è evidente che i compilatori dei libretti della Comunione dei Santi, di San Domenico, San Giacomo, San Martino, Sant'Agostino dovevano esser chierici, i quali non ignoravano altre letture, e in primo luogo la conosciutissima e famosissima Legenda Aurea.* (30)

Most of the evidence here, as elsewhere, relates to the *disciplinati* of S. Francesco, but there is one informative example which is documented only because the man in question happened later to become a Dominican friar. A brief biography was included in Fra Giovanni Caccia's Chronicle of the Orvietan convent<sup>31</sup>. *Frater Iacobus Karomi* had been born into a noble household, and began his ecclesiastical career when Pope Nicholas IV ordained him canon in the Cathedral in Orvieto. He must have lived to old age, because Caccia records that he served more than forty years in the Cathedral, and then several years more as a canon in the Church of S. Andrea: all this before joining the Dominican Order. He endowed chapels in both churches where he had served as canon, and provided the stipend for a priest in S. Andrea. During the earlier part of his life, he had been appointed vicar general to Bishop Leonardo (1295-1302), and it was while he was still a canon that he had belonged to an unspecified fraternity of *disciplinati*:

*... nichilominus plures quadragesimas duxit in pane et aqua, et omnes vigiliis beate Virginis et omnium apostolorum, quam etiam omnes VI ferias, ob devotionem et reverentiam passionis Domini Ihesu Christi, et corpus suum disciplinis domando, quia de fraternitate erat Disciplinatorum...*

If this does refer to a genuine flagellant confraternity, rather than a Third Order, then it illustrates how many similarities there were between the lifestyle of all sorts of religious bodies, lay and clerical, orthodox and heretical. The same sort of virtues seems to have been universally admired. Fra Giacomo kept up his penitential lifestyle after he joined the Dominican Order, but he probably let his confraternity membership lapse, although this is not absolutely clear from the wording of the text:

*... cuius devotio habituata in seculo ordinem ingressus non est diminuta, sed potius augmentata...*

With the usual provisos about problems of identification, there were approximately five priests and five friars (or tertiaries) in the Franciscan confraternity (see Table 1). Perhaps the most significant thing that can be said about them is that they do not stand out from their fellow-*confratelli* in any obvious way. With the exception of

*frater* Iacobus Albi, who was rector of the fraternity of Santa Maria in 1313, and *frate* Gianni of Postierla, who was the founder and "spiritual father" of the new fraternity of *disciplinati* in 1323, these men did not hold special positions of leadership within the confraternity. It certainly was not an automatic adjunct of their clerical status.

Furthermore, ordination granted them no immunity from the normal disciplinary measures applied to *confratelli* who failed to observe the rules of the confraternity. Two of the five priests were among those expelled from the group (see Table 9). *Prete* Ludovico di Masa, of the S. Giovenale region, was admitted on 15 February 1341, and was expelled sixteen years later, on 15 December 1357, having been "*corresso per primo, secundo et tertio correctione*" <sup>32</sup>. *Prete* Giovanni di Jannucciu, of Ripa del Olmo region, entered on 3 August 1348, and was expelled on 15 December 1359, the entry stating only "*fu cacciato et corresso*" <sup>33</sup>.

Although the numbers involved are far too small for statistical significance, this proportion of expulsions - two out of five - was just about average. It will become apparent shortly, when the subject of internal discipline is covered in more detail, that expulsion was not necessarily a major issue for either the fraternity or the recalcitrant member<sup>34</sup>. Nevertheless, it is indicative of their standing within the *disciplina* that priests seem to have been just as likely as lay people to be expelled from it if they did not adhere to the conditions of membership.

This simply reinforces the point that confraternities were lay societies first and foremost. They had evolved originally to enable lay men and women to participate in some areas of religious life which had hitherto been the exclusive preserve of the clergy. By the early fourteenth century, the tables had been turned to the extent that some members of the clergy were prepared to put aside any special privileges associated with their clerical status in order to share in the benefits of belonging to a lay confraternity.

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### B.3 COMPOSITION AND MEMBERSHIP: FOOTNOTES

1. Lib. Inq., f. 32<sup>r</sup>, Dominicus Petri Rosse. See above, 5A.2b) & c).
2. Arch. Not., vol. 38/2, f. 26r.-v. Summary in C. & C., 4.19.16, where the date is given as 18, not 19 February 1350.
3. Cod. V.E. 528, f. 9v.
4. Most of this data is from L. Fumi, Il Duomo di Orvieto e i suoi restauri, Roma, 1891, but three names (Pietro Paulu di misser Pandalfu, Ser Vanni di Lonardo & Meo di Vanni di Pietro) are mentioned in the small fragment fr. the Memorie published by Sandro Bianconi, "Ricerche sui dialetti d'Orvieto e di Viterbo nel Medioevo", in Studi Linguistici Italiani, vol. III, Friburg, 1962.
5. Arch. Duomo, Memorie, 15 November 1352. Also Cod. V.E. 528, 1313 Matricola, f. 7r. (matric.), 6 April 1348; & f. 55v. (necrol.), 1376.
6. Cod. V.E. 528, ff. 7r.-v. He was also rector on 25 March 1347, when another man, Simone di Conte, was expelled (f. 6v.). Vannuccio's own death was recorded on 15 September 1383.
7. Cod. V.E. 528, ff. 6v., 9r. & 54v.
8. Cola di Pitrucciole (Serancia region) was expelled 28 May (?) 1348 (f. 9v.). Savinu di Vannuccio was admitted on 15 June 1346, and expelled on 5 November of the same year (f. 5r.). For discussion of the painting in the Cathedral crypt, see above, 5B.2b) Cathedral confraternities.
9. Giovanni di Buccio di Lonardelle entered on 12 July 1348 (f. 10r.-v.), cf. Frate Giovanni di Buccio, d. 5 July 1371 (f. 55r.).
10. Arch. Not., vol. 33/2, ff. 75v.-76r., 22 April 1395, Will of Ser Iohannes Ser Vanni Leonardi. Discussed above, 5B.2e) Funerals.
11. Lippo di Vanni di Pietru, entered 11 Nov. 1341; died 20 October 1348 (Cod. V.E. 528, matric. f. 6r.). Meo di Vanno di Pietro, 1313 Matricola; entered Disciplina 6 April 1348 (matric. f. 7r.); died 1376 (necrol. f. 55v.)
12. ed. A.M. Viel & G.M. Girardin, Cronica Fratris Johannis dicto Caccia Urbevetai, Rome & Viterbo, 1907, pp. 78 & 132.
13. The necrology lists two men with very similar names; Salamare di Teio, d. 16 August 1348 (f. 54r.); Salamare di Meo, d. 5 February 1383 (f. 56r.). The size of the family is indicated by the fact that sixteen of the Dominican friars named by Caccia in his chronicle (see above) were connected in some way with it.
14. Arch. Vesc., Cod. C, f. 57v., 26 March 1286.
15. G. Pardi ("Il 'Catasto' d'Orvieto dell'Anno 1292", in B.R.D.S.P.U., vol. 2, 1896, pp. 225-320) has calculated the number of hearths in each quarter in 1292: 464 in Santa Pace; 1,181 in Postierla; 659 in SS. Giovanni & Giovenale; 432 in Serancia. On this basis, SS. Giovanni & Giovenale is slightly under-represented and Serancia slightly over-represented in the confraternity, but the differences are minimal.
16. G. Pardi, "Il 'Catasto...'", pp. 260-262.
17. Caccia, Cronica...
18. Lib. Inq., f. 24' (Amatus Senesis); f. 28 (Stradigottus Senensis). See Heresy, Table 12.
19. G. Pardi, "Il 'Catasto...'", pp. 260. "*La condizione di questi forestieri, lavoratori*"

*lavoratori o commercianti, non doveva esser differente da quella degli altri cittadini"*

20, see above, §B.2a) Church affiliation.

21, ed. H.C. Scheeben, "Legenda Sancti Dominici auctore Constantino de Urbeveteri", in Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Predicatorum Historica, Tom. XVI, Roma, 1935, p. 350; De quadam muliere que Beatum Dominicum blasphemavit... illa protinus indignanti animo et turbata facie dixit eis: "Vos, que estis bizote fratrum eius, festa colite sancti vestri!".

22, see above, §B.2b) Cathedral confraternities (Raccomandati).

23, Letter of authorisation to Dominican confraternity from Master General, Fra Munio di Zamora, 7 December 1286, in G.G. Meersseman, Ordo Fraternitatis: Confraternite e Pietà dei Laici nel Medioevo, vol. II, Roma, 1977, p. 1041-2.

24, The fullest source of information is the *Leggenda* of B. Vanna (d. 1304), written by her confessor, P. Giacomo Scalza. See above, §B2.f) Third Orders.

25, Arch. Not., vol. 35, f. 24v., 7 April 1374. Will of "domina Sibilia filia olim Iohannis et nunc uxor Freduccioli". See also above, §B.2e) Funerals.

26, see above, §B.2b) Cathedral confraternities (Disciplinati).

27, Arch. Not., vol. 5, ff. 29r.-v., 18 August 1349. Execution of the Will of *domina* Agnes, widow of Poncello Conticini.

28, Cod. V.E. 528, ff. 10r.-v. & 55r. Also detailed discussion above, §B.3a) Wealth, occupation and social status.

29, Arch. Vesc., Cod. A, f. 244r., 7 November 1281, Arch. Vesc., Cod. C, f. 57v., 26 March 1286.

30, A. Lazzarini, "Il Codice V.E. 528 e il teatro musicale del Trecento", in A.S.I., vol. 113, Firenze, 1975, p. 504. The prior of Santa Christina of Bolsena is, of course, named as the author of one of the plays. See above, §B.2c) Disciplinati and Sacred Drama.

31, Caccia, *Cronica*, ed. A.M. Viel & P.M. Girardin, pp. 117-8.

32, Cod. V.E. 528, f. 6r. Expulsion of *Prete* Ludovico.

33, *ibid.*, f. 9v. Expulsion of *Prete* Giovanni.

34, see below, §A.4 Leadership and Discipline.

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#### B.4 ORVIETAN CONFRATERNITIES: LEADERSHIP & DISCIPLINE

From the little that is known about the organisational structure of the Orvietan confraternities, this seems to have followed a fairly typical pattern'. The groups were led by one or more elected officials, usually a rector or rectors, and sometimes also a sub-rector or chamberlain.

In the negotiations to establish a hospital in Bolsena in 1284, the 'universitas' of the fraternity of Santa Maria and Santa Cristina was represented by its rector, Benencasa<sup>2</sup>. The fraternity of S. Cristoforo was also led by a rector, though his name cannot be made out from the fragmentary entry in the *Codice di S. Costanzo* for 1292 <sup>3</sup>. And slightly later, the two main flagellant groups, the Franciscan and Dominican *disciplinati*, had rectors at their head, as a brief reference in a Will of 1350 to the "*rectores disciplinarum sancti dominici et sancti francisci*" reveals<sup>4</sup>.

The rector or rectors would have had overall responsibility in both temporal and spiritual matters, but some of the larger confraternities required additional personnel to deal with one or other of these areas. The Franciscan *disciplinati* employed a "spiritual father", in addition to their rector and sub-rector, and all three were involved together in cases of discipline (see Tables 8 & 9). On the more practical side, it was Bartolomeo di Tone, the "syndic" of the *disciplinati* of Santa Maria, who dealt on their behalf with the chamberlain of the Opera del Duomo, over the matter of a sizeable quantity of lamb owed by the confraternity to the cathedral in 1261<sup>5</sup>.

The more the confraternities grew, and the scope of their work increased, the more they must have required the services of purely administrative officials such as Bartholomeo. This applied particularly in the case of those fraternities associated with a local hospital. In such cases, a 'syndic' or 'procurator' was often appointed to represent the interests of the confraternity when a new rector was being appointed to the hospital. The actual appointment was made by the bishop, but he usually seems to have accepted the fraternity's right of patronage. In 1377, for example, Petro Stephani Vannis had already taken over from his late father as rector of the hospital of S. Agostino, by the time the 'procurator' of the fraternity of *disciplinati* approached bishop Pietro for his confirmation of the appointment<sup>6</sup>.

The procurator need not have been a permanent office-bearer in the confraternity: indeed, he need not have belonged to the group at all, though the members are likely to have chosen one of their own number to perform this function if possible. In the case of the hospital of S. Angelo di Postierla, the situation was rather more complex, as three groups of people had a say in the nomination of the rector: the clergy of the church, members of the confraternity and local residents. When a new appointment was made in 1286<sup>7</sup>, the latter two groups were represented by a single 'syndic and procurator':

... *magister Petrus Nicolai syndicus et procurator fraternitatis  
et hominum regionis dicte ecclesie...*

Clearly, in this case, the confraternity was closely identified with the interests of the laity over against the clergy, who had their own 'procurator', *presbiter* Ranaldus. On this occasion, the two groups were able to agree on a single nominee, Fra Bonfilio of Arezzo, and the bishop accepted their choice without question, but the confraternity would certainly have been on the side of the laity had any conflict arisen. It seems to have been acting almost as a local residents' association, and in these circumstances, there is no reason to assume that the procurator was a confraternity member.

The word 'fraternitas' is used in connection with the hospital of S. Iacobo *extra portam maiorem*, where a new rector, Ranutius Clare, was appointed in 1285<sup>8</sup>, but there is no mention of a syndic or procurator, and it is not clear whether this hospital operated under the same system as the previous two: namely, whether there was a separate confraternity with a controlling interest in its administration. The fact that an 'oblate', *magister* Borgia, accompanied the three '*fraternitarii*' who met with the bishop on 2 April to exercise their '*ius patronatus*', suggests that it may have been similar to the hospital of Santa Maria della Stella<sup>9</sup>, an independent institution run by its own religious community.

There were other occasions when a confraternity might require a 'procurator' to act on its behalf. In 1349, for example, the hospital run by the fraternity of *disciplinati* of S. Giovanni di Platea was a beneficiary in the Will of *domina* Agnes, widow of Poncello Conticini<sup>10</sup>. The woman's brother, Cecchino, was executor of the Will, and Marchecto Mancini acted as 'syndic and procurator' for both confraternity and hospital. Again, it is impossible to tell whether this was a permanent or an *ad hoc* appointment; or to be sure whether Marchecto was or was



not a member of the confraternity.

There is no such ambiguity in the case of the fraternity of 'continentes' of Acquapendente, since it was their own rectors who acted as 'procurators' for them in 1281<sup>11</sup>. One of their other office-bearers, the 'chaplain' (*capellarius*), *frater Iohannes* wanted to use his own home as a hospital for the poor and for members of the confraternity who fell ill. His wife, *Ascebilis*, would help him to run it, but first the bishop's permission had to be sought. When Giovanni went to see bishop Francesco, he was accompanied by Fra Tancredo and Fra Rufano, "rectors and procurators" of the fraternity, and permission was duly granted.

Interesting as these examples are, hospital administration was only one aspect of the confraternities' function, and applied only to certain groups. Codex V.E. 528 is also restricted, in that it provides evidence only about the Franciscan confraternity, but it is still the most helpful resource available for information about confraternity leadership and organisation in general. The brief reference in Narduccio di Ser Sensi's Will of 1358 leaves it unclear whether the Franciscan and Dominican *disciplinati* had one or more rectors each, but Codex V.E 528 provides considerably more data about the Franciscan groups (see Table 8).

As might be expected, there was a change in the pattern of leadership in 1323, when the new fraternity of *disciplinati* took over from the *laudesi* of Santa Maria. Both the inventory and the matriculation list of the earlier group give a clear picture of its internal organisation, based on the regional affiliation of its members, and perhaps mirroring the secular model of urban administration. The *inventory* begins as follows:

*Queste sonno le cose della fraternita,... ritrovate in nel tempu  
de la rectoria de (infra)scripte persone, Cioè di Neri di  
Manetto ed Angelu di Iuvanni, di Rugieru Mungnaiu, e d'Angelu di  
magistru Domenicu di Berardinu, e di Lorençu di Bartholomeo, e di  
Vanni di Pietru di Gulinu di Volgla, Camorlengo de la dicta  
fraternita, (12)*

This makes it sound as though five rectors were holding office simultaneously<sup>12</sup>, but the preamble to the surviving fragment of the matriculation list is more explicit and makes it clear that four of the men would have been regional representatives, under the authority of the principal rector, probably Neri di Manetto. Different individuals are named in the *matricola*, but the pattern of leadership is identical:

*Infrascripti sunt homines et mulieres de fraternitate sancte  
Marie/*

*Marie,, Tempore rectoris Fratris Iacovi Albi de Urbeveteri,  
Angelutius Lemmi pro quarterio Posterule, Dominicutius Iohanis  
Rogerii pro quarterio Sarancis, Bonacursus Guidonis Rocchi pro  
quarterio Sancti Iohannis et Iovenalis, Angelutius Pauli pro  
quarterio Sancte Pacis, et Bonutius Fredi Camerarii dicte  
fraternitatis,*  
(14)

There is no such clear statement about leadership in the later Franciscan confraternity of *disciplinati*, founded by Fra Ianni di Pustierla in 1323, but individual leaders are occasionally named in the course of the matriculation and necrology lists, mainly in connection with expulsions from the group (see Table 9). Fra Ianni himself is described as "*patre spirituale*", but this is probably misleading, as the "spiritual father" in later years does not seem to have been the person in overall charge of the group. It could be that one leader was sufficient in the early years, and additional help was required as the fraternity grew. Certainly, only 'rectors' are named in the period up to 1350, but the total number of references is so small that this is of no real significance. In most of the later cases of expulsion, also, only the rector was involved, but a sub-rector is mentioned on five occasions, and a 'spiritual father' twice.

The fact that references to confraternity officials occur so seldom also makes it difficult to determine how frequently elections were held, and how often these positions changed hands. A new rector must have been appointed between March and June 1352, but there is no way of telling whether this was the normal season for an election, or how long it had been since the last one. All that can be deduced from two other cases (one more conclusive than the other) is that it must have been possible either for one man to dominate the leadership for a number of years, or for a past rector to stand for re-election. The post was held in June 1352 by a man named Jacovuççu, and the following year by one Jacovuçço di Freducciole, who may well have been the same person. A man with a much more distinctive name, Chele di Tuccio de Iannuccio de Simo, was rector in both February 1398 and April 1405, but there is no way of knowing whether he had held the post continuously for the whole seven-year period.

Beyond their disciplinary role, the Orvietan codex says nothing about the duties of the various officials, but it may be assumed that their function was similar to that of their counterparts elsewhere - namely to ensure that the statutes of the confraternity were observed;



to supervise and officiate at religious ceremonies and public processions; to visit members who were sick; and to give them devotional guidance'<sup>15</sup>. The last duty would, presumably, have been the responsibility of the *patre spirituale*, who may or may not have been an ordained priest.

The ordinary members of the confraternity would, like their leaders, have been subject to precise statutory obligations as a condition of membership. The statutes of the Franciscan *disciplinati* are no longer extant, but their existence is known from the case of *maestro* Ceccho di Peruçço, who was expelled from the fraternity of in 1358, "*per cio che non volve obedire i nostri sancti capituali*" <sup>16</sup>. The *laudesi* of Santa Maria must also have had a set of written regulations, because these are mentioned in their inventory:

*Item iiij libri d'uno volume in ne' quali sonno scripti li homini  
e le femine e l'ordinamenti de la dicta fraternità, (17)*

Likewise, members of the cathedral fraternity of B. Pietro Martiris were enjoined by bishop Giacomo in 1258 to obey the "Institutes and Chapters" of the group if they wished to qualify for a fifty day Indulgence:

*... ac eius Instituta et Capitula que rationi consonant et opus  
continent pietatis inviolabiliter observetis...* (18)

Although none of these Orvietan statutes are now available, there are many surviving sets of regulations of similar date and provenance from other areas, and these give an indication of the likely scope and content of the lost Orvietan registers'<sup>17</sup>: Typically, confraternity statutes could be expected to cover such areas as entrance procedures, election of office-bearers, moral, religious and pastoral obligations, and matters of internal discipline.

On this final aspect (the treatment of those who failed to fulfil the obligations of membership), the Orvietan codex is a great deal more informative, listing no fewer than seventy-nine expulsions of men who had joined the group before 1350 (see Table 9). The main impression which emerges from the figures is that expulsion from the confraternity may not have been a particularly unusual or serious matter. Indeed, one wonders whether some at least of the forty-five people whose entry reads simply "*fu cacciato*", with no reference to previous warnings or specific offences, might not have decided, of their own volition, to let their membership lapse. This seems to have been the case in the earlier Franciscan confraternity, for the Inventory of the *laudesi* includes a

book listing the names of those who had 'left' the fraternity: not those who "were expelled":

*Item unu quaternu di bambascia in nel quale si sonno scripti i  
morti e coloro che lassono a la fraternita, (20)*

As far as the *disciplinati* were concerned, it seems unlikely that nearly eighty people in as little as thirty years should all have committed serious misdemeanours.

One man at least, Jacovuccio di Nardo, appears to have been expelled merely for failing to take his share of household duties ("... *per che non vusava la casa...*"), though admittedly this only happened after repeated warnings. In three other cases, all that is alleged is that the person "did not want to obey", which could conceal genuine rebellion against the authority of the confraternity and its leaders, but could just as easily be their way of saying "he decided to leave", with a hint of disapproval at such a decision. In only two of the six detailed cases is there suggestion of a more serious offence. Mecu di Pietro Prosperosu was expelled in 1341 for continuing to practise usury, which the Church could not openly have condoned in any Christian, quite apart from specific confraternity regulations. In the case of *maestro* Ceccho di Peruçço, who was expelled in 1358, no specific accusation is made, beyond the usual 'unwillingness to obey', but there may be a touch of vehemence behind the phrase "*i nostri sancti capituli*", and some significance in the fact that all the men of the confraternity ("... *tutta la comunita delluomini dela nostra fraternita...*") took part in his expulsion.

One other factor which suggests that expulsion may not have carried a very serious stigma is the fact that some members who had been expelled appear later to have been readmitted. This is actually specified in two later entries in the matriculation list, where Bartholomeio di Luca and m. Andrea di m. Gentile are said to have "returned" to the group:

*A.M. CCC.lxxviii, a di xj daprile, Ritorno Bartholomeio di  
luca,*

*A. M.CCC.lxxviii,adi ii di frebriu, entro Maestru Andrea di  
Maestro Gentile; torno, (21)*

It is impossible to be precise about the numbers involved, because of incomplete data, and the difficulty of matching names with certainty, but up to thirteen men whose expulsion is noted in the matriculation list later had their date of death recorded in the necrology (see Table 9h).



Whether the purpose of the necrology was to keep a record of membership figures, or to enable prayers to be said for dead brothers, there would have been little point recording the death of someone who had left in disgrace between ten months and twenty-nine years earlier. The repetition of some of the less distinctive names might be put down to coincidence, or scribal error, but there are enough cases, like that of Ser Jacovo di misser Angnielu or Ceccho di ser Vanni, in which unusual names correspond exactly in the two lists, to suggest that some at least of these thirteen men must have been readmitted to the confraternity at some stage after their expulsion.

Giuvanni di Nucciu, whose name appears twice in the matriculation list and once in the necrology<sup>22</sup>, may well be a case in point, and there are a few more complicated examples which suggest that it may have been possible to be expelled and even readmitted more than once. There was, for example, a Narducciu di Fredu, of the region of S. Leonardo, who entered on 21 March 1339 and was expelled on 12 December 1345. A man of the same name, and almost certainly the same region, was admitted on 29 June 1348 and expelled at a later, unspecified date<sup>23</sup>. Or again, three very similar names - Berço dAndrea di Juvanni; Beriçu dAndrea; and Berço dAndrea - are listed separately, the first two in the *matricola* and the third in the necrology<sup>24</sup>. If, as seems likely, all three entries refer to the one man, he must have been admitted for the first time on 25 February 1347 and expelled on 22 March 1349. He must then have been re-admitted on 10 October 1350, expelled again on 17 December of the same year, and admitted yet again some time before his death on 15 September 1365.

This is an extreme example, but not the only one to suggest that expulsion need not involve lasting disgrace, or hinder advancement within the confraternity. According to the matriculation list, one Pietropaulu di misser Pandolfo was admitted on 19 December 1344, and later, at an unspecified date, expelled. In 1360, however, another man, Bartholomeo di Giovanni Tocti was expelled "*al tempo di Pietropaulo di misser Pandolfo*", which clearly implies that the latter was rector at that date. Not only had he been readmitted after expulsion, but his past record cannot have stood in the way of his rise to leadership within the group. As further confirmation of his reinstatement, his death is recorded in the necrology on 22 June 1363 <sup>25</sup>.

As far as expulsion procedures are concerned, there is not a great

deal of detail in the codex, except on the matter of formal warnings. Expulsion seems, in some cases at least, to have been preceded by three earlier stages of disciplinary action: "*prima, secunda e terça correctione*". No indication is given of the nature of this "correction" or punishment: it could have been anything from a verbal warning to a monetary fine, corporal punishment or the imposition of religious penances. There may also have been an escalation in the severity of the punishment between the first and final stages.

Discipline seems to have been enforced mainly by the rector, assisted sometimes by the sub-rector and 'spiritual father', but there is one case, already noted, where the entire community met for the expulsion of a man who had already been 'corrected' three times by the rector<sup>26</sup>. This special treatment probably reflects the seriousness of *maestro* Ceccho's offences, but it is not impossible that the scribe simply chose on this occasion to spell out the normal procedures in more detail than usual. This is the only entry of its kind, and so it is not possible to tell whether the practices which it records were normal or exceptional.

The one thing that is certain is that the rate of expulsion rose significantly after 1348, but this important fact will be discussed more fully later, in the context of the plague and its effects on the confraternity.

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#### B.4 LEADERSHIP AND DISCIPLINE: FOOTNOTES

1. see, e.g., G.G. Meersseman, Dossier de l'Ordre de la Penitence au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Fribourg, 1961; also G.M. Monti, Le Confraternite Medievali dell'Alta e media Italia, Venezia, 1927 (esp. VI, 11, chap. XIII); B.R.D.S.P.U., App. 9, Il Movimento...
2. Arch. Vesc., Cod. A, fol. 251v., 20 November 1284.
3. Arch. Cap., Codice di S. Costanzo, fol. 40v., 2 March 1292
4. Arch. Not., vol. 38/2, fol. 26r., 19 February 1350, Will of Narditius ser Sensi.
5. Arch. Duomo, Memoria, 1361. In S. Bianconi, "Ricerche sui dialetti d'Orvieto e di Viterbo nel Medioevo", in Studi Linguistici Italiani, vol. III, Friburg, 1962. Also fuller discussion above.
6. Arch. Vesc., Cod. B, f. 53v., 3 February 1377.
7. Arch. Vesc., Cod. C., fol. 57v., 26 March 1286.
8. Arch. Vesc., Cod. A, f. 238, 1/2 April 1285.
9. Rectors for this hospital were chosen by the "brothers" of the hospital, probably from among their own number, e.g. appointment of *frater* Iohannes Barbeta, November 1251 (Arch. Vesc., Cod. B., f. 145r.); appointment of *frater* Barnabas Massei de Florentia, *frater dicti hospitalis* (Arch. Vesc., Cod. C, f. 6r.).
10. Arch. Not., vol. 5, ff. 29r-v., 18 August 1349. Execution of Will of *domina* Agnes, widow of Poncello Conticini.
11. Arch. Vesc., Cod. A., fol. 244r., 7 November 1281.
12. Cod. V.E. 528, fol. 1r., s.d. (date of codex 1405)
13. G. Monti (op. cit., vol. 1, p. 119) wrongly jumps to this conclusion when he says that the "*fraternità di Santa Maria*" was ruled by a chamberlain and five rectors.
14. Cod. V.E. 528, fol. 4r., 8 March 1313.
15. G.M. Monti, op. cit., vol. 11, pp. 34-36.
16. Cod. V.E. 528, ff. 7r-v.
17. *ibid.*, f. 1r.
18. A. di S., Fond. Dip., 17 June 1258. Indulgence to the fraternity of "*B. Pietro Martiris*".
19. G.G. Meersseman (op. cit.) discusses and gives examples of the Statutes of the Third Orders. cf. examples in B.R.D.S.P.U., App. 9, Il Movimento... also G.M. Monti, op. cit., vol. 11, App. IV, "Gli statuti della confraternità fiorentina di S. Egidio del secolo XIII".
20. Cod. V.E. 528, f. 1r.
21. *ibid.*, *Matricola*, ad. an.
22. *ibid.*, ff. 5v., 7r. and 53v.
24. *ibid.*, ff. 5v. & 7v. In the second entry, the region is given as "S. Bernardu" but no such region exists in Orvieto, and S. Leonardo is the nearest equivalent.
25. *ibid.*, ff. 6v/7r., 11r. & 55r.
26. *ibid.*, ff. 6v., 9r. & 54v.
27. *ibid.*, ff. 7r-v.

## B.8 THE FRANCISCAN CONFRATERNITY AND THE PLAGUE OF 1348

### a) Sources

One of the most exciting aspects of Codex V.E. 528 is the insight which it provides into the impact on Orvieto of the great plague in the summer of 1348. It not only provides additional information about the extent of the death-toll and the physical progress of the disease, but also gives some basis for informed speculation about religious reaction to the calamity. It thus represents an important supplement to Carpentier's study<sup>1</sup> which, although making expert use of the *Riformanze* to reconstruct social and political life in the town in and around the plague year, is based on a very small number of direct references to the plague and its impact.

In fact, the disease is mentioned only four times in local chronicles, and in three of these four instances, it is dismissed in a single sentence. One annalist gives some indication of the scale of the calamity and its indiscriminate nature:

*Fuit generalis mortalitas maxima; et creditur quod medietas hominum obierit et principales nobiles et populares obierunt, (2)*

Count Francesco di Montemarte, however, hardly interrupts his family history to record the general impact of the 'mortality' :

*Poco tempo dopo fu la mortalità e il conte Guido si parti d'Orvieto et li a poco ne morì, (3)*

The third reference is equally brief, although the chronicler does add something in the way of medical detail, when he states that this epidemic was preceded by 'catarrh'. For this man, the 1348 outbreak, although more severe than any of those which followed, was significant as the first in a series of epidemics:

*Prima pestis generalis fuit M. CCC. XLVIII, que fuit maxima, quam precessit catarus, (4)*

The fourth chronicle account is still far from comprehensive, but it is much more detailed than any of the others. It is worth quoting in full, not only for the chronology which it provides, and which can be compared with the membership figures of the Franciscan confraternity, but also for its vivid portrayal of the psychological effects on the survivors of a natural disaster on an unprecedented scale:

*Nelle calende di magio de l'anno mille et trecento quaranta otto, si cominciò in Orvieto una grande mortalità di gente, et veniva ogni di crescendo più, et crebbe fino al mese di giugno et di luglio/*



*luglio; che si trovò tal dì, che morirono cinquecento cristiani, tra grandi et piccoli, et maschi et femmine. Et era sì grande la mortalità et lo sbigottimento delle genti, che morivano di subito; et la matina erano sani et l'altra matina morti. Et le botteghe delli artefici tutte stavano chiuse. Et durò questa mortalità finalmente a calenne di settembre; onde molte famiglie et chasate rimasero sderedate; et contasi, che delle dieci parti ne morissero le nove parti; et quelle che rimasero, rimasero inferme et sbigottite, et con gran terrore dipartirsene delle case che rimasero dellegenti loro morte.* (5)

Even allowing for wild exaggeration in the ninety per cent mortality estimated here, such a large and sudden drop in population could hardly fail to have affected the structure of society, and certain changes are indeed reflected in the town council records, as quoted and analysed in detail by Mme. Carpentier. Given the scale of the calamity, however, it is surprising how little is specifically said about it in the council minutes, particularly during the four months from May to September when it is known to have been at its height. There are some indirect pointers: the election of a new sort of Council in May; blank pages in the official register for July; the cancelling of the annual procession for the feast of the Assumption in August. But for the four months when the epidemic was at its worst, the only change directly attributed to the plague was a decree of 5 July restricting the amount of wax to be used for funerals. The scarcity of wax was due to the "deadly plague, which sends its arrows everywhere with great atrocity" <sup>6</sup>.

Afterwards, the town seems to have returned remarkably quickly to a kind of normality, the fabric of its social life "more or less unimpaired" <sup>7</sup>. Some legislation was necessary, but even so, in the year from September 1348 to September 1349, there were only six occasions on which the plague was specifically cited as the reason for a decree being passed.

On 30 September 1348, an attempt was made to restrict the level of prices and wages "on account of the dreadful, unheard-of, deadly plague which recently spread everywhere among humankind" <sup>8</sup>. On 18 October, ten years' immunity from taxation was offered as an incentive to foreigners to settle in Orvieto and its *contado* to counteract the depopulation caused by "scandals, wars and dangers, and the deadly plague" <sup>9</sup>. Six days later, an annual salary of fifty florins was offered to Matteo Angeli to practice and teach medicine in the town...

*... quia Urbeveta civitas, propter mortiferam pestem que erga humanum genus suas emisit sagittas, medicis caret et hominibus medicina inbutis.* (10)

On 28 November, the joint councils of Twenty-Four and Two Hundred agreed to the terms of a petition presented by the chamberlain of the *Opera del Duomo*. He had argued that, out of gratitude for the Virgin's defence of the citizens of Orvieto from "many tribulations and agonies", and in view of the fact that the customary celebrations and tributes for the feast of the Assumption in August had had to be abandoned "on account of the deadly plague which had affected this city and the whole world for their sins", a special payment of alms for the cathedral should be exacted from each of the trade guilds of Orvieto...

*... ne ipsa dei genitrix erga ipsum populum sue claudat oculos pietatis, et ut ipsa devotio quam erga eam habet precipue augeatur, statusque presens populi prelibati de bono in melius mediantibus suis rogationibus semper crescat...* (11)

The petition, which also called for the removal of rubbish from the area around the cathedral, was approved by 135 votes to eleven.

For nearly three months after this, the town council minutes make no further reference to the plague, but then, on 18 February 1349, the level of taxation on residents in the *contado* had to be reduced...

*... propter mortiferam pestem per orbem diffusam et gravia onera ipsis pleberis per Urbevetanum comune imposita et intollerabiles impositas et factiones alias quas et que per eandem pestem et eorum inopiam valent minime sustinere... ob que ipsa pleberia sunt vacuata hominibus et poderia...* (12)

Finally, after another silence of seven months, a moratorium on debts was called until the end of the year, "in order that Orvieto, which, on account of the plague and general mortality has been almost totally emptied of citizens, should have its population replenished" <sup>13</sup>.

This, basically, is the sum total of evidence hitherto available for study of the Black Death in Orvieto, and on it Carpentier and others have managed to build a surprisingly full picture of the events of 1348. It is of great importance to be able now to check out some of their conclusions, from a source which also opens up the religious dimension of the experience of the townspeople of Orvieto in this traumatic year.

There is no attempt within Codex V.E. 528 to explain, or even to comment on the dramatic change in membership figures for the Franciscan confraternity during 1348. The plague is never mentioned. However, when the number of entrants is seen to rise from an average of six or



seven a year to over a hundred in 1348, and the number of deaths from three to 109, the figures speak all too eloquently for themselves.

.....

## b) Chronology

The first respect in which this new evidence can confirm and supplement the old is with regard to chronology, and in order to see the plague year in context, it is necessary to look further back.

What emerges from Carpentier's account of the years 1346 and 1347<sup>1</sup>, based mainly on chronicles and *Riformanze*, is how many of the factors which might naturally be assumed to result from the plague were already in evidence. There was already death and hardship, caused not by disease but by warfare, harvest failure, floods and famine. On 5 June, shortly after the regular celebration of the feast-day of B. Pietro Parenzo on 21 May, the rulers of the city decided that from then on an additional candle, weighing twenty pounds, should be given to the Cathedral each year on the feast of this "most glorious martyr". Carpentier interprets this as an act of thanksgiving for the passing of the immediate danger of famine, but the text of the councillors' deliberations suggests that the martyr's intercessions were still required, and as a matter of some urgency, to secure release from "imminent evils", and to allow the people to rest "in peace and tranquility":

*... ad hoc ut idem beatus, Petrus martir, pro urbevetano populo et comuni suis piis orationibus iugiter intercedat ad dominum quatenus ipse deus intervenientibus intercessionibus ipsis dignetur ipsam civitatem et suos et eius populum et comune, a cunctis malis imminetibus liberare, et in pacis et tranquillitatis dulcedine repausari permittat...* (2)

Depopulation was already a cause for concern, so that in September 1347 measures had to be taken to halt the demolition of houses left empty by exiled nobles, debtors and heretics<sup>2</sup>, while various inducements were being offered to merchants (not yet to immigrants in general) to encourage them to settle in the town<sup>4</sup>. Almost a year before the onset of plague, severe restrictions had been placed on the scale of funeral ceremonies, with similar measures of austerity being applied towards the end of the year to weddings, female dress and funeral meals<sup>5</sup>. A good harvest in the autumn of 1347 restored some measure of economic stability, but in many ways, and perhaps above all on a psychological level, the way had been prepared for, and resistance

lowered to the plague which, as Mme. Carpentier graphically concludes her chapter, "*n'a pas encore frappé aux portes de la ville*" .

None of the turmoil of these two years is reflected in the membership figures of the Franciscan confraternity (see Table 7). The totals of six deaths in 1346 and nine in 1347 are high, but not outstandingly so, and the corresponding figures of two entries and four expulsions in 1346, and one expulsion in 1347, are quite unexceptional. Paradoxically, this very normality is in itself significant. However badly people had been affected by political strife, shortage of grain, exorbitant prices and the floods which swept away the three main bridges and threatened the whole valley of the Paglia, it is clear that none of this had touched the foundations of their being in the way that the plague was to do the following year, when over a hundred Orvietan men would flock to join a single religious confraternity for reasons which can only be surmised, but must surely represent a devastating blow to emotional security and accepted systems of belief.

This is to anticipate, however. To return to the early months of 1348, the confraternity lists (see Tables 7 and 12) give no indication of serious alarm in the town prior to the arrival of plague there, towards the end of April or the beginning of May. After three expulsions on 6 January, there were no membership changes at all until 16 March, and although the figure of five new entrants each in the months of March and April is high in relation to an average annual entry rate of approximately 6.5 over the previous eleven years, it is not so high as to demand special explanation. There was a tendency for membership to peak in any case around the beginning of the year, a pattern possibly associated with the penitential devotions of Lent and the Easter season. There were ten new entrants in April 1337, nine in the first two months of 1341, and seven in February/March 1343.

Given the political importance of the town, and its proximity to the major trade routes, Orvietans were as well placed as any to be able to monitor the progress of the disease, and anticipate the threat to themselves<sup>7</sup>. Its full severity might not have been apparent when it first hit Genoa at the end of 1347, but news should have reached Orvieto at least by January or February 1348, when Pisa and Lucca respectively succumbed. In spite of this, the apparent normality of the Franciscan matriculation list is mirrored in other sources for the period. The Council of Seven did decree, on 22 January, that the sum of 650 *libre*



should be distributed among the churches and monasteries of Orvieto and the *contado*<sup>8</sup>, but this was regular practice and can in no way be construed as indicating special concern for divine protection from possible disaster. Council meetings on 18 and 28 February discussed normal military and financial business, and at the latter meeting selection was made of the new officials for March and April<sup>9</sup>.

By March 1348, the plague was raging in Florence and Tuscany, and in the course of the month it spread to Bologna and Modena. Yet still, when the Councils of Forty and Seven met on 12 March, only political, military, financial and legal matters arose<sup>10</sup>. This is not to say that the town was without problems: finances were at a very low ebb, and the councillors were preoccupied with finding the means to pay the commune's debts and prevent the alienation of property. Nonetheless, there is no indication that they were aware of impending disaster. If anything, there was rather a sense of attempting to restore order after a period of extreme hardship<sup>11</sup>.

By the end of the following month, Orvieto was again in the grip of "*un profond malaise*"<sup>12</sup>, the commune having been forced, after a gradual loss of power to certain noble families such as the Monaldeschi della Cervara, to give up its last semblance of independence. On 22 or 23 April, it agreed to submit to Perugian overlordship for a period of ten years<sup>13</sup>. None of this "malaise", however, seems to have been directly related to the progress of the Black Death, which by this time had passed beyond Piombino and Siena, and had reached Perugia, the very town with which Orvieto was engaged in negotiations. It may have been in the course of these negotiations - perhaps following the return of the Perugian ambassador - that the plague covered the final distance remaining to Orvieto<sup>14</sup>, but if so, it did not figure in the agenda of the Council meeting of 30 April 1348, when the business of the day was to elect new officials, as usual, for the months of May and June<sup>15</sup>.

This silence would be all the more remarkable were it not paralleled in many other towns, but it was the Florentine government that was exceptional in taking any preventative measures at all. Mme. Carpentier notes the phenomenon, but has to admit that she is unable to give adequate explanation for it:

*Ignorance du danger? Imprévoyance? Superstition des habitants, imaginant qu'en faisant semblant d'ignorer le danger, ils parviendront à le conjurer? En l'absence de tout texte, il est impossible de choisir parmi ces hypothèses.* (16)

The preservation of a semblance of normality became all the more precarious as it continued through May and into June, but it was not until July that it finally broke down, with the first specific reference in council records to the plague, and ample indirect evidence of the turmoil which it was causing.

Despite Mme. Carpentier's valiant attempts to reconstruct life in Orvieto during the four months of the plague's activity there, what comes across most clearly from her account is the paucity of source material, and it is here that Codex V.E. 528, which she did not use, is particularly helpful.

The mortality figures for the confraternity are sufficiently detailed to be able to give, for the first time, something approaching a day-to-day account of the progress of the disease, while the admission figures are of at least as much significance, if harder to interpret. They reflect, perhaps, the psychological rather than the physical impact of the plague. There is no question of using either set of figures to draw statistical conclusions about urban mortality in general, but the overall pattern corresponds very closely to the brief contemporary chronicle account<sup>17</sup>, and there seems no reason to doubt the accuracy of the source in general terms.

Hitherto, the only direct guideline to the "timetable" of the plague in Orvieto has been the chronicler's statement that the "*grande mortalità*" began on the kalends of May, increased daily until its peak in June and July, and continued until the kalends of September<sup>18</sup>. Mme. Carpentier has gone some way towards putting flesh on the bare bones of this account, by examining the pattern of council meetings over the period, but the confraternity figures are a much more direct and more detailed source of information. Certainly, if ever there was reason to suspect the chronicle record of being "a tissue of lies, inspired by parallel accounts in other towns" <sup>19</sup>, such doubts may be dispelled once and for all by the briefest of glances at the membership figures for the Franciscan confraternity between May and September 1348.

Such extensive claims can only be justified by looking at the period in more detail, and comparing the figures at each stage with what is known from other sources. For most of May and June, the town seems to have attempted to continue as though nothing was wrong, whether because the casualty rate was not yet too high, or through genuine courage, bravado or failure to admit the seriousness of the situation<sup>20</sup>.



There is no surviving record of preventive measures of any sort having been taken, though it is not inconceivable that a separate register may have been compiled, and subsequently lost<sup>21</sup>.

The one extraordinary development in Orvietan political life during this period took place on 30 May, when the Council of Seven met for the first time in over a month. It was decided that a subordinate Council of Twelve should be appointed, its members to be nominated monthly, rather than every two months. What is not clear is whether this change was a direct result of the town's recent submission to Perugia, or whether it was in response to the effects of plague - a compromise solution which would avoid having to hold very large assemblies, dangerous as well as impractical during an epidemic, but would not allow all power to rest in the hands of as few as eight men.

Until about the end of June, none of the recorded Council business was in any way remarkable. The Twelve may have been a new body, but at their first meeting with the Seven on 30 May, all they did was to confirm the appointments of several municipal officials<sup>22</sup>. Three days later, on 2 June, the Seven and the *Gonfaloniere* met alone to authorise payment of the Orvietan ambassadors, and on 18 June both groups allocated funds for the *Corpus Domini* procession (a regular annual event since 1337)<sup>23</sup>, which took place the following day<sup>24</sup>. Again, the arrival of Legerio d'Andriotti, the new Perugian *Capitano del Popolo*, on 22 June, and his subsequent recall of Orvietan exiles in an attempt to reconcile warring factions, would occasion no comment at all, were it not known or suspected that the plague had already taken firm hold in both towns by this time<sup>25</sup>.

The sole hint in the *Riformanze* that all may not have been under control is that the failure to present the church of S. Giovanni with the *pallium* which it was usually given on the feast-day of its patron saint was not noticed until six days later, on 30 June<sup>26</sup> (a meeting at which new officials were appointed as usual for July and August). Mme. Carpentier may well be right when she reads this as an indication of the general disarray into which Orvietan life had fallen as a result of the plague, but on the other hand, it is hard to believe that the town was normally as scrupulous as she suggests in fulfilling its religious obligations<sup>27</sup>. On the contrary, the pattern of communal almsgiving, seems to have been anything but regular or predictable. It was only the previous year that the practice of distributing alms to local

institutions became an annual occurrence<sup>20</sup>.

The confraternity figures (see Table 12) mirror almost exactly the pattern suggested by Mme. Carpentier for May and June: namely, minimal disruption to normal town life until fairly late in the second month<sup>21</sup>.

Only one confraternity member died in May (not necessarily as a result of the plague) and one new member was admitted. As late as 21 June, there had still been no significant change to the normal pattern of deaths and enrolments. One man was admitted on 8 June: otherwise membership remained constant. From the following day, however, marked and rapid changes began.

Interestingly enough, the first sign of disruption was not a series of deaths, but a sudden influx of fifteen new entrants between 22 and 30 June. Why people should choose to join a religious association in times of crisis is a matter for speculation. They may have had a superstitious belief that this would protect them from danger, or, fearing death, may have hoped that membership would ensure divine clemency thereafter. There may have been more practical reasons, for example if the confraternity specialised in medical care or funeral arrangements, although it is almost certain that none of these early applicants was himself ill at the time of applying for membership. Seven of the fifteen did in fact die during the epidemic (see Table 10), but none within the first week of admission, as could have been expected if their reason for joining was that they had already contracted the plague. The pneumonic form of the disease could kill in less than twenty-four hours, while the bubonic form would not normally last more than five or six days. Survival rates were very low indeed<sup>22</sup>.

It may be that these men could not themselves have given a precise reason for their actions, or that a combination of motives lay behind the sudden rush of applications for confraternity membership. What is not in doubt is that this definite change in membership patterns, which can be dated very precisely to 22 June 1348, was directly related to the arrival of the Black Death in Orvieto, and the fear which it brought in its wake.

Codex V.E. 528 thus confirms the impression gained from other sources that town life was not seriously disrupted by the plague until fairly late in June. By the end of June, it was becoming more difficult to sustain the appearance of normality. People were becoming sufficiently frightened to seek confraternity membership in much larger



numbers than usual, but even then, their fear seems to have been based on hearsay or observation rather than personal experience, and as yet none of the town councillors or the established confraternity members had succumbed to the disease.

Within a very few days, the situation had changed yet again, as the plague took firm hold in the town. It is clear from all the sources - chronicles, *Riformanze* and confraternity lists - that the disease was at its most virulent in Orvieto during July and early August. The chronicler<sup>31</sup> places the peak slightly earlier ("*...crebbe fino al mese di giugno e di luglio...*"), and has it continue slightly longer ("*...finamente a calenne di settembre...*") than is suggested by the other evidence, but the reference is really too brief and all the data too imprecise for this to be given a great deal of significance.

The first landmark of change was the joint meeting of the Seven and the Twelve on 5 July, when, as already noted, the plague was openly mentioned for the first time, having made it necessary to place a restriction on the amount of wax to be used at funerals<sup>32</sup>. The very fact that funerals were still being held with some measure of ceremonial does suggest, however, that matters were not yet felt to be totally out of control, as does the fact that the Council was also able to deal with two routine appointments and a number of financial measures. Even by this date, there were no absences among the councillors for reasons of illness or death, and they seem to have anticipated that the feast of B. Faustino would be celebrated as normal on 29 July<sup>33</sup>.

The same ambivalence is suggested by a brief reference in the Cathedral archives, also dated 5 July 1348. The sum of five *libre* and one *soldo* was paid to "*heredibus Antonii m. Laurentii Petraccho Petraccho Pepi Alberi*" for five days' work done on the Cathedral project, and certain items made for it<sup>34</sup>. On the one hand, all cannot have been total chaos if the treasurers of the *Opera del Duomo* were still concerning themselves with routine payments such as this. On the other hand, although hardly conclusive proof of a plague fatality, it is at least suggestive that this payment was made to Antonio's heirs rather than to the craftsman himself. Work currently in progress on the Cathedral archives may well uncover more examples of this sort<sup>35</sup>.

From 5 July until the next working session of the Council on 21 August, the *Riformanze* testify to the effects of plague mainly by their silence. Brief meetings on 23 July and 7 August had the sole purpose of

replacing two, and then a further three members of the Council of Seven who had died since the previous meeting<sup>36</sup>. The monthly nomination of the Twelve should have taken place on 31 July, but this task was not performed until 10 August, and even then two of the nominating council were absent, one at least through illness<sup>37</sup>. The vigil of the Assumption went past without the customary tributes of wax being brought by the local guilds, or by the leaders of subject territories in the *contado*<sup>38</sup>. It was not until 21 August that anything resembling normal business was attempted once more, and by then one final victim had been claimed from the Seven<sup>39</sup>.

There can be no doubt that it was during this period, from 5 July to 21 August, that the plague was at its worst, and it is again possible, from Codex V.E. 528, to fill out an otherwise sparse account of the progress of the disease in these crucial two months (see Table 12). By 6 July, the day after the last effective Council meeting, there had still been no deaths in the confraternity, though the pattern of a greatly increased admission rate continued, with eighteen new entrants in the first six days of July alone. Using the same criteria as before, only one of these men is at all likely to have been ill at the time of applying for membership: Cola di m. Pietru, who died on 10 July, five days after his admission.

7 July saw a change in the pattern again, with the admission of two men who died very soon after: one, Iacovu di Domenico, died five days after his admission; the other, Tura di Cecco, died that very evening. There also occurred that day the death of a long-standing member, Ronoccio del Rossu.

For the next six days, new admissions continued to outnumber deaths, but the balance was changing, and between 17 July and 8 August there were only five new entries at scattered intervals, compared to an average daily death-toll of 3.3. During this period, there were only five days [29 and 30 July; 1, 2 and 4 August] for which no deaths were recorded, and even here it is possible that the very high total of thirteen deaths recorded on 7 August may represent a backlog of entries which had accumulated over the past week or so. If that were the case, then the first week of August would show the same sort of pattern as the last two weeks of July, namely a steady stream of deaths with the occasional new admission.

The decline in admission figures is as hard to explain as its



dramatic increase earlier on. It may have been that people were too intent on caring for the sick, burying the dead, and simply surviving, to think about joining a confraternity. Or again, it may have proved impractical to implement even simple admission procedures, though the care with which the matriculation and necrology lists were kept argues against a total breakdown in the group's administration.

From 8 August until the end of the year, there is another quite dramatic change in the pattern presented by the membership figures. There is a sudden drop in the number of deaths, accompanied by a steady picking up in the admission rate, to a level somewhere between its highest point in late June/early July and the much lower average of the pre-plague years.

Three deaths were recorded on 16 August, after a full week without any membership changes, though again it would be wrong to read too much into the silence. After this, there were only two more deaths in the rest of the year, quite possibly due to causes other than the direct effects of the Black Death. The first new entrant after the plague was Jacovuççu di Luca, who entered on 31 August. From then on, there was a regular flow of admissions, amounting to a total of twelve in the last four months of the year. The group's popularity continued throughout 1349, with a total of thirty-six new entrants in that year (see Table 7). By the following year, 1350, the number of admissions had dropped to twenty-three, but this is still significantly higher than the previous annual average of approximately 6.5.

The confraternity membership figures thus lead to certain definite conclusions about the chronology of the plague and its effects on Orvietan life. They suggest that it had passed its worst by about the beginning of the second week in August, that it had stopped claiming victims by about the middle of the month, and that by the end of August or the beginning of September some sort of stability was being restored, and people were beginning to pick up the threads of their lives again. This ties in very well both with the chronicler's claim that the plague continued until the kalends of September, and with Mme. Carpentier's analysis of the town council minutes for the same period<sup>40</sup>.

To make up for the failure to do any business since 5 July, no fewer than four working sessions of the joint Councils of Seven and Twelve were held in the space of nine days: on 21, 24, 27 and 29 August. Several councillors were absent on one or more of these occasions, but

whatever the reason, it does not seem to have been due to terminal illness. By Mme. Carpentier's analysis, no more than two councillors can have died of plague in August, and it is possible that none did at all. She comments on the resumption of Council business as follows:

*Ces séances de travail de la dernière décade d'août sont une preuve de plus du désarroi qui règne alors dans la ville, mais elles témoignent aussi d'un premier effort de réorganisation, (41)*

The first meeting dealt with regulations concerning the sale of meat and wine, demonstrating that the shops were back in business after being forced to close during the worst of the crisis<sup>42</sup>. Another important piece of business at all four sessions was the selection of new officials to replace those who had died: numerous notaries, for example, and two gate-keepers for the Porta Maggiore and Porta Postierla respectively<sup>43</sup>. The speed with which the latter appointments were made illustrates the government's concern with security and public order, an indirect legacy of the plague, perhaps<sup>44</sup>. A number of special measures were enacted on 27 August to deal with crimes of violence, and nocturnal crime in particular. Another item of business directly related to the recent epidemic was a huge increase in the number of disputed Wills presented to the Council for settlement<sup>45</sup>.

The next important meeting in the process of reconstruction was held on 19 September, a joint council of nobles and *popolani*, consisting of well over three hundred people whose remit was "the reform of the city and contado and people and comune" <sup>46</sup>. Significant as this undoubtedly was, it takes the town decisively into another phase, and out of the period under discussion here.

As far as the chronology of the plague in Orvieto is concerned, the confraternity membership figures obtained from Codex V.E. 528 conform at every stage to the pattern already suggested by other sources. This is an important confirmation of a none too abundant body of evidence. Moreover, the material from the Codex allows existing evidence to be amplified in a number of particulars.

For example, the confraternity figures suggest a slightly more compressed timescale than has hitherto been supposed, both for the overall duration of the plague and for the period of greatest intensity. According to the chronicler, the disease first reached the town in late April or early May 1348, but the confraternity was not noticeably affected until well into June, and the steady stream of deaths of



members did not begin until 10 July. The direct short-term effects seem to have been over for the confraternity by 16 August, five days before the first effective Council meeting.

Nevertheless, the importance of these minor chronological changes should not be exaggerated. There are no serious inconsistencies between Codex V.E. 528 and other sources, and the chief significance of this new evidence is the extent to which it corroborates and gives added substance to the old.

.....

### c) Impact of the Plague

It would be foolhardy to venture, on the strength of the limited evidence of this one new source, into the highly specialised field of plague demography, fraught as it is with hazards for the unwary<sup>1</sup>.

Chronicle accounts, for example, are notoriously vague as far as statistics are concerned, and the Orvietan ones are no exception. There are two contemporary estimates: of fifty and ninety per cent mortality respectively<sup>2</sup>. The first is more credible than the second, but that is no reason for believing it more reliable. Carpentier is only marginally more convincing than the early chroniclers when she states, on the basis of deaths among town council members, that "the number of victims must represent at least half the population" <sup>3</sup>

Codex V.E. 528 does at least provide a larger, and socially more varied sample from which to work, and it is useful to be able to see the effects of the plague on this one clearly defined group of people. It is beyond the scope of this study to attempt the much more difficult task of working out the implications of Codex V.E. 528 in terms of mortality rates in the town as a whole.

Some comment will be made about the number and proportion of plague deaths among confraternity members, but with regard to subject of lay piety at least, the chief value of this source lies in the much more elusive area of human emotions and spirituality. What matters most, in other words, is what, if anything, this new source may reveal about the psychological impact of the plague on the people of Orvieto. In fact, it could be argued that this is the best way to interpret the chronicle accounts too. The estimate of nine-tenths mortality may never have been intended as a precise statistical calculation, but rather as an attempt to convey the horror of this almost total devastation: a disaster "which

only just fell short of being universal" <sup>4</sup>.

As far as statistical validity is concerned, the population sample represented by Codex V.E. 528 is as varied as might reasonably be expected. It is an entirely male group, of course, but members of the confraternity were not drawn from any one trade or level of society. Wealthy *signori* are listed alongside tailors, potters, and many ordinary people about whom nothing is known other than their name (see Tables 2 and 3). These men were linked by religious bonds which seem, to some extent at least, to have cut across social barriers; and since there is nothing to suggest that admission was being sought by men who had already contracted the plague<sup>5</sup>, there is no reason to believe that mortality figures for the confraternity are other than typical.

A more serious problem is that the total size of the confraternity cannot be calculated with any degree of certainty. The detailed matriculation list does not begin until 1337, thirteen years after the group was re-established, and there are numerous inconsistencies between the matriculation and necrology lists. These factors combine to suggest a total membership considerably larger than that indicated by the matriculation list alone, but as long as this is borne in mind, it does not prevent some work being done on the more limited sample of those confraternity members whose names do happen to have survived. Furthermore, this sample is still significantly larger than the only one hitherto available for Orvieto: known members of the Councils of Seven and Twelve.

To begin, then, with the period before the plague (from 1337, when the matriculation list begins, to 8 June 1348, when entry figures began their rapid escalation), the matriculation list here notes eighty-four entrants, in addition to the two rectors named separately (see Table 13a). One of these names can be discounted because it appears twice, presumably representing someone who had left and later been readmitted to the group. A further eight men had already died, and ten been expelled before 8 June 1348. Thus the maximum known membership on 8 June can be brought down to sixty-seven. In addition, a further two members died, and two were expelled at unspecified dates, while a fifth man is recorded as having been expelled twice, with no notice of his readmission in-between. This leaves a working total of sixty-two known members whose fortunes can be traced, though it should be stressed that this by no means represents the whole Franciscan confraternity.



Of these sixty-two, thirty-four men died between May and August, twenty survived, to die or be expelled at a later date, and there are two cases where death may or may not have been within the period of the plague (see Table 13b). The mortality rate for this sample - men who definitely belonged to the Franciscan confraternity on 8 June 1348 - is thus between 54.8 and 58 per cent, a figure only slightly higher than Carpentier's estimate, based on council records, and tallying very well with the fifty per cent mortality alleged by one of the Orvietan annalists.

From 8 June onwards, the sudden rise in admission figures indicates that people were joining the confraternity who would not in normal circumstances have done so. This may have affected the composition of the group, but there are so few cases in which anything is said about members' occupation or social status, that the nature of any changes cannot be evaluated<sup>5</sup>: as far as it is possible to tell, the confraternity was as mixed a social group as before. Nor is there any reason to believe that people were now seeking admission because they knew they were about to die (a factor which would seriously distort any estimates of mortality figures). Leaving aside the unfortunate Tura di Cecco who was admitted on 7 July and died that very evening ('lasera'), only eight of the eighty entrants under consideration are at all likely to have come into this category. In any case, if one is indeed dealing with a total mortality of between thirty and fifty per cent, there can have been virtually no Orvietan citizen who was not in a high risk category during July and August.

Assuming, then, that this sample is at least no less representative than the previous one, percentage mortality may be calculated for the eighty men who were admitted to the confraternity between 22 June and 8 August 1348 (see Table 10). As might be expected, since this was the time when the plague was at its worst, there are more inconsistencies in the records for this period. Five of the men are recorded as having died, but no date of death is given; the death of another man, Giovanni di maestru Angnielu, is recorded twice; and in the case of Cola di Ceccho di Donalda, who died on 3 September, it is unlikely, but not impossible that he was a victim of the plague. Narducciu di Fredo, a re-entrant, was expelled at an unspecified date, and no details are given at all about the fate of Nalluccu di Monaldo.

These ten cases apart, forty of the men who joined at the height

of the plague were also victims of it, and thirty are known to have survived. This represents a mortality rate of between fifty and 62.5%. If, as seems likely<sup>7</sup>, the true figure is somewhere between these two, then it is higher than most previous estimates for plague fatalities in Orvieto. When the two sets of figures (those who joined before and after 8 June) are combined, the percentage of deaths among known confraternity members, comes out at between 56.34 and 59.15 per cent<sup>8</sup>, quite definitely towards the higher end of the scale as far as previous estimates are concerned.

There were three other hints in existing sources about the nature and extent of this epidemic, and the information in Codex V.E. 528 is at least consistent with these, if not providing any more precise confirmation.

First, one of the chroniclers reports the suddenness with which death overtook plague victims: "*la mattina erano sani e l'altra mattina morti*"<sup>9</sup>. This suggests that it was the pneumonic, rather than the bubonic form of the disease which was most prevalent in Orvieto. The latter has a mortality rate of sixty to ninety per cent, and there is even a benign strain from which recovery can be expected without treatment, but most victims of pneumonic plague could be expected to die very soon after contracting the disease<sup>10</sup>. The most graphic parallel in Codex V.E. 528 is the case of Tura di Cecco, who died the very evening of his admission to the confraternity<sup>11</sup>. There are only two other instances of men who died within a day or two of admission<sup>12</sup>, but the absence of more examples of this sort is not in fact relevant, as there is no reason to look for a correlation between confraternity enrolment and contraction of the disease. If Codex V.E. 528 has anything to add here, it is only in the most general terms: the fact that so many men died within such a short period of time suggests that a very virulent form of plague was at work.

The same applies to the second observation based on near-contemporary chronicle accounts. Two of the chroniclers<sup>13</sup> agree on the indiscriminate nature of the epidemic: among those who died were "*grandi et piccoli*", "*maschi et femmine*", "*principales nobiles et populares*". This contrasts with the plague of 1363 which seems, possibly because of immunity acquired by survivors in 1348, to have attacked mainly young people<sup>14</sup>. Insofar as it is possible to distinguish different categories of members in this adult male confraternity, none



seems to have been exempt from the ravages of plague. Victims included a priest, four noblemen, two '*maiestri*' and two tailors as well as numerous ordinary townsmen (see Tables 1-3).

The third observation is based on town council records as well as the fullest of the four chronicle reports: namely, that some complete households were exterminated by the plague, while other houses were abandoned by people whose relatives had died in them<sup>15</sup>. Carpentier cites four instances in the *Riformanze* of 1348 and 1349 in which depopulation is obviously a cause for concern<sup>16</sup>. Certain parishes in the *contado* seem to have been left completely uninhabited, while the city, a full year after the plague, in September 1349, was still "almost completely empty of citizens" <sup>17</sup>. In November of the same year, the councillors registered their concern about the many houses which remained "empty and uninhabited" <sup>18</sup>. It takes little medical expertise to appreciate that the disease would be likely to spread quickly from one member of a family to another, and indeed, out of the limited number of possible family groupings among confraternity members, three sets of brothers were among those who died in the plague (see Table 4). Once again, however, it is the high overall mortality figures which provide the strongest confirmation of these other reports of depopulation and abandoned homes. The plague may not have been the only reason for depopulation in the fourteenth century, but it certainly made a significant contribution to the decrease of approximately fifty per cent in the number of Orvietan tax-payers between 1292 and 1402 <sup>19</sup>.

Necessary as it may be to establish as accurately as possible the nature of the disease, the precise sequence of events and the number of casualties, Mme. Carpentier is undoubtedly right when she says that these are essentially tools for a proper understanding of the impact of the Black Death, rather than an end in themselves<sup>20</sup>. But the most fascinating area of study - the spiritual and psychological effects of sudden disaster on a group of medieval Christian people - is also one of the most problematic, and she sets herself an awesome task when she undertakes to investigate "not only how people reacted before, during and after the scourge, but also what they were really thinking..." <sup>21</sup>.

Religious observance is one possible guide to mental attitudes, but the problems of interpretation are enormous, even when the motivation is explicitly stated in the original source. On 5 June 1347, when the dangers of civil war and famine had been temporarily averted, the

commune promised a candle each year on the feast of Pietro Parenzo...

*... quatenus ipse Deus... dignatur ipsam civitatem et suos et  
eius populum et comune a cunctis malis imminetibus liberare et  
in pacis et tranquillitatis dulcedine repausari permittat. (22)*

Clearly, there is a valid, contemporary connection between this act of civic devotion and the troubled times in which the councillors were living, but it is impossible to break through the pious formula with which the entry begins to the real fears and emotions underlying the decision to invoke the aid of the town's patron saint in this way. It may have been an act of genuine desperation, or it may simply have been the conventional thing to do in the circumstances.

Similarly, Mme. Carpentier is on very shaky ground when she speculates that the various austerity measures taken towards the end of 1347 - restrictions on funerals, weddings, female dress, weddings, public gatherings, and unruly behaviour - may have arisen out of a desire to "forswear the works of the devil and win divine favour by cleaning up public morals" <sup>23</sup>.

The same need for caution applies all the more when attempting to assess the psychological impact of a disaster on the scale of the plague which swept across Europe in 1348 and reached Orvieto in June of that year. Quite apart from any problems of interpretation, there is very little in the way of concrete evidence to use as a starting-point. Daily "processioni et discipline" were held after a severe earthquake the following year, in September 1349 <sup>24</sup>, but there is no record of special processions having been held before, during or after the much greater calamity of 1348. Of the two major religious festivals in the Orvietan calendar, one, Corpus Domini, was celebrated as usual on 19 June<sup>25</sup>, while the other, the feast of the Assumption in August, had to be abandoned that year<sup>26</sup>. All that proves is the extent to which normal life had been disrupted by the plague in the later part of the summer. Practical considerations are quite sufficient to explain the observance of the one feast and the neglect of the other.

The feast-day of B. Faustino (29 July) is in a slightly different category, since its celebration was one of the items of business at the meeting of the joint councils of Seven and Twelve on 5 July 1348 <sup>27</sup>. The fact that this should have been discussed at a time when the plague was already "hurling its arrows atrociously in every direction", shows either a dogged determination on the part of the councillors to continue



as though nothing was wrong, or a rather high priority being given to fulfilling their religious obligations. Nonetheless, one is still dealing here with the normal celebration of an established feast-day, albeit in circumstances far from normal. There is no reason to interpret this item of business as a direct religious response to the plague.

In the absence of more substantive insights into medieval "mentality", Carpentier makes much of the decision at the same council meeting that the amount of wax used in funeral candles should henceforth be limited to a maximum of ten pounds for nobles and five pounds for others. She expresses surprise on two counts: firstly, that social distinctions should have been maintained in this time of extreme crisis; and, secondly, that the legislators' chief concern should have been for the dead rather than for the living. She sees the latter fact as proof of the medieval preoccupation with the hereafter at the expense of the here-and-now<sup>28</sup>.

This line of argument is less than convincing, however. It could just as well be argued that to have ignored social distinctions in this necessary piece of legislation would have been tantamount to admitting that matters were completely out of control, and far more threatening to nobles and non-nobles alike than simply restricting the scale of their respective funeral ceremonies. Likewise, to have been unconcerned about the proper burial of the dead would have revealed a very serious collapse of order. Quite apart from the fact that burial rites are primarily for the benefit of the mourners rather than the deceased, it is commonly recognised that concern for the living is confirmed, rather than denied by the display of respect for the dead. The horror of the opposite situation, when the dead were dumped unceremoniously in communal pits, can still be felt by reading the graphic descriptions by Boccaccio, in relation to Florence, and by the Sienese chronicler, Agnolo di Tura, in relation to his native city<sup>29</sup>. If the Orvietan councillors had not been able or willing to regulate funeral procedures in response to a serious shortage of wax, this would have indicated, as clearly as any negligence in medical or preventive care, that all hope of controlling the situation had been lost.

One further piece of legislation - the joint council's endorsement of the petition presented by the chamberlain of the *Opera del Duomo* on 28 November<sup>30</sup> - is also open to different levels of interpretation, not least in terms of what it has to say about the religious psychology of

the town's ruling body, two months after the plague had passed its worst. On a practical level, the decree illustrates both the extent to which the life of the town had been devastated by the plague, causing the most important of the year's religious festivals to be cancelled, and the remarkable speed of recovery from such devastation, since city councils and trade guilds had both been reconstituted within the space of a few months. On the religious level, the pious phraseology of both the chamberlain's petition and the council's acceptance of it could very easily lead this to be taken as an illustration of simple medieval piety, verging on superstition, by which it was assumed that natural disasters represented divine punishment for sin, and that the surest way to appease an angry God, and thus prevent the recurrence of the tragedy, was to curry favour with his more approachable mother.

Variations on this line of interpretation have indeed been put forward<sup>31</sup>, but the one thing that has not attracted comment so far is the division of the final vote. The petition was overwhelmingly approved, it is true, and the administrators of the *Opera del Duomo* were authorised to claim alms from each of the local *arti* because of the special circumstances pertaining that year. Significantly, however, there were eleven councillors with the courage to vote against a motion couched in such pious terms that a refusal might smack of blasphemy. The chamberlain's request may, of course, deserve to be taken at face value, as a genuine expression of concern for the city's spiritual and material welfare, but it could also be interpreted as a skilful piece of opportunism. Seeing that there would inevitably be some casualties of the recent disaster, the custodians of the *Opera del Duomo* may have decided to get in first, playing on people's fears and emotions, to ensure that their project, at least, should not suffer<sup>32</sup>. In any case, the eleven dissenting votes stand as evidence against any simplistic theory of medieval innocence or credulity.

In contrast to weak arguments based on relatively flimsy pieces of evidence such as these, Codex V.E. 528 represents a massive step forward in understanding the religious and emotional response of ordinary people to the Black Death. It is still quite unrealistic to expect to be able to interpret their behaviour in modern psychological terms, but the importance of this new source, reflecting as it does the sudden and dramatic impact of the Black Death on the Franciscan confraternity, must not be under-estimated. Not only is the extent of the change in



membership patterns so great as to demand explanation, but the timing is so precise that there can be no doubt that these changes were directly related to the plague.

This, then, must rank among the best evidence yet available for the thesis, sometimes propounded, that one effect of the Black Death in European society was an increase in religious fervour<sup>22</sup>. It is not necessary to review here all the evidence from Codex V.E. 528 for the ways in which the Franciscan confraternity was affected by the plague, except to note once again the huge, and sudden influx of new members, and the equally huge, and equally sudden death-toll among new and established members alike.

Nor is it necessary to speculate further on the spiritual or psychological significance of this rush to join the confraternity, other than to re-emphasise the extent to which people's confidence must have been shaken by this calamity, and the high priority given by them to the religious side of life. Whether their desire for membership sprang from genuine piety, from fearful superstition, from concern about their fate in the afterlife, or from guilt at having neglected religious obligations in more settled times, it is still significant that so many should have made the effort to apply for confraternity membership at a time when panic must have been rife, and when there must have been a great many other concerns to occupy their minds.

There is one factor, however, which does require special comment at this point, as it raises questions about the motivation of some of these people who suddenly decided to join the Franciscan confraternity in the summer of 1348. As well as a substantial increase in the size of the group, there was also a significant rise in the expulsion rate after this date. No expulsions took place while the plague was actually in progress - in fact there were none at all between 6 January and 28 December 1348 - but there was a steady number in the years which followed (see Tables 7 & 9).

More significant still is the fact that there was a much higher proportion of expulsions among plague entrants than among men who had already been members before the plague began (see Table 13). Of the twenty-six known survivors in the latter category, only three left the confraternity by expulsion, while twenty-one remained members until death. By contrast, no fewer than fifteen of the thirty or so plague entrants who survived the epidemic were later expelled from the group,

and only eleven definitely remained members for the rest of their lives. This points very strongly to what might have been guessed in any case: that many of those who sought admission in direct response to the Black Death did so more out of panic and mass hysteria than out of considered commitment to the ideals of the confraternity. Then, once the immediate danger was past, many allowed their membership to lapse.

Of the fifteen expulsions in question, ten took place within four years of the plague (three in 1349; four in 1350; one in 1351; and two in 1352) and the remaining five between 1354 and 1365. In addition, at least eight<sup>34</sup> of the twelve people who entered the confraternity immediately after the plague, between 31 August and the end of the year, were later expelled.

This is not the complete story, of course, because the plague does also seem to have had long-term benefits to the confraternity, if only in terms of an overall increase in size. The admission rate settled after the immediate panic of summer 1348 was over, but never dropped back to its pre-plague level (see Table 7). Thirty-six entrants in 1349 and twenty-three in 1350 may seem few compared to the figure of over a hundred for 1348, but both are significantly higher than the previous annual average of 6.5 new entrants in the ten years from 1337 to 1347<sup>35</sup>.

A lot of work is being done at the moment on religious art in Orvieto, much of it connected with the celebrations which will take place in 1990 for the seven hundredth anniversary of the Cathedral's foundation<sup>36</sup>. One project, in particular, should be an invaluable tool for assessing the long-term impact of the plague in Orvieto. Dr Catherine Harding plans to do for Orvieto what Millard Meiss did a number of years ago for Florence and Siena: namely to study the effects of the Black Death on local painting<sup>37</sup>. Since many of these paintings would have been commissioned by local confraternities<sup>38</sup>, the results of this new study should tie in very well with Codex V.E. 528. Indeed, Dr Harding has herself been attempting a similar sort of exercise for a slightly later period: she has been trying to relate the dramatic texts in the Codex to the frescoes in the Chapel of the Corporale (1357-64), almost certainly associated with a lively confraternity of the Sacrament. With regard to the direct impact of the plague on styles of art, one would be looking for changes similar to those discovered by Meiss in Florence and Siena: the increasing popularity of new themes such as the



martyrdom of St Sebastian, and the re-interpretation of traditional themes, such as the Crucifixion and the Last Judgement.

In the meantime, Codex V.E. 528 remains the main source of information about the ways in which religious attitudes and behaviour in Orvieto were influenced by the events of summer 1348. Various theories have been put forward about the effects of the plague on European society as a whole, but it would be difficult to test these out in any detail on the basis of the Orvietan evidence, and in any case, the long-term consequences are not relevant here.

It has been suggested, for example, that the years immediately following 1348 were characterised by a sense of disillusionment with the Church and the priesthood, together with a growth in religious fervour, which was marked by an upsurge in church-building, a sudden increase in charitable giving to religious institutions, the creation of new feast-days, and a rise in the popularity of pilgrimage<sup>39</sup>.

In Orvieto, using data only for the two years from 1348 to 1350, it would be hard to justify such claims. The town's major project was still the construction of the new cathedral, and work continued on this as before: apparently neither halted nor significantly accelerated by the plague<sup>40</sup>. The only change was that the commune, from around this time, began to take a greater interest in overseeing the administration of the project<sup>41</sup>, but this is not necessarily an indication of "religious fervour" on the part of the local authorities, since the new cathedral was to be a civic, as well as an ecclesiastical monument. With Orvieto's reputation at stake, it is not surprising that the town's secular leaders wanted to keep a close check on the work as it progressed.

Three new churches, all dedicated to female saints (Santa Chiara, Santa Margherita and Santa Ursella), do appear for the first time in the *Riformanze* of 1350 <sup>42</sup>, but there is no way of being sure whether they were founded before or after 1348. Certainly, there was no dramatic change in the ecclesiastical map of the town, though there is some evidence to suggest that the cult of the Virgin Mary was growing in popularity at this time<sup>43</sup>, and the honouring of female saints could be part of the same trend. The new cathedral was dedicated to the Virgin, whose protection is frequently invoked in its records<sup>44</sup>, and the Franciscan confraternity, the one group known to have grown in strength as a result of the plague, was also associated with her cult.

Had there indeed been an explosion of lay devotion immediately

following the plague, this would almost certainly have been reflected in contemporary Wills. In fact, of the only documented category of Wills - those which included donations to one or other of the Mendicant Orders<sup>45</sup> - none at all have survived for the years 1348 or 1349, and only eight for the year 1350. There is no problem with the selection of Wills available, as in most cases if a Will included any religious provision at all, then either the Franciscans or the Dominicans would be among the beneficiaries. The lack of testamentary evidence is nonetheless quite inconclusive, as a great many notarial registers have been lost since the thirteenth century.

The issue of new feast-days illustrates the hazards of building an argument on a very limited body of evidence. According to Philip Ziegler<sup>46</sup>, "nearly fifty" new religious holidays were created in Italy in the period following the Black Death. On closer investigation, his only source for this observation is a remark in Carpentier's study, based on a single entry in the Orvietan *Riformanze* for 11 August 1349<sup>47</sup>. A series of proposals concerned with the "health, tranquility, well-being and profit" of the people of Orvieto was headed by the proposal that numerous feast-days should be observed: the Vigil of the Assumption, the feast of S. Severo, the feasts of all those saints whose relics were held in the town or its suburbs, and those of all titular saints of local churches. Since over sixty churches are mentioned in a list of 17 August 1350, Carpentier concludes that the 1349 decree amounts to the creation of "at least fifty new holidays". Ziegler is quite unjustified in extending this conclusion to the whole of Italy, but even in the Orvietan context, it is hardly likely that all of these feast-days were celebrated by full holiday closures throughout the entire town. Most would probably only have involved the area in the immediate vicinity of the churches concerned. The creation of these new holidays does undoubtedly point to an atmosphere of vitality in popular religion, but it is important not to overload the evidence.

It also becomes harder, with the passing of time, to relate specific developments in popular religion to the plague of 1348. In August 1349, the events of the previous year would still be very fresh in the legislators' minds. By 1350, when Orvietans became caught up with the whole of Europe in the events of the Jubilee year, the connection is less clear, but the general feeling is still one of popular enthusiasm for religious celebrations encouraged by civic and ecclesiastical



authorities, but affording plenty opportunity for lay participation.

The people of Orvieto were given every encouragement to travel to Rome for the Jubilee indulgence. Court cases were suspended twice - on 26 October and again on 20 November - for precisely this reason:

*...ut in isto felici tempore Iubilei, cives et commitatini  
Urbeveterani Roman habilius accedere valeant pro indulgentia...  
capescentia...*

*...pro comoditate civium et commitatensium euntium et iturorum  
Roman pro indulgentia Iubilei. (48)*

Furthermore, being on the direct route to Rome from the north, Orvieto had many foreign pilgrims pass through in the course of the year, including a memorable band of "twenty-two" from Hungary:

*E questo Ventidoi di Ongaria veniva di Puglia et venne a Roma per  
il perdono et passò per questa terra et andò verso Feroscia et  
tornossene in suo paese. (49)*

According to the author of this chronicle at any rate, the latter part of 1350 seems to have been little short of idyllic for Orvieto:

*Et poi che passò per questa terra il Ventidoi, si dirizzò molto  
la strada di romieri, per questa terra, che andavano a Roma; et  
Orvieto stava in sì bono stato in questo tempo, che poche notte  
se chiudevano le porte per li molti romieri che passavano di di e  
di notte. Li artefici guadagnavano molto bene et non pariva che  
Orvieto havesse havuto mai guerra, sì che ogni bono homo era  
contento.*

This tranquil scenario is called into question by the various measures enacted in the years following the plague, in an attempt to combat decadence and crime. This suggests that Orvieto was not in fact exempt from the general increase in crime and the decline in morality denounced by so many of the fourteenth century chroniclers. It is difficult, of course, to disentangle the facts of the matter from the outrage of contemporary moralists, but various pieces of legislation can be cited as evidence of a perceived decline in standards<sup>50</sup>. The carrying of offensive weapons had to be restricted, for example, and the Council of Two Hundred eventually gave up trying to enforce earlier, and stricter legislation regarding female dress.

Some of these changes can be attributed more plausibly than others to the effects of plague on people and society. Complaints in Orvieto that proper care was not being given by guardians to their wards can be explained very easily by the large number of children orphaned by the plague, and the smaller number of adults left to take care of them. Likewise, the looting and plundering of houses and vineyards would have been greatly facilitated by the large-scale abandonment of property as a

result of plague deaths. Even with a less obvious example, such as the problem of sexual liaisons between Jews and Christians, outlawed in a decree of 12 March 1350, it does not take a very great leap of the imagination to link this to the number of settled marriages which must have been broken by the plague. Other problems again, such as the misappropriation of public funds, could have arisen at any time, but contribute to the picture of general social disarray at this particular time.

It was in the midst of this disarray that membership of a religious confraternity seems to have offered, to some men at least, a sense of identity and perhaps of security in a world whose insecurity had been underlined in the most dramatic way possible in the summer of 1348. Some of those who had joined during the general panic of that time fell away when the immediate crisis had past, but many stayed on, and the group emerged considerably stronger than before. However hard it may be to identify the effects of the plague on religious life in Orvieto, and to distinguish positive from negative change, its effects were real, and apparently lasting.

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d) The Franciscan confraternity in 1350

The year 1350 has been selected as a somewhat arbitrary terminus for the present study. As far as the confraternity is concerned, the matriculation and necrology lists continue well beyond that date, and in terms of town life in general 1348 was, for obvious reasons, a more significant watershed. Nonetheless, a brief survey of the state of the Franciscan confraternity in 1350 may be helpful in two respects. It will serve as a case-study of what it is hoped is not an entirely untypical confraternity of the mid-fourteenth century, and will also highlight the indirect, long-term effects of the plague on a group of this sort.

With regard to the size of the group, there is no point at which the total membership can be calculated with certainty. Missing entries, duplicates, and dubious textual readings all make the task more difficult, as does the fact that not all the recorded deaths coincide with recorded admissions. An added problem is the thirteen-year gap in the matriculation list, from 1324 to 1337, although the further one proceeds beyond this date the less significant the gap becomes. In fact, the dramatic changes which took place in the composition of the group in



1348 mean that most of the relevant data after this date is more recent, and therefore slightly more reliable.

It is possible, then, by combining information from the matriculation and necrology lists, to arrive at a tentative membership list for the year 1350 (see Table 15). This shows a total of between 118 and 134 'members'. There was an overall increase in membership in the course of the year, with twenty-three admissions, compared to only six deaths and six expulsions. This continued the trend of the previous year, when there had been thirty-six admissions, no deaths and only five expulsions (see Table 7). The Franciscan confraternity in 1350 was thus a sizeable one, and, as far as it is possible to judge, still growing.

As might be expected with a group of this size, its membership was not restricted to any one district, but seems to have been drawn more or less evenly from all areas of the town (see Table 16a), making allowance for the fact that the four Quarters were not all of equal size.

Such hints as the lists contain about members' social status suggest a balance in this respect too (Table 16b). There were at least four noblemen in the group, and a further eight of the men were sons of a "Ser". There were four whose father had been "misser", twelve sons of a "maestro", and five who were "maestro" in their own right. The trades are given of only two of the men: Francesco di Petrucciole, "vascellario"; and Nutu di Pauli, "sartore". Skilled artisans could be men of considerable wealth and influence. Nonetheless, it does say something for the ability of a group such as this one to transcend social distinctions that "Ser Cesari di Ser Neri" appears on the matriculation list in exactly the same way as a potter and a tailor, or, perhaps more significantly still, as the many whose names have no marks of distinction whatsoever.

The ecclesiastical sector was represented in the confraternity by four "priests" and two "brothers"<sup>2</sup>; though the three men who were apparently sons of religious - Ceccho 'di Frate Vanni'; Lodo 'di Frate Pietru'; and Picciolu 'di Suora Verde' - are somewhat harder to classify<sup>3</sup>.

Other pointers to the composition of the group in 1350 are fragmentary, and of minor importance. To judge from their names, seven of the men may originally have come from other towns (see Table 6), but they could just as easily have been second- or third-generation immigrants. Among the members, there seem to have been at least five sets of brothers, and possibly one father and son (see Table 4), but the

data is far from precise. Finally, with regard to leadership, the nearest indication is a reference early the following year, on 6 March 1351, to a rector, sub-rector and *patre spirituale*.

The heavy weighting of the membership lists to the period after 1348, due to the sudden influx of new members in that year, makes it impossible to draw realistic comparisons between the confraternity as it was in 1350, and as it had been before the plague. Figures relating to the social composition of the group, or regional patterns of membership, for example, are simply not comparable. The one factor which does quite definitely mark out the later, from the earlier group is precisely this new element among its members: namely, people who had joined during the plague and survived the epidemic (see Table 16c).

Only twenty-seven of the 134 men who belonged to the confraternity in 1350 - just less than a fifth - are known to have been members on 8 June 1348. This means that more than eighty per cent of Franciscan confraternity members in 1350 had joined during or after the Black Death. To all intents and purposes this was a new group, and although there were undoubtedly strong elements of continuity, there must also have been significant changes in its outlook and activities.

As has been suggested already, it seems reasonable to assume that some of these people - in particular the forty-five who had joined during and immediately after the plague - may have been less than wholehearted in their commitment to the confraternity. At least forty-one of the 1350 total of 134 members would eventually be expelled, or would allow their membership to lapse (see Table 16d).

Nonetheless, it would be wrong to leave the impression that the changes, however dramatic, were all negative ones. On the contrary, the number of people who remained members until death, so far as it is possible to tell, was still far greater than the number expelled: at least seventy-six, and possibly more. Again, the thirty-three men who joined the group in 1349, and the twenty-two who were admitted in the course of 1350, had had plenty of time to recover from the immediate terror induced by the plague. The fact that they were drawn to seek admission suggests that the Franciscan confraternity had not only been drastically changed, but had also been revitalised by the shattering experience undergone by the whole town in the summer of 1348.

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## B.5 THE FRANCISCAN CONFRATERNITY AND THE PLAGUE: FOOTNOTES

### a) Sources

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2. Eph. Urb., p. 197, *Annales Urbevetani*.
3. Eph. Urb., p. 224, *Cronaca del Conte Francesco di Montemarte e Corbara*.
4. Eph. Urb., p. 208.
5. Eph. Urb., pp. 25 - 26, *Discorso Historico con molti accidenti occorsi in Orvieto et in Altre Parti*, (Published by Muratori as "*Ephemerides Urbevetanae*".)
6. "*necem pestiferam que adheo atrociter suas undique sagittas emittit*", Rif., vol. 135, fol. 21v, 5 July 1348, In Carpentier (Une ville...), p. 231, doc. lll.
7. Philip Ziegler, The Black Death, Harmondsworth, 1970, p.57.
8. "*propter sevam et inauditam pestem mortiferam que nuper undique in humano genere est diffusa*", Rif., vol. 135, ff. 44r-v, 30 Sept. 1348, In Carpentier, op. cit., pp. 233-4, doc. V.
9. "*scandala, guerras et angustias ac mortiferam pestem*", *ibid.*, ff. 48r-v, 18 Oct. 1348, In Carpentier, op. cit., pp. 236-7, doc. Vll.
10. *ibid.*, fol. 52, 24 October 1348, In Carpentier, op. cit., p. 238, doc. Vlll.
11. Rif., vol. 67, ff. 67r.-68r., 28 November 1348.
12. Rif., vol. 136, ff. 17r-v, 18 February 1349, In Carpentier, op. cit., p. 239, doc. lX.
13. "*ad hoc ut Urbevetana civibus repleatur que occasione pestis et mortis generalis est quasi totaliter civibus vacuata...*", *ibid.*, ff. 67v-68, 16 September 1349, In Carpentier, op. cit., pp. 245-6, doc. Xll.

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### b) Chronology

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2. Rif., vol. 65, f. 38r., (?)5 June 1347, E. Carpentier, Une Ville..., p. 92.
3. Rif., vol. 134, fol. 67, 24 Sept. 1347, In Carpentier, op. cit., p. 93.
4. see Carpentier, op. cit., pp. 85-86.
5. Rif., vol. 134, fol. 54v, 31 July 1347 and ff. 99v-100, 27 Dec. 1347, In Carpentier, op. cit., pp. 94-95.
6. Carpentier, op. cit., p. 95.
7. This point is made by Carpentier (op. cit., p. 95).
8. Rif., vol. 135, ff. 4r-v, In Carpentier, op. cit., p. 101.
9. *ibid.*, ff. 5r-v & fol. 6, In Carpentier, op. cit., pp. 101-2.
10. *ibid.*, ff. 6v-9, In Carpentier, op. cit., p. 102.
11. Carpentier, op. cit., p. 103, "*Après deux années de troubles, il semble qu'Orvieto cherche à remettre de l'ordre dans les affaires intérieures de la cité et du 'contado', ce qui nous confirme dans l'impression déjà ressentie que les choses vont mieux, à Orvieto, durant l'hiver 1347-1348 que durant l'hiver 1346-1347.*"

- 12, *ibid.*, p. 109.
- 13, see *ibid.*, pp. 104-6.
- 14, Carpentier suggests (*Une Ville...* pp. 119-20) that there may have been isolated cases before the kalends of May when the chronicler records the first outbreak of plague.
- 15, *Rif.*, vol. 135, fol. 15. In Carpentier, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
- 16, Carpentier, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
- 17, *Eph. Urb.* pp. 25-26. "Discorso Historico...". This anonymous chronicle (Cod. Vat. Urb. 1745) covers the period 1342-1368.
- 18, *ibid.*
- 19, "un tissu de mensonges, inspiré par des récits analogues par d'autres villes". Carpentier, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
- 20, *ibid.*, pp. 121-2. Carpentier again poses the question of the mentality underlying the silence of the documents in this period, but admits that no answers can be given. "Ce silence est-il un acte d'orgueil ou un aveu de défaite? En l'absence de correspondances ou de documents personnels émanant des Orviétans qui ont vécu cette époque, aucune réponse ne pourra jamais être donnée à ces questions, mais elles doivent rester posées."
- 21, In both Pistoia and Florence a separate register was used to record measures taken by the council against the plague. (see Carpenter, *op. cit.*, p. 133).
- 22, *Rif.*, vol. 135, fol. 15v. In Carpentier, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
- 23, An ornate reliquary had been commissioned for the bloodstained altar-cloth associated, in the popular mind at least, with the miracle of Bolsena. This was complete, when the Commune met on 24 May 1337 to determine precise regulations for the procession which would take place the following month on the feast of Corpus Domini (*Rif.* vol. 43, ff. 47ff.) see Alceste Moretti, "Le antiche feste del 'Corpus Domini' in Orvieto" in *Il Comune, Orvieto*, 30 May 1907.
- 24, *Rif.*, vol. 135, fol. 16v or 17v. In Carpentier, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
- 25, Carpentier, *op. cit.*, p. 124, from *Rif.*, vol. 135, ff. 19-20v, and *Discorso Historico...* in *Eph. Urb.*, pp. 24-25.
- 26, *Rif.*, vol. 135, fol. 20. In Carpentier, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-5.
- 27, Carpentier, *op. cit.*, p. 124. "Temoin ce simple incident, qui prend toute sa signification lorsqu'on sait avec quels scrupules la commune cherche à remplir ses obligations religieuses...".
- 28, *Rif.*, ad. an. The earliest list of institutions receiving alms from the Commune is dated 11 December 1314. Thereafter there are lists for the years 1341, 1342, 1343, 1347, 1348, 1349, 1350 and beyond. (see *Chiese e Conventi...*, pp. 23ff.)
- 29, The first sign of disruption in secular sources was the commune's failure to present the *pallium* to S Giovanni at the end of June. (*Rif.* vol. 135, fol. 20; Carpentier, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-5)
- 30, see Carpentier, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-119, for discussion of the medical aspects of the different forms of plague.
- 31, "Discorso Historico..." in *Eph. Urb.*, pp. 25-6.
- 32, *Rif.*, vol. 135, f. 21v, 5 July 1348. Carpentier, *op. cit.*, doc. 111.
- 33, *Rif.*, vol. 135, ff. 21v-22v. In Carpentier, *Une Ville...* p. 125. For date of feast-day/



feast-day (and possible confusion with another S. Faustino, also a martyr, whose feast was celebrated, with that of S. Tiburzio, on 2 July), see A. Ficarelli, Sancta Urbevetana Legio, Orvieto, 1962, p. 369. According to Ficarelli, the remains of the Saint commemorated on 29 July (d. 303 A.D.) are kept in an urn in the Cathedral, with the inscription "*Corpus Sancti Faustini Martiris protectoris Urbis Veteris*".

34. Arch. Duomo, Cam. 111, 1348, luglio 5; *Pro heredibus Antonii m. Laurentii Petraccho Pepi Albere recipienti pro v. diebus quibus operi servivierat ad rationem v. sol. pro die. Et pro quodam cottumo per eum facto dudum de quadam tabula anditi ad compassum tres lib. Et pro alio cottumo unius cornicis de fenestra anteriori vi. sol.: dedit et solvit quinque lib. 1 sol.* In L. Funi, Il Duomo di Orvieto e i suoi restauri (Roma, 1891, p. 62, doc. CLXVIII).

35. Although it deals with the relevant period, Lucio Riccetti's undergraduate thesis (Prezzi, Salari, Orari di Lavoro nella Fabbrica del Duomo di Orvieto (1347-9), Univ. degli Studi di Firenze, 1984/5) is of little assistance here, as it consists mainly of statistical analysis of computer data, and gives very few names of individual craftsmen.

36. Rif., vol. 135, fol. 23. In Carpentier, Une Ville..., pp. 127-8.

37. Carpentier, op. cit., p. 128.

38. Rif., vol. 67, ff. 67r.-68r., 28 November 1348.

39. Rif., vol. 135, ff. 24-25v. In Carpentier, op. cit., 128.

40. "Discorso Historico...", in Eph. Urb., pp. 25-26.

41. Carpentier, op. cit., pp. 128-9.

42. "*Et le bottege delli artefici tutte stavano chiuse*" ("Discorso Historico..."), in Eph. Urb., pp. 25-26.

43. Rif., vol. 135, ff. 24-31. In Carpentier, op. cit., pp. 128-30.

44. Carpentier suggests that crime and pillaging were rife in Orvieto during the height of the plague (op. cit., p. 129)

45. *ibid.*, p. 130.

46. Rif., vol. 135, ff. 35-36. In Carpentier, op. cit., p. 137.

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### c) Impact of the Plague

1. There is a sizeable literature on this subject, some of it summarised in Philip Ziegler, The Black Death, Harmondsworth, 1970, pp. 232-9. With regard to Orvieto, the most detailed study of plague mortality is E. Carpentier (Une Ville...).

2. "*creditur quod medietas hominum obierit...*" (Eph. Urb., p. 197. *Annales Urbevetani...*). "...contasi che delle diece parti ne morissero le nove parti..." (Eph. Urb., pp. 25-26, *Discorso Historico...*).

3. "...le nombre des victimes dut représenter au minimum la moitié de la population," (Carpentier, Une Ville..., pp. 127ff. & Tableau 11.) Carpentier's conclusion is based on a table of deaths among council members, which she has compiled from very sparse data. There is a complete record of councillors attending such meetings as there were of the Council of Seven, but figures for the Council of Twelve are available only for July. All that can really be stated with certainty is that six out of thirteen members of the Council of Seven died in July and August 1348, while four of the Council of Twelve died during July. Nonetheless, this was until now "*la plus fidèle image des ravages de la peste parmi les Orvietans*"

4. Carpentier, Une Ville..., p. 213. *"Sur le moment, on n'ose en parler. Par la suite, on n'ose même pas avancer un chiffre précis de victimes, mais on garde l'idée d'une extermination presque complète - le neuf dixièmes - d'un désastre qui faillit être total"*.
5. It has already been shown that this is unlikely to have been the case, for early plague entrants at least. Death would have followed in a few days if the men had already been ill on the day that they were admitted to the confraternity.
6. There is insufficient data to enable the mortality figures for the confraternity to be broken down according to social class or occupation of its members. Thus it is not possible to test out the theory that the nobility were at less risk than the lower classes in the early stages of the plague, but at equal risk by July and August, when the disease was at its worst (Carpentier, Une Ville..., p. 126).
7. The "August" death, for example, is unlikely to have been in any year other than 1348, and again, in the context of such a large death-toll and so much general confusion, the five whose date is not given are more likely to have been plague victims than not. The expulsion, on the other hand, is unlikely to have taken place when the epidemic was raging, and since other evidence suggests that the plague was effectively over by September, Cola di Ceccho is unlikely to have been a direct victim. This brings the likely number of plague deaths to forty-six, and the number of survivals to thirty-two out of eighty summer entrants.
8. These percentages have been calculated taking the above probabilities into account; i.e. assuming that mortality among summer entrants was between 57.5 and sixty per cent.
9. "Discorso Historico..." in Eph. Urb., pp. 25-26.
10. see Carpentier, Une Ville..., pp. 117, 120, 135.
11. Matric., f. 8r. *"morio adi vij diluglio, lasera."*
12. Stephanu di Michele (matric. f. 8v.; necrol. f. 53r.), Entered 11 July; died 13 July 1348, Meio di Maiestru (?) (matric. f. 9r.), Entered 13 July; died 14 July.
13. "Discorso Historico..." in Eph. Urb., pp. 25-26; & "Annales Urbevetani...", ibid., p. 197.
14. Carpentier, Une Ville..., pp. 215-6. This conclusion is also based on chronicle accounts.
15. *"...molte faniglie e chasate rimasero inferme et sbigottite...". "...quelle che rimasero... con gran terrore dipartirsene delle case che rimasero delle genti loro morte."*
16. Carpentier, Une Ville..., p. 214.
17. *"...quasi totaliter civibus vacuata..."* Rif., vol. 136, f. 67v. In Carpentier, op.cit., p. 214.
18. *"...vacuata et inhabitata persistunt..."*. Rif., vol. 136, f. (?) LXXCII v. In Carpentier, op. cit., p. 214.
19. Carpentier, op. cit., p. 224.
20. Carpentier, op. cit., pp. 8-9. *"Il est pourtant permis de se demander si ces trois questions - narrative, médicale et numérique restreinte à la mortalité - suffisent à nous donner une idée exacte de la peste noire. Ne constituent-elles pas plutôt la base nécessaire et indispensable qui permet maintenant d'aborder une nouvelle étape dans l'histoire de notre connaissance de l'épidémie?"*



- 21, *"Il faudrait chercher à savoir, non seulement quelles ont été les réactions des hommes... avant, pendant et après le fléau, mais aussi ce qu'ils ont réellement pensé individuellement et collectivement,"* *ibid.*, p. 13.
- 22, *Rif.*, ad. an.
- 23, *"un desir de conjurer les entreprises du demon et d'attirer la faveur divine en assainissant les moeurs publiques"*, *ibid.*, p. 94.
- 24, *"Discorso Historico..."*, in *Eph. Urb.*, p. 29.
- 25, *Rif.*, vol. 135, f. 16v, or 17v. In Carpentier, *Une Ville*, p. 124.
- 26, *Rif.*, vol. 135, f. 67, 28 November 1348. In Carpentier, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
- 27, *Rif.*, vol. 135, f. 21v. In Carpentier, *op. cit.*, p. 125.
- 28, Carpentier, *Une Ville*, p. 125. *"Texte surprenant... La violence de l'épidémie et la multiplication du nombre des victimes n'ont inspiré aux législateurs aucun sentiment de l'égalité des hommes devant la mort... or ce n'est pas des vivants en danger qu'il se préoccupe, mais des morts: témoignage irrécusable sur la mentalité médiévale, encore tout tournée vers l'au-delà en ce milieu du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle."*
- 29, Boccaccio, preamble to the *Decameron*. *Cronica Senese di Agnolo di Tura del Grasso*, in *R.I.S.*, vol. 15, part VI, p. 555.
- 30, *Rif.*, vol. 67, ff. 67r.-68r., 28 November, 1348.
- 31, For example, E. Carpentier, *Une Ville*, pp. 87-88; L. Riccetti, *Prezzi. Salari* (Tesi di laurea, 1984/5), pp. 87-8.
- 32, Another variable is the second part of the petition, regarding the clearing of merchants and their wares, vagrants and litter from the area around the Cathedral, and this may have been the part to which the eleven dissenting councillors objected.
- 33, cf. Philip Ziegler, *The Black Death*, Harmondsworth, 1969, pp. 276ff.
- 34, Several of the cases where there are duplicate entries, or difficulties with the text, may also represent similar circumstances (see Table 13 for fuller details).
- 35, The average for the four years immediately before the plague was lower still: three a year from 1343 to 1347.
- 36, This is only one aspect of the planned celebrations. Dr Catherine Harding, a Canadian scholar, has been working with local historian Lucio Ricetti on a project to transcribe and publish all the archival material in the *Opera del Duomo*. The culmination of this venture will be an international conference to be held in Orvieto in 1990, on the subject of the religious history of the town at the time of the Cathedral's construction (1321-1340).
- 37, Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death*, Princeton (University Press) 1951 & New York (Harper & Row) 1973. I was in correspondence with Dr Harding about her work in 1987 and again in July 1989.
- 38, The "Madonna dei Raccomandati" is an obvious example: one of the few commissions where the donors can be clearly identified in the painting.
- 39, see Philip Ziegler, *The Black Death*, Harmondsworth, 1969, pp. 267ff.
- 40, Carpentier, *Une Ville*, p. 194.
- 41, *ibid.* In 1349, for example, a compromise was reached between the Priors and the Bishop, whereby the former would in future nominate the treasurers, and the latter the notaries for the *Opera*.
- 42, *Rif.*, vol. 69, fol. 137r. 17 August 1350. In *Chiese e Conventi*, 2,2,97.

43. The same trend is noted by Millard Meiss in his study of painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death. (op. cit., esp. Chapter VI, "The Madonna of Humility").

44. In September 1349, for example, the Council of Two Hundred passed a decree preventing the Podestà and his officials from holding back necessary supplies for the *Opera*. The document includes the following superscription: "...ad hoc ut ipsa gloriosa virgo civitatem Urbevitanam conservet in pacem et requiem et a noxiis liberet et absintet...". Rif., vol. 136, fol. 72v. In Carpentier, Une Ville..., p. 194.

45. see Chiese e Conventi..., 54 Archivio Notarile.

46. P. Ziegler, op. cit., p. 276.

47. Rif., vol. 136, fol. 56. In Carpentier, Une Ville..., p. 193.

48. Rif., vol. 137, ff. 136 & 146. In Carpentier, op. cit., p. 194.

49. Eph. Urb., pp. 34 - 35, "Discorso Historico..."

50. see Carpentier, Une Ville..., pp. 195-6. Similar accusations were made and measures taken throughout Europe, see P. Ziegler, op. cit., p. 279.

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#### d) The confraternity in 1350

1. The difference is due to there being a number of people whose date of entry is recorded, but not their date of death or expulsion.

2. There is some uncertainty about the identification of the two "brothers", as in both cases a person with the same name is described in one list with the title "frate" and in the other list without.

3. First Order religious would normally be celibate, but these three designations may be explained in a number of ways. The three men in question may have been illegitimate, or their parents may have entered religious life late, after their families had grown. More likely, the titles were being used in a very fluid way, and refer here to lay people loosely associated with one of the religious orders, possibly through the confraternity itself.

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## LAY PIETY: TABLES

(Mainly from Codex V.E. 528)

	<u>Page</u>
1. PRIESTS AND RELIGIOUS IN THE FRANCISCAN CONFRATERNITY. a) " <i>Frater</i> " or " <i>Prete</i> ". b) " <i>di Frate</i> " or " <i>di Suora</i> ".	402
2. TITLED PEOPLE IN THE FRANCISCAN CONFRATERNITY a) " <i>Ser</i> " or " <i>Misser</i> ". b) " <i>Maestro</i> " or " <i>Mastro</i> ". c) Sons of " <i>Ser</i> " or " <i>Misser</i> ". d) Sons of " <i>Maestro</i> " or " <i>Mastro</i> ".	403
3. OCCUPATIONS OF CONFRATERNITY MEMBERS.	405
4. FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS AMONG CONFRATERNITY MEMBERS.	406
5. CONFRATERNITY MEMBERSHIP BY REGION.	407
6. NON-ORVIETANS IN THE FRANCISCAN CONFRATERNITY.	408
7. CHRONOLOGICAL PATTERNS OF MEMBERSHIP.	409
8. OFFICE-BEARERS IN THE FRANCISCAN CONFRATERNITY. a) From 1313 Matriculation list. b) From Inventory (s.d.). c) From main Matriculation and Necrology lists (1324ff.).	410
9. EXPULSIONS FROM THE FRANCISCAN CONFRATERNITY. a) Dates of expulsions. b) Entry dates of those expelled. c) Special categories of members expelled. d) Complex or doubtful cases. e) References to discipline. f) Wording of entries relating to expulsion. g) Reasons for expulsion. h) Readmission after expulsion.	411
10. PEOPLE WHO ENTERED THE CONFRATERNITY DURING 1348.	413
11. MEMBERS FROM EARLIER YEARS WHO DIED IN 1348.	416
12. DAILY ENTRY AND DEATH RATES IN 1348.	418
13. 1348: SUMMARY TABLES. a) Confraternity membership on 8 June 1348. b) Fate of those who entered before 8 June 1348. c) Fate of those who entered 22 June - 8 August 1348. d) Fate of all known members 8 June - 16 August 1348.	419
14. PLAGUE ENTRIES AND DEATHS BY REGION.	420
15. 1350: MEMBERSHIP LIST.	421
16. 1350: SUMMARY TABLES. a) Membership by region. b) Special categories of member. c) Date of entry of 1350 members. d) Later history of 1350 members.	424
17. CONFRATERNITY MEMBERS EMPLOYED BY THE OPERA DEL DUOMO.	425

1. PRIESTS AND RELIGIOUS IN THE FRANCISCAN CONFRATERNITY

(from Codex V,E, 528)

a) "Frater" or "Prete"

<u>Ref.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Region</u>	<u>Entry</u>	<u>Outcome</u>
f, 4r,	Frater Iacobus Albi		(RECTOR 9/3/1313)	
f, 55r,	Frater Gialacchino			d, 17/9/1363
(? +7r,)	(Gialacchinu di Srina)	(Sarancia)	(16/3/1348)	
f, 55r,	Frate Giovanni di Buccio			d, 5/7/1371
(? 10r/v)	(Giuovanni di Buccio di Lonardelle)	(S, Lorençu)	(12/7/1349)	
f, 52r,	Frate Ianni	Pustierla	1/10/1324	d, 27/12/1324
5v/53r,	Frate Torriscianu	S, Apostolu	22/3/1338	d, 6/8/1347
f, 9v,	Prete Giuovanni di Jannuciu	Ripa d, Olmo	3/8/1348	exp, 15/12/1359
(?+56v,)	(Giovanni di Jannucio)			(d, 1/5/1388)
f, 6r,	Prete Ludovicu di Masa	S, Juvenale	15/2/1341	exp, 15/12/1357
f, 10r,	Prete Pietru da Maiestru Cangniu	S, Costançu	12/7/1349	d, 1/5/1368
6v/55r,	Prete Pietru di Jacovelle	S, Lorençu	14/5/1343	d, 11/2/1366
f, 53r,	Prete Rocchistiano			d, 16/7/1348

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b) "di Frate" or "di Suora"

<u>Ref.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Region</u>	<u>Entry</u>	<u>Outcome</u>
f, 10v,	Lodo di Frate Pietru	Ripa d, Olmo	21/2/1350	exp, 28/9/1354
f, 11r,	Ceccho di Frate Vanni	S, Costanco	21/3/1350	
11r/54r	Piccioiu di Suora (?)	Sarancia	21/3/1350	d, 1351

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## 2. TITLED PEOPLE IN THE FRANCISCAN CONFRATERNITY

(from Codex V.E. 528)

### a) "Ser" or "Misser"

<u>Ref.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Region</u>	<u>Entry</u>	<u>Outcome</u>
f, 56v, (& 11r.)	Ser Angnilo di Ser Pippo (Angnieluççu de Ser Pippo)	S, Apostolu	21/2/1350	(d, Aug. 1290)
ff, 5r, 7 53v,	Ser Berardinu di Ruberto	S, Costançu	28/4/1337	d, 21/7/1348
ff, 10r, & 54v,	Ser Cesari di Ser Neri	Sancta Maria	9/4/1349	d, 1360
ff, 10r, & 54r,	Ser Jacovo di Misser Angnielu	S, Apostolu	1/3/1349	exp, 16/11/1354 d, 2/9/1355
ff, 9v, & 55r,	Ser Jacovo di Ser Meio	S, Angelu di Sorripa	2/9/1348	d, 15/2/1359 OR June 1368
f, 53v,	Ser Martino di mastro Adamo			d, 27/7/1348
f, 53v,	Ser Pietro di Misser Ceccho			d, 27/7/1348
f, 11r,	Ser Pietru di Francescu	S, Matheio	18/9/1350	
f, 54r,	Ser Pietro di mastro Gratia			d, 7/8/1348
f, 52r,	Misser Jacovo da Civitella			d, 22/6/1329

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### b) "Maestro" or "Mastro"

<u>Ref.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Region</u>	<u>Entry</u>	<u>Outcome</u>
ff, 5v, /6r,	Maestro Andrea di Bartu	Sancta Maria	27/1/1341	exp, 1348
f, 4r,	Mastru Angelu di mastru Berardinu	S, Costanço	(1313 MATRICOLA)	
9r, & 53v,	Maiestru Angnielu di Guiduccio	S, Jovenale	13/7/1348	d, 27/7/1348
f, 4r	Mastru Barto <i>muratore</i>	S, Costanço	(1313 MATRICOLA)	
f, 52v,	Mastro Biastio			d, 1336
ff, 7r, -v,	Maestro Ceccho di Peruccio	S, Constancu	27/7/1348	exp, 2/10/1358
5r, & 55v,	Maiestru Chele di Lemmo	S, Martinu	18/4/1337	d, 1376
7v, & 54r,	Maiestru Corrato	Ripa d, Olmo	2/7/1348	d, 16/8/1348
f, 54r,	Mastro Giovanni da Bagnoreie			d, 21/5/1350
f, 6v,	Maiestru Francescu di Cola	S, Apostolu	1343	d, 16/5/1348
f, 4r,	Mastru Iacobu di Contieri	S, Costanço	(1313 MATRICOLA)	
f, 4r,	Mastro Iacovo Saltangreppa	S, Costanço	(1313 MATRICOLA)	
6r, & 54v,	Maiestru Nallo di Jannucciu	S, Jovenale	30/2/1341	8/10/1360
f, 4r,	Mastru Pietro di Ranaldo	S, Costanço	(1313 MATRICOLA)	
f, 52v,	Mastro Pietro da Terracane			d, 1336
f, 8v,	Maiestru Pietru di Vanni	S, Jovenale	13/7/1348	

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### c) Sons of "Ser" or "Misser".

<u>Ref.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Region</u>	<u>Entry</u>	<u>Outcome</u>
6v, & 53v,	Giovanni di Ser Alessio	S, Salvatore	31/3/1343	d, 25/7/1348
f, 10v,	Catalucciu di Ser Berto Manno	S, Constancu	11/10/1349	exp, s.d.
f, 53r,	Celle di Ser Betto			d, 1347
10v, & 55v,	Marcu di Ser Cecco di Ser Marcho	S, Jovenale	8/11/1349	exp, 29/5/?? d, 21/5/1382
7r, & 53v,	Domenicu di Ser Cuicciu	S, Constancu	6/4/1348	d, August OR 21/7/1348
f, 8v,	Nericola di Ser Giucciu	Sarancia	11/7/1348	exp, 17/9/1350
f, 54r,	Chiricu di Ser Pietro			d, 31/7/1348

<u>Ref.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Region</u>	<u>Entry</u>	<u>Outcome</u>
9r. & 53v,	Cobuccio di Ser Petro	S. Lorençu	14/7/1348	d, 26/7/1348
f, 8v,	Cherrini di Ser Sensu	Santa Pace	8/7/1348	d, August s.a.
f, 9v,	Narducciu di Ser Sensu	Valle Piactu	3/8/1348	exp, 20/9/1359
f, 9v,	Bucciu di Ser Vanni	S. Lorençu	28/9/1348	exp, 1354
10v. & 55r,	Ceccho di Ser Vanni	S. Lorençu	21/2/1350	exp, 10/12/1357 d, July 1371
f, 4r,	Martinu di Missere Citta	S. Costanço	(1313 MATRICOLA)	
f, 9v,	Neri di Misser Gualtieri	S. Jovenale	20/10/1348	exp, 19/6/1362
8r. & 53v,	Vannuçu di Misser Lippo	Sarancia	4/7/1348	d, 24/7/1348
f, 4r,	Pitrucciulu di Missere di Nallo	S. Costanço	(1313 MATRICOLA)	
11r. & 54r,	Berardo			
	decto Torto di Misser Ormando	Sancta Pace	14/3/1350	d, 17/3/1351
f, 52r,	Mannuccio di Missere Hormanno			d, 30/9/1329
10r. & 54r,	Monaldo di Misser Ormando	Sancta Pace	6/2/1349	d, 17/3/1351
6v./9v./54v,	Pietropaulu di Misser Pandolfo	S. Jovenale	19/12/1344	RECTOR 1360 d, 22/6/1363
f, 4r,	Loctu di Misser Ranucciu	S. Costanço	(1313 MATRICOLA)	
f, 4r,	Vitaluçu di Missere Steplanu	S. Costanço	(1313 MATRICOLA)	

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d) Sons of "Maestro" or "Mastro".

<u>Ref.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Region</u>	<u>Entry</u>	<u>Outcome</u>
6r. & 54v,	Vannuçu di maestro Andrea	Santa Maria	9/9/1342	d, 17/7/1363
8v. & 53v,	Ceccharelle di maiestru Angelu	S. Giovanni	12/7/1348	d, 26/7/1348
8v. & 54v,	Giovanni di maiestru Angnilu	S. Lonardu	10/7/1348	d, July OR 19/9/1363
f, 7v,	Petrucciole di maiestru Angielu	S. Jovenale	2/7/1348	exp, 20/8/1365
f, 52v,	Sacchetto di mastro Ardito			d, 24/4/1345
f, 11r,	Bermucciu di maiestru Chelle	S. Martinu	25/3/1350	exp, s.d.
5r. & 53v,	Lencio di maiestru Ciolu	S. Costançu	28/4/1338	d, 28/7/1348
f, 4r,	Guidarelle di mastro Domenicu	S. Costanço	(1313 MATRICOLA)	
8r. & 53v,	Nucciu di maestro Domenico	S. Lonardu	6/7/1348	d, 28/7/1348
6v. & 54v,	Piccioui di maestru Domenico		14/9/1343	?d, 1360
f, 1r,	Angelu di magistru Domenicu di Berardinu			(RECTOR, named in inventory)
f, 9v,	Stefanu di maiestru Domenicu di Solante		4/1/1349	
7r. & 53v,	Giovanni di maiestru Francesco	S. Jovenale	27/6/1348	d, 21/7/1348
f, 6r,	Vannuçu di maestro Francesco	S. Matheio	20/2/1343	
f, 11r,	Biasciu di maiestru Giovanni	Santa Pace	21/3/1350	
9r. & 54r,	Ceccho di maiestru Lictu		13/7/1348	d, 16/8/1348
f, 52v,	Lorenço di mastro Jacovo			d, 1336
5v. & 53v,	Andriuçu di maestro Philippo	S. Martinu	12/4/1338	d, 18(19)/7/48
8r. & 56r,	Cola di maiestru Pietru	S. Constançu	5/7/1348	10/7/1384
9r. & 55r,	Teio di maiestru Pietru	S. Jovenale	14/7/1348	exp, 5/10/1350 d, July 1370
f, 53r,	Teio di mastro Pietro			d, 14/7/1348
6r. & 54v,	Coluça da Maestro Pietro	S. Martinu	26/12/1342	d, Apr, 1357



### 3. OCCUPATIONS OF CONFRATERNITY MEMBERS

(from Codex V.E, 528)

<u>Ref.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Region</u>	<u>Entry</u>	<u>Outcome</u>
f. 52v.	Rinaldo <u>Baliere</u>			d. 1336
f. 52r.	Tomaroc�o <u>Coltraio</u>			d. 1329
53v. (& 5v.)	Angnilu�o di Vanni <u>sartore</u>	(S. Giovanni)	(9/11/1337)	d. 22(24)/7/48
8r. (& 54r.)	Cecco di Pucciu <u>sartore</u>	S. Juvenale	6/7/1348	d. 7/8/1348
ff. 6r.-v.	Nutu di Paulu <u>sartore</u>	Ripa d. Olmo	20/3/1343	exp. 8/7/1352
10r. & 54r.	Francesco di Petrucciole <u>vascellario</u>	S. Apostolu	13/3/1349	exp. 27/8/1363 d. 16/7/1370
f. 4r.	Cola <u>Baruiere</u>	S. Costan�o	(1313 MATRICOLA)	
f. 4r.	Vanni <u>Baruiere</u>	S. Costan�o	(1313 MATRICOLA)	
f. 4r.	mastri Barto <u>muratoe</u>	S. Costan�o	(1313 MATRICOLA)	
f. 4r.	<u>Notariu</u> Iacobu	S. Costan�o	(1313 MATRICOLA)	

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#### 4. FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS AMONG CONFRATERNITY MEMBERS

(from Codex V,E, 528)

<u>Ref.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Region</u>	<u>Entry</u>	<u>Outcome</u>
f. 11r.	Ser Pietru di Francescu	S. Matheio	18/9/1350	
f. 11r.	Lorençu di Francescu	Sarancia	3/10/1350	
f. 8v.	Cherrini di Ser Sensu	.....	Sancta Pace 8/7/1348	d, August s.a,
f. 9v.	Narducciu di Ser Sensu	.....	Valle Piactu 3/8/1348	exp, 20/9/1359
9r. & 53v.	Covuccio de Ser Petro	.....	S. Lorençu 14/7/1348	d, 26/7/1348
f. 54r.	Chiricu di Ser Pietro	.....		d, 31/7/1348
f. 5r.	Rinoccio del Rossu	.....	S. Angelu 13/4/1337	d, 7/7/1348
		di Pusterula		
f. 53v.	Covuccio del Rosso	.....		d, 21/7/1348
7r. & 53v.	Britiu di Janu da Sucanu	.....	18/5/1348	d, 28/7/1348
f. 7v.	Nucciu de Janu da Sucanu	S. Jovenale	29/6/1348	
f. 9r.	Ceccho di Guadangniolu	.....	Sancta Pace 16/7/1348	exp, 10/1/1350
10r. & 55r.	Giovanni di Guadnignio/Guadignolo	.....	Valle Piatto 22/3/1349	d, 8/9/1372
5v. & 53v.	Pitrucciole di Nardo	.....	S. Jovenale 9/11/1337	d, 25/7/1348
8r. & 54r.	Giuovanni di Nardo	S. Jovenale	4/7/1348	d, 24/7/1348
				OR 7/8/1348
f. 9v.	Jacovucciu di Nardo	.....	Sancta Maria 27/9/1348	exp, 1/9/1353
6v. & 54r.	Salanare di Teio (OR Meio)	.....	RECTOR 1346	d, 16/8/1348
? & 56r.				OR 5/2/1383
f. 53r.	Buccio di Salamone	.....		d, 1347
f. 1r.	Vanni di Pietru di Gulinu di Volgia	.....	CHAMBERLAIN of <i>Laudesi</i>	
6r. & 54r.	Lippo di Vanni di Pietru	Sarancia	11/11/1341	d, 20/10/1348
f. 4r.	Meio di Vanni di Pietro	Pustierla	1313 MATRICOLA	
7r. & 55v.	" " " " "	Sarancia	6/4/1348	d, 1376
f. 6r.	Sulinu dAngnieluççu	.....	Ripa d. Olmo 20/2/1341	exp, 17/4/1356
5r. & 53r.	Neri di Sulinu	S. Lonardu	4/10/1338	d, 14/7/1348
f. 10v.	Matheio di Sulinu	Ripa d. Olmo	10/2/1350	exp, 17/4/1356
6v. & 53v.	Simone di Conte	.....	S. Apostolu 2/2/1344	exp, 25/3/1347
				d, 24/7/1348
9v. & 56r.	Tomasso di Conte	.....	Sancta Pace 8/8/1348	exp, s.d,
				d, 20/3/1384
9v.	Symonettu di Monalduççu di Conte	.....	Sancta Pace 2/11/1348	exp, 1/9/1353
f. 52v.	missere Hormanno di Misser Corrado	.....		d, 1336
10r. & 54r.	Monaldo di Misser Ormando/Hormanno	Sancta Pace	6/2/1349	d, 17/3/1351
11r. & 54r.	Verardo (Berardo) decto Torto	Sancta Pace	14/3/1350	d, 17/3/1351
	di misser Ormando			
f. 10r.	Berardo di Currado di missere	.....	6/2/1349	exp, s.d,
	Ormando			



## 5. CONFRATERNITY MEMBERSHIP BY REGION

(from Codex V.E. 528)

### POSTIERLA QUARTER (Total: 73)

<u>Region</u>	<u>Number of Members</u>
Santa Maria	22
S. Costanzo	26
S. Biagio	--
S. Egidio	--
S. Leonardo	9
S. Angelo	9
S. Stefano	--
S. Martino	5
S. Salvatore	2

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### SERANCIA QUARTER (Total: 63)

<u>Region</u>	<u>Number of Members</u>
Serancia	26
S. Angelo sub ripa	3
S. Lorenzo	14
SS. Apostoli	20

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### QUARTER OF SANTA PACE (Total: 50)

<u>Region</u>	<u>Number of Members</u>
Santa Pace	18
S. Cristofano	6
Valle Piatta	8
Ripa dell Olmo	18

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### QUARTER OF SS. GIOVANNI & GIOVENALE (Total: 73)

<u>Region</u>	<u>Number of Members</u>
S. Giovanni	5
S. Giovenale	24
S. Matteo	2
S. Faustino	1

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## 6. NON-ORVIETANS IN THE FRANCISCAN CONFRATERNITY

(from Codex V,E, 528)

<u>Ref.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Region</u>	<u>Entry</u>	<u>Outcome</u>
f, 52v,	Borghese d'Arezzo			d, 1336
f, 54r,	mastro Giovanni da Bagnoreio			d, 21/5/1350
f, 52r,	Bartolomeo da Bolsena			d, 30/6/1330
f, 52r,	Nallo da Monte Cabione			d, 20/6/1330
f, 52v,	Misser Jacovo da Civitella			d, 1336
f, 9r,	Ceccho di Guadagnuolo	Sancta Pace	16/7/1348	exp, 10/1/1350
ff, 10r, & 55r,	Giovanni di Guadagnuolo	Valle Piatto	22/3/1349	d, 8/9/1372
f, 6r,	prete Ludovico di Masa	S. Juvenale	15/2/1341	exp, 15/12/1347
ff, 7r,-v,	maestro Ceccho di Peruccio	S. Constançu	27/6/1348	exp, 2/10/1348
ff, 9r, & 55v,	Vannuccio di Vanni di Sanpornello	S. Lonardu	16/7/1348	d, 31/8/1355 OR 31/8/1378
f, 52v,	mastro Giovanni da Siena			d, 1336
ff, 7r, & 53v,	Britiu di Janu da Sucanu		18/5/1348	d, 28/7/1348
ff, 9r,-v,	Giuovanni da Surella	Ripa d, Olmo	27/7/1348	exp, 8/7/1352
f, 52v,	mastru Pietro da Terracane			d, 1336



7. CHRONOLOGICAL PATTERNS OF MEMBERSHIP

(from Codex V.E. 528)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Entries</u>	<u>Expulsions</u>	<u>Deaths</u>				
1324	1	--	3				
1325	--	--	2				
1326	--	--	1				
1327	--	--	1				
1328	--	--	0				
1329	1	--	4				
1330	--	--	7				
1331	--	--	0				
1332	--	--	0				
1333	--	--	0				
1334	--	--	0	<u>Month</u>	<u>Entries</u>	<u>Expulsions</u>	<u>Deaths</u>
1335	--	--	1				
1336	--	--	15	Jan.	0	3	0
1337	15	0	0	Feb.	0	0	0
1338	8	0	3	Mar.	5	0	0
1339	1	0	0	Apr.	5	0	0
1340	6	0	13	May	1	0	1
1341	12	1	2	June	16	0	0
1342	3	0	1	July	63	0	75
1343	14	0	0	Aug.	5	0	21
1344	4	0	1	Sep.	6	0	1
1345	4	4	1	Oct.	1	0	1
1346	2	4	6	Nov.	3	0	0
1347	3	1	9	Dec.	1	1	0
1348*	106	4	109				
1349	36	5	0				
1350	20	6	6				

\*1348

## 8. OFFICE-BEARERS IN THE FRANCISCAN CONFRATERNITY

(from Codex V.E. 528)

### a) From 1313 Matriculation list. (fol. 4r.)

Rector: *frater* Iacobus Albi,

Chamberlain: Bonutius Fredi

Quarter Representatives: Angelutius Lemmi (Postierla); Angelutius Pauli (Santa Pace);  
Bonacursus Guidonis Rocchi (SS, Giovanni & Giovenale); Dominicutius Iohannis  
Rogerii (Serancia)

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### b) From Inventory, s.d.. (fol. 3r.)

Chamberlain: Vani di Pietru di Gulinu di Volga

Rectors: Angelu di m. Domenicu di Berardinu; Neri di Manetto; Angelu di Iuvanni;  
Rugieru Mungnaiu; Lorençu di Bartholomeo.

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### c) From main Matriculation and Necrology lists.

<u>Ref.</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Personal Details</u>
f. 52r.	1 Oct. 1324	founder and <i>patre spirituale</i>	Fra Ianni di Pustierla	d. 27/12/1324
ff. 6v.; 54r.; 56r.	1346	rector	Salamare di Teio (? di Meio)	performed one expulsion, d. 16/8/1348 OR 5/2/1383
6v./7/56r.	25 Mar. 1347	rector	Vannuccu di Pepo	performed two expulsions,
f. 9v.	6 Mar. 1351	rector sub-rector <i>patre spirituale</i>	names not given	performed one expulsion,
6/9/10r.	3/6/8 Mar. 1352	rector	Vannuccu di Monaldelle	performed four expulsions
f. 9r.	7 June 1352	rector	Jacovuççu	performed one expulsion,
"	"	sub-rector	Ceccho di Nerucciu	" " "
ff. 7r.; 9v.; 55r.	1 Sep. 1353	rector	Jacovuçço di Freduciolo (? di Federico)	entered 22/6/1348 performed two expulsions, d. 30/8/1350 OR Sep. 1364
ff. 10r/v.	16 Nov. 1354	rector sub-rector <i>patre spirituale</i>	names not given	one expulsion by the <i>patre spirituale</i> and rector; one by all three.
ff. 6r.; 10v.; 56r.	17 Apr. 1356	rector	Ceccho di Velle	performed two expulsions, d. 5 Sep. 1383
ff. 6v. & 9r.	1360	rector	Pietropaulu di misser Pandolfo	entered 19/12/1344 performed one expulsion, expelled,
f. 52r.	Feb. 1398	rector sub-rector scribe	Chele di Tuccio de Iannuccio de Simo Luca del Rossarello Angnilo di Paulino del Prancatore	compiled and updated necrology.
f. 20r.	April 1405	rector sub-rector scribe	Chele di Tuccio de Iannuccio de Simo Colo di Berardino Tramo di Lonardo, <i>disciplinato</i>	transcribed collection of <i>rappresentazioni</i> ,



## 9. EXPULSIONS FROM THE FRANCISCAN CONFRATERNITY

(from Codex V.E. 528)

### a) Dates of expulsions

Before 1348	8	
During 1348	2	
During 1349	5	
During 1350	5	
After 1350	40	
Other*	19	(*no date, or more than one expulsion)
TOTAL:	79	

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### b) Entry dates of those expelled

Members who had joined before 1348	13 expulsions
" " " " during 1348	28 "
" " " " during 1349	19 "
" " " " during 1350	11 "
Other	8 "

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### c) Special categories of members expelled

"Ser"	1 (out of 8)
"Misser	0 (out of 2)
"Mastro"	2 (out of 16)
"Frate"	0 (out of 5)
"Prete"	2 (out of 5)
Rector	1

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### d) Complex or doubtful cases

Members expelled but later recorded in necrology.	13
Members apparently expelled twice.	2
1313 member who rejoined in 1348.	1
Expelled member who later became rector.	1
Identifications uncertain.	3

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### e) References to Discipline

Members expelled after triple correction.	31
Form of correction not specified.	3
No reference to correction.	45

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### f) Wording of entries relating to expulsion

Expelled by X, rector, Corrected (3 times).	3 entries
Expelled by X.	2 entries
Expelled at the time of X, rector.	1 entry
Expelled at the time of X.	2 entries
Expelled by rector, sub-rector & spiritual father, Corrected (3 times).	1 entry
Expelled, Corrected (3 times) by X, rector.	1 entry
Expelled, Corrected (3 times) at the time of X.	2 entries
Expelled, Corrected by X, rector, and Y.	1 entry
Expelled, Corrected by the spiritual father, rector & sub-rector.	1 entry
Expelled, Corrected (3 times) by the spiritual father & the rector.	1 entry

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g) Cases in which reasons for expulsion are given.

<u>Ref.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Region</u>	<u>Entry</u>	<u>Expulsion</u>
f. 5v	Mecu di Pietru Prosparosu	Santa Maria	21/1/1341	22/4/1341
<i>"Corressu per prima, seconda e terça correctione: che presto ad usura."</i>				
f. 6v	Angnieluççu di Bartucciu	S. Martino	22/5/1345	1346
<i>"Corressu per prima, seconda e terça correctione per che non volse obedire, al tempo di Salamari."</i>				
6v/7r/53v	Simone di Conte	S. Apostolo	2/2/1344	25/3/1347
<i>"Corresso per prima, seconda e terça correctione per che non volse obedire, al tempo di Vannuççu di Pepo."</i>				
f. 6v.	Giuovanni di Narco	S. Giovenale	1345	6/1/1348
<i>(? also 8r &amp; 54r)</i>				
<i>"Fu cacciatu per che non obedivo... Corresso per prima, seconda e terça correctione."</i>				
f. 9v.	Jacovucciu di Nardo	Santa Maria	27/9/1348	1/9/1353
<i>"Fu cassu... per Jacovuççu di Freduciole per che non vusava lacasa..."</i>				
7r-v	m. Ceccho di Peruçço	S. Costanzo	27/6/1348	2/10/1358
<i>"Corressu per prima, seconda e terça correctione per lu rectore Vannuççu di Pepo per cio che non volse obedire i nostri sancti capituli. Cacciatu per tucta la comunita delluomini dela nostra fraternita."</i>				

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h) Possible cases of expulsion and readmission

<u>Ref.</u>	<u>Name</u>
10r. & 56r.	Alessiu di Pietro
9r. & 55v.	Bartholomeio di Giovanni Tocti (OR di Giuvantotto)
6v/7r/11r/55r	Berço (Beriqu) dAndrea (di Juvanni)
10v. & 55r.	Ceccho di Ser Vanni
4v. & 8r.	Ciuc(c)u di (del) Profectu
10r. & 55r.	Francesco di petrucciole, vascellario
10v. & 56r.	Giovanni di Cecco (di Romanuçço)
9v. & 56v.	(prete) Giuvanni di Jannucciu
5v/7r/53v	Giuvanni di Nucciu
10r. & 54v.	Giuvanni di Petrucciole
10r. & 54r.	Ser Jacovo di misser Angnielu
10v. & 55v.	Jacovo dAngneluççu
10v. & 55v.	Marcu di Ser Cecco (OR di Ser Marcho)
5v. & 7v.	Narducciu di Fredu
6v/7r/53v	Simone di Conte
9r. & 55r.	Teio di maiestru Pietru
9v. & 56r.	Tomasso di Conte

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10. PEOPLE WHO ENTERED THE CONFRATERNITY DURING 1348.

(following order of matriculation list, Cod. V.E. 528, ff. 7r-9v)

<u>Date of Entry</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Region</u>	<u>Outcome*</u>
16 Mar.	Gialacchinu di Srina (?frate Gialacchino)	Sarancia	Died (17 Sep.) 1363
23 Mar.	Jannucciu dAngnieluççu	S. Constançu	<u>Died 16 July</u>
28 Mar.	Venciolu di Giovanninu Vicu di Celle	S. Salvatore S. Jovenale	Died 17/11/1377 Died 3/3/1378
30 Mar.	Angnieluççu di Ceccho Fiorença	Sancta Maria	Died 1397
6 Apr.	Domenicu di Ser Cuicciu	S. Constançu	<u>Died Aug.</u> OR <u>21 July</u>
	Meio di Vanni di Pietru	Sarancia	Died 1376
	Menicucciu di Philippelle		<u>Died 27 July</u>
18 Apr.	Giovanni di Nucciu	S. Lonardo	<u>Died 27 July</u>
	Nutu di Savinu	S. Cristofanu	<u>Died July</u> OR <u>7 Aug</u>
18 May	Britiu di Janu da Sucanu		<u>Died 28 July</u>
8 June	Vannuççu di Nocciu (?Buccio) dectu Cossa	S. Constançu	Died 3/1/1381
22 June	Vannuccu di Janni di Rugieri Jacovucco di Freduciole (OR di Federico)	S. Apostolu	<u>Died 18 July</u> Died 30/8/1850 OR Sep, 1364
27 June	Giovanni di m. Francesco m. Ceccho di Peruççu	S. Jovenale S. Constançu	<u>Died 21 July</u> Exp, 2/10/1358
29 June	Tofu di Ceccho di Cornalda Jacobuçço di Monaldo Nerucciu di Pellu Meio di Tinu Narducciu di Fredo Nucciu di Janu daSucanu Forcore di Petrucciu di Neri	S. Angelu S. Constançu Sarancia Ripa dell Olmo S. Lonardu S. Jovenale S. Jovenale	Exp, 10/1/1350 <u>Died 7 Aug.</u> Exp, Aug, 1349 Died 19/6/1363 Exp, s.d.  Died 20/7/1372
30 June	Meio (?Teio) di Ciucciu Teio (?Meio) di Ciolecta Bartholomeio di Giovanninu Ceccarelle di Petrucciole	S. Lonardo Sancta Maria Sancta Maria S. Apostolu	<u>Died 18 July</u> <u>Died 15 July</u> Died 2/11/1355 <u>Died 26 July</u>
2 July	Petrucciole di m. Angielu maiestru Corrato Mecucciu di Lucciu	S. Jovenale Ripa dell Olmo Ripa dell Olmo	Exp, 20/8/1365 <u>Died 16 Aug</u> <u>Died 5 Aug</u>
2 July	Memmo di Lecto Matheiuççu di Conucciu Angnieluççu di Vucciu Paulu di Risci Bartucciole di Siliu	S. Juvanni S. Constançu S. Lorençu Sarancia Santa Pace	<u>Died 15 July</u> <u>Died 27 July</u> <u>Died 16 July</u>
4 July	Cola di Ceccho di Donalda Giovanni di Gecçu (OR Gheço)	S. Angelu S. Lorençu	Died 3 Sep. <u>Died 23 June</u> OR <u>23 July</u>
	Giovanni di Nardo	S. Jovenale	<u>Died 24 July</u> OR <u>7 Aug</u>
5 July	Vannuççu di misser Lippo Cola di maiestru Pietru	Sarancia S. Constançu	<u>Died 24 July</u> Died 10/7/1384
6 July	Cecco di Pucciu sartore Dola di Jucciu	S. Jovenale S. Apostolu	<u>Died 7 Aug</u> Died 12/3/1370 OR 22/11/1369
	Nucciu di maestro Domenico	S. Lonardu	<u>Died 28 July</u>

<u>Date of Entry</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Region</u>	<u>Outcome*</u>
	Ciucciu del Profectu	S. Constançu	<u>Died 19 July</u>
	Cucciu de Lemnucciu	S. Apostolu	Exp, 20/9/1349
	Nardo di Cecco di Jacovo		<u>Died 21 July</u>
	Nucciu di Sassu (Salucchino)	S. Jovenale	Died 1351
	Nalluccu di Monaldo	S. Constançu	
7 July	Iacovo di Domenico	S. Constançu	<u>Died 12 July</u>
	Tura di Cecco	Sarancia	<u>Died 7 July</u> (evening)
8 July	Menicucciu di Cecco di Tura	Sarancia	Died 11/9/1361
	Cecco di Bucciu	Sarancia	Died 17/6/1398
	Petrucciu di Nutu	S. Apostolu	Exp, 19/7/1349
	Petrucciu di Thomucciu	Santa Pace	Exp, 28 Dec,
	Conucciu di Narducciu	S. Cristofanu	<u>Died 25 July</u>
	Cherrini di Ser Senu	Sancta Pace	<u>Died Aug. s.a.</u>
9 July	Pauluço di Gulglielmo	Sancta Pace	Exp, 15/5/1351
	Bocculuço di Cathalucciu	Sancta Pace	<u>Died 31 July</u>
	Andrioccu di Martinu	Sancta Pace	<u>Died 21 July</u>
10 July	Colo di Luccio	Sarancia	<u>Died 14 July</u>
	Catalucciu di Vanni	S. Lonardu	<u>Died Aug.</u> OR 31 July
	Giuvanni di m. Angnielu	S. Lonardu	Died July 1363
10 July	Matheio di Giuvanni	S. Lorenço	Exp, 27/12/1350
11 July	Bernardu di Vannuço	S. Angelu	<u>Died 29 July</u> OR 19 July
	Toncelle di Ceccho	Ripa dell Olmo	<u>Died 7 Aug.</u>
	Lenno di Giuvanninu	Sancta Maria	<u>Died 15 July</u>
	Antonio di Cetto (di Ceccho Dignecora)	Sancta Maria	(Died 28/9/1383)
	Nericola di Ser Giucciu	Sarancia	Exp, 17/9/1350
	Stephanu di Michele	Valle Piatta	<u>Died 13 July</u>
12 July	Ceccharelle di m. Angelu	S. Giuvanni	<u>Died 26 July</u>
13 July	maiestru Pietru di Vanni	S. Jovenale	
	Petrucciu di Neri di Paganettu	Sancta Maria	
	Guido di Cecto	Sancta Maria	<u>Died 7 Aug.</u>
	Ceccho di m. Licto		<u>Died 16 Aug</u>
	Neri di Ceccho	S. Lorençu	Exp, 7/6/1352
	Meio di maiestru ?	S. Angelo di Sorripa	<u>Died 14 July</u>
	Philippo di Nucciu (di Balduccio)	Ripa dell Olmo	<u>Died 26 July</u>
14 July	Teio di m. Pietru	S. Jovenale	Exp, 5/10/1350 Died July 1370
	Vannuço di Spinuccio	S. Apostolu	<u>Died 17 July</u>
	Elguercio di Mateio Cionno	Sarancia	<u>Died 8 Aug</u>
	Cobuccio di Ser Petro	S. Lorençu	<u>Died 26 July</u>
13 July	m. Angnielu di Guiduccio	S. Jovenale	<u>Died 27 July</u>
14 July	Bartholomeio di Giovanni Tocti (OR di Giuvantotto)	Valle Piatta	Exp, 1360 (Died 22/6/1374)
15 July	Bartholomeio di Marco	Sancta Pace	<u>Died 28 July</u>
	Pietro dAndrea	Ripa dell Olmo	<u>Died 18 July</u>
16 July	Tucciuole di Ceccho	S. Jovenale	Died 3/12/1364 OR Nov, 1364
	Ceccho di Guadangniolu	Sancta Pace	Exp, 10/1/1350



<u>Date of Entry</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Region</u>	<u>Outcome*</u>
	Vannuḡḡu di Vanni di Sanpornello	S, Lonardu	Died 31/8/1355 OR 31/8/1378
20 July	Bartholomuḡḡu di Meio di Domenichelle	Sarancia	Exp, 21/8/1356
27 July	Giovanni da Surella	Ripa dell Olmo	Exp, 8/7/1352
28 Sep,	Bucciu di Ser Vanni	S, Lorenḡu	Exp, 1354
3 Aug,	prete Giovanni di Jannuciu	Ripa dell Olmo	Exp, 15/12/1359 (Died 1/5/1388)
<u>Date of Entry</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Region</u>	<u>Outcome*</u>
3 Aug,	Narducciu di Ser Sensu	Valle Piactu	Exp, 20/9/1359
8 Aug,	Tomasso di Conte	Sancta Pace	Exp, s.d, Died 20/3/1384
31 Aug,	Jacovuḡḡu di Luca	S, Angelu	Exp, 31/5/1357
?s.d,	Jannucciu di Marchucciu	Sarancia	Exp, 6/3/1351
2 Sep,	Ser Jacovo di Ser Meio	S, Angelu di Sorripa	Died 15/2/1359 OR June 1368
8 Sep,	Vannuḡḡu di Monaldo	S, Constanḡu	Died 1373
?s.d,	Colo di Pitrucciole	Sarancia	Exp, 28 May s.a,
13 Sep,	Pietru di Maletoppo	S, Cristofanu	Exp, 8/7/1352
27 Sep,	Jacovucciu di Nardo	Sancta maria	Exp, 1/9/1353
20 oct,	Neri di misser Gualtieri	S, Jovenale	Exp, 19/6/1362
2 Nov,	Cola di Vannuḡḡu di Benvenuto	S, Apostolu	Exp, s.d,
	Symonettu di Monalduḡḡu di Conte	Sarancia	Exp, 1/9/1353
23 Nov,	Menicucciu di Vanni	Sarancia	Date of death uncertain
28 Dec,	Nolfu di Duḡḡu	Valle Piatta	

\* year 1348 unless otherwise stated, Plague deaths underlined,

# 11. MEMBERS FROM EARLIER YEARS WHO DIED IN 1348

(from Codex V.E. 528)

<u>Ref.</u>	<u>Date of Death</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Region</u>	<u>Date of Entry</u>
f, 6v.	16 May	m, Francesco di Cola	S, Apostolu	1343
f, 5r.	7 July	Rinoccu del Rossu	S, Angelu di Pusterula	13/4/1337
f, 5r.	10 July	Meio di Cecco dAngnielo	S, Jovenale	8/6/1337
f, 6v.	11 July	Vannucciu di Meio	S, Constançu	10/4/1344
f, 6r.	11 July	Andriuççu di Pietru	S, Lorenço	20/2/1343
f, 53r.	12 July	Accommano di Federico		
f, 53r.	13 July	Lemmo di Lemmucciole		
ff, 5r. & 53r.	14 July	Neri di Sulinu	S, Lonardu	4/10/1338
f, 53r.	14 July	Teio di m, Pietro		
f, 53r.	15 July	Martino di Conuccio		
ff, 5r. & 53r.	15 (?16) July	Manicucciu di Celle		1/10/1338
ff, 6r. & 53r.	15 July	Salvestru di Buona Vitu	S, Lorençu	15/2/1343
f, 53r.	15 July	Vanni di Nuccio		
f, 53r.	16 July	prete Rocchistiano		
ff, 6r. & 53r.	16 July (?1349)	Petrucchiole di Nucciarelle	Ripa d, Olmo	8/2/1341
f, 53r.	17 July	Gulino di Pauluçço		
f, 53r.	17 July	Lello dAgnilo		
f, 53r.	18 July	Sivero di Meio		
f, 53r.	18 July	Petruccio di Ranieri		
ff, 5r. & 53r.	19 July	Vannuççu di Tura	S, Apostolu	20/4/1337
ff, 5v. & 53r.	19 (?28) July	Giovanni dAngnieluççu	Ripa d, Olmo	7/1/1341
f, 53r.	19 July	Duccio detto Offerto		
f, 53r.	19 July	Petruccio di Teio		
ff, 5v. & 53v.	19 (?18) July	Andriuççu di m, Filippo	S, Martino	12/4/1338
ff, 6v. & 53v.	20 July	Buonfratellu Frabu	S, Constançu	3/7/1345
ff, 6r. & 53v.	20 July	Vannuçço di Vanni		20/2/1343
f, 53v.	21 July	Covuccio del Rosso		
ff, 5r. & 53v.	21 July	Ser Berardinu di Rubertu	S, Costançu	28/4/1337
f, 53v.	21 July	Nuccio di Vannuçço		
f, 53v.	21 July	Nuccio di Vanni		
f, 53v.	21 July	Pietro di Nino		
ff, 5v. & 53v.	22 July	Andriuçço di Michele	Valle Piatta	3/1/1338
ff, 5v. & 53v.	22 (?24) July	Angniluççu di Vanni	S, Giovanni	9/11/1337
ff, 7r. & 53v.	23 July	Cecco di Lippo	S, Cristofanu	29/3/1347
ff, 7r. & 53v.	24 July	Simone di Conte	S, Apostolu	2/2/1344 (?)
ff, 6v. & 53v.	25 July	Giovanni di Ser Alessio	S, Salvatore	31/3/1343
ff, 5v. & 53v.	25 July	Menicucciu di Cucciu	Sarancia	2/11/1337
ff, 5v. & 53v.	25 July	Pitrucciole di Nardo	S, Jovenale	9/11/1337
f, 6v.	26 July	Cenovi di Lippo Martini	Sancta Pace	1/5/1343
ff, 6r. & 53v.	27 July	Meio Çacça	S, Constanço	15/2/1341
f, 53v.	27 July	Ser Martino di m, Adamo		
f, 53v.	27 July	Marcuccio di Jacovella		
f, 53v.	27 July	Pandalfuccio di Biriçotto		
f, 53v.	27 July	Ser Pietro di m, Cecco		
ff, 5r. & 53v.	28 July	Pitrucciole di Matteio	Sancta Maria	30/4/1337
ff, 5r. & 53v.	28 July	Lencio di m, Ciolu	S, Costançu	28/4/1338
ff, 6r. & 53v.	28 July	Giovanni di Bucciu	Sarancia	15/6/1341
f, 54r.	31 July	Chiricu di Ser Pietro		
f, 54r.	31 July	Cecchu di Paulu		
f, 54r.	31 July	Poncelle di Ceccho		



<u>Ref.</u>	<u>Date of Death</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Region</u>	<u>Date of Entry</u>
f. 5v,	5 August	Pucciu di Vannuccu	Ripa d. Olmo	20/4/1340
f. 54r,	7 August	Filippo di Vanni di Pietro		
f. 54r,	7 August	Nuccio di Domenico		
f. 54r,	7 August	Andreuccio di Martino		
f. 54r,	7 August	Ser Pietro di m, Gratia		
f. 54r,	7 August	Tucciole di Fucciale		
f. 54r,	7 August	Anghilello di Guiduccio		
f. 54r,	7 August	Ceccharelle di Spiritu		
f. 54r,	7 August	Cola di Ceccho		
ff. 6v, & 54r,	7 (?6) August	Menicucciu di Petracca	S. Lorenzu	17/4/1346
ff. 6v/54r/56r	16 August	Salamare di Teio (OR di Meio)		RECTOR 1346
f. 6r,	20 October	Lippo di Vanni di Pietru	Sarancia	11/11/1341

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12. DAILY ENTRY AND DEATH RATES IN 1348

(from Codex V.E. 528)

<u>Month</u>	<u>Day</u>	<u>Entries</u>	<u>Deaths</u>	<u>Month</u>	<u>Day</u>	<u>Entries</u>	<u>Deaths</u>
March	16	1		July	21		9
1	23	1			22		2
	28	2			23		2
	30	1			24		3
-----					25		4
April	6	3			26		5
	18	2			27	1	9
-----					28		6
May	16		1		31		5
	18	1		-----			
-----				August	--		1
June	8	1			3	2	
	22	2			5		2
	27	2			6		1
	29	7			7		13
	30	4			8	1	1
-----					16		3
July	2	8			31	1	
	4	4		-----			
	5	1		??	??	1	
	6	7		Sept.	2	1	
	7	2	2		3		1
	8	6			8	1	
	9	3			--	1	
	10	4	2		13	1	
	11	6	2		27	1	
	12	1	2		28	1	
	13	8	2	-----			
	14	5	4	Oct.	20	1	1
	15	3	6	-----			
	16	3	4	Nov.	2	2	
	17		3		23	1	
	18		6	-----			
	19		5	Dec.	28	1	
	20	1	2	-----			



### 13. 1348: SUMMARY TABLES

(from Codex V.E. 528)

#### a) Confraternity membership on 8 June 1348

Entrants to 8 June 1348	84
PLUS Rectors (date of entry unknown)	2
TOTAL:	<u>86</u>
LESS Deaths to 8 June	8
Expulsions to 8 June 1348	10
Duplicate entry	1
Uncertain cases	5
TOTAL:	<u>24</u>
TOTAL MEMBERSHIP	<u>62</u>

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#### b) Fate of those who entered before 8 June 1348

Died during the plague	34
Survived the plague; death recorded later	21
Survived the plague, and were later expelled	3
Expulsion and death both recorded later	2
Uncertain cases	2
TOTAL	<u>62</u>

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#### c) Fate of those who entered 22 June - 8 August 1348

Died during the plague	34
Survived the plague; death recorded later	11
Survived the plague, and were later expelled	15
Expulsion and death both recorded later	4
Uncertain cases	10
TOTAL	<u>80</u>

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#### d) Fate of all known members 8 June - 16 August 1348: combined totals

Died during the plague	74
Survived the plague; death recorded later	32
Survived the plague, and were later expelled	18
Expulsion and death both recorded later	6
Uncertain cases	12
TOTAL	<u>142</u>
PLUS Plague deaths (date of entry unknown)	31
GRAND TOTAL	<u>173</u>

# 14. PLAGUE ENTRIES AND DEATHS BY REGION, WHERE KNOWN.

(8 June - 16 August 1348. From Codex V.E. 528)

## POSTIERLA QUARTER

<u>Region</u>	<u>Entries</u>	<u>Deaths</u>
Santa Maria	6	4
S. Costanzo	8	9
S. Leonardo	6	4
S. Angelo	3	2
S. Martino	--	1
S. Salvatore	--	1
TOTAL:	23	21

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## SERANCIA QUARTER

<u>Region</u>	<u>Entries</u>	<u>Deaths</u>
Serancia	10	7
S. Angelo sub ripa	1	1
S. Lorenzo	6	6
SS. Apostoli	6	5
TOTAL:	23	19

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## QUARTER OF SANTA PACE

<u>Region</u>	<u>Entries</u>	<u>Deaths</u>
Santa Pace	9	5
S. Cristofano	1	2
Valle Piatta	3	2
Ripa dell Olmo	8	8
TOTAL:	21	17

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## QUARTER OF SS. GIOVANNI & GIOVENALE

<u>Region</u>	<u>Entries</u>	<u>Deaths</u>
S. Giovanni	2	2
S. Giovenale	11	6
S. Matteo	--	--
S. Faustino	--	--
TOTAL:	13	8

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# 15. 1350: MEMBERSHIP LIST

(from Codex V.E. 528)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Region</u>	<u>Entry</u>	<u>Outcome</u>
Acorsucciu di Ciolu	S. Lorenzo	6/2/1349	d, 8/5/1350
Alessiu di Pietru	S. Giovanni	17/5/1349	exp, 21/2/1361 d, 20/10/1384
Andreuççu di Vanni Muccicone	S. Angelo	13/9/1349	exp, 15/5/1351
Angnieluçço di Ceccho Fiorença	Santa Maria	30/3/1348	d, (?)1397
Angnieluççu di Corsu		15/11/1349	exp, 20/2/1362
Angnieluççu di Monaldo	S. Costanzo	6/12/1349	exp, 21/8/1356
Angnieluççdi Ser Pippo	S. Apostolo	21/2/1350	d, (?)1390
Angneluçço di Vanni di Nucciu	S. Jovenale	29/3/1329	d, 12/8/1387
Antonio di Cetto (OR di Ceccho Dignecora)	Santa Maria	11/7/1348	d, (?)28/9/1383
Bartholomeo di Bernardo	Santa Maria	30/10/1349	d, 1373
Bartholomeio di Giovanninu	Santa Maria	30/6/1348	d, 2/11/1355
Bartholomeio di Giovanni Tocti	Valle Piatta	14/7/1348	exp, 1360 d, 22/6/1374
Bartholomuççu di Meio di Domenichelle	Sarancia	20/7/1348	exp, 21/8/1356
(?) Bartucciole di Silui	Santa Pace	2/7/1348	d., s.d.
Bernardo di Giriolu	Santa Maria	6/4/1343	d, August 1387
Verardo decto Torto di Misser Ormando	Santa Pace	14/3/1350	d, 17/3/1351
Bermucciu di Maiestru Chelle	S. Martino	25/3/1350	exp., s.d.
Berço d'Andrea	Ripa dell Olmo	10/10/1350	exp, 17/12/1350 d, 15/9/1365
Biascu di Maiestru Giovanni	Santa Pace	21/3/1350	d., s.d.
Bucciu di Ser Vanni	S. Lorenzo	28/9/1348	exp, 1354
(?) Catalucciu di Ser Berto Manni		11/10/1349	exp., s.d.
Ceccho di Bucciu	Sarancia	8/7/1348	17/6(15)/1398
Ceccho di Guadangiolu	Santa Pace	16/7/1348	exp, 10/1/1350
Ceccho di Nutu			d, 4/8/1350
maiestro Ceccho di Peruçço	S. Costanzo	27/6/1348	exp, 2/10/1358
Ceccho di frate Vanni	S. Costanzo	21/3/1350	
Ceccho di Ser Vanni	S. Lorenzo	21/2/1350	exp, 10/12/1357 d, July 1371
Ceccho di Vannuçço di Meio	S. Costanzo	3/10/1350	d., s.d.
Ceccone di Vanni	Sarancia	8/3/1349	d, 1360
Celle di Bartolomuçço			d, 21/5/1350
Ser Cesari di Ser Neri	Santa Maria	9/4/1349	d, 1360
maiestru Chele di Lemmo	S. Martino	18/4/1337	d, 1376
Cola di Jucciu	S. Apostolu	6/7/1348	d, 1369 OR 1370
Cola di maiestru Pietru	S. Costanzo	5/7/1348	d, 10/7/1384
(?) Cola di Vannuççu di Benvenuto		2/11/1348	exp., s.d.
Colo di Ciolu	(?) S. Silvi	15/8/1350	exp, 19/12/1351
Coluçça di maiestro Pietro	S. Martino	26/12/1342	d, April 1357
Filippodi Domenico			d, 21/5/1350
Philippo di Menicucciu	S. Apostolo	22/2/1349	d, 8/2/1351
Forcore di Petrucciu di Neri	S. Jovenale	29/6/1348	d, 20/7/1372
Francesco di Petrucciole, vascellario	S. Apostolo	13/3/1349	exp, 27/8/1363 d, 16/7/1370
Gialacchinu di Srina OR frate Gialacchino	Sarancia	16/3/1348	d, 17/9/1363
Giovanni di maiestru Angnielu	S. Leonardo	10/7/1348	d, 1363
mastro Giovanni de Bagnoreio			d, 21/5/1350
Giovanni di Bucciu di Lonardella			
OR frate Giovanni di Buccio	S. Lorenzo	12/7/1349	d, 5/7/1371

<u>Name</u>	<u>Region</u>	<u>Entry</u>	<u>Outcome</u>
Giuvanni di Cecco di Romanuḡḡu	S. Apostolo	2/11/1349	exp, 16/11/1349 d, 10/4/1383
Giovanni di Guadignolo	Valle Piatto	22/3/1349	d, (?)8/9/1372
prete Giuvanni di Jannucciu	Ripa dell Olmo	3/8/1348	exp, 15/12/1359 d, (?)1/5/1388
Giuvanni di Lelle	S. Cristofano	1350	exp, 29/3/1366
Giuvanni di Petrucciole	S. Apostolu	17/5/1349	exp, 21/2/1361 d, 24/6/1363
Giuvanni di Sciorno	Santa Pace	13/9/1349	exp, 26/3/1361
Giuvanni da Surella	Ripa dell Olmo	27/7/1348	exp, 8/7/1352
Gulinu d'Angnieluḡḡu	Ripa dell Olmo	20/2/1341	exp, 17/4/1356
Ser Jacovo di misser Angnielu	S. Apostolu	1/3/1349	exp, 16/11/1354 d, 2/9/1355
Jacovo d'Angneluḡḡu	Sancta Pace	15/11/1349	exp, 16/6/1364 d, 5/7/1374
Ser Jacovo di Ser Meio	S. Angelo S.R.	2/9/1348	d, 1359 OR 1368
Jacovuḡḡo di Freduciole		22/6/1348	d, 30/8/1350
Jacovuḡḡu di Lippo	Santa Maria	8/2/1349	exp, 12/8/1371
Jacovuḡḡo di Luca	S. Angelo	31/8/1348	exp, 31/5/1357
Jacovuḡḡiu di Nardo	Santa Maria	27/9/1348	exp, 1/9/1353
Jannucciu di marchucciu		1348	exp, 6/3/1351
Lemmo di Jacovo	S. Lorenzo	(?) 1337	d, Feb, 1368
Lippo di Barto		15/11/1349	d, 6/11/1357
(?) Lippo di Cecco di Melgliu	S. Apostolo	13/9/1349	d., s.d.
Lodo di frate Pietru	Ripa dell Olmo	21/2/1350	exp, 28/9/1354
Lorencu di Francesco	Sarancia	3/10/1350	exp, 1363
prete Ludovico di Masa	S. Jovenale	15/2/1341	exp, 15/12/1357
Marcu di Ser Ceccho di Ser Marcho	S. Jovenale	8/11/1349	exp., s.d. d, 21/5/1382
Marcu di Cianu di Premie	Santa Pace	12/6/1345	d, 1373
Matheio di Giuvanni	S. Lorenzo	10/7/1348	exp, 27/12/1350
Matheio di Sulino	Ripa dell Olmo	10/2/1350	exp, 17/4/1356
Matheiucco di Menicucciu	Santa Maria	25/3/1350	d, 1363
Meio di Lascia	Ripa dell Olmo	29/3/1349	d., s.d.
Meio di Tinu	Ripa dell Olmo	29/6/1348	d, 19/6/1363
Meio di Vanni di Pietru	Sarancia	6/4/1348	d, 1376
(?) Memmo di Lecto	S. Juvanni	2/7/1348	d., s.d.
Menicucciu di Cecco di Tura	Sarancia	8/7/1348	d, 11/9/1361
Menicucciu di Matalucciu di Pietru di Manciano		25/1/1349	exp, 28/5/1351
Menicucciu di Vanni	S. Costanḡu	7/6/1349	d, (?) 1366
Monaldo di misser Ormando	Santa Pace	6/2/1349	d, 17/3/1351
maestro Nallo di Jannuciu	S. Jovenale	30/2/1342	d, 8/10/1360
(?) Nallucciu di Monaldo	S. Costanzo	6/7/1348	
Nardu Dorriguccio	Santa Maria	12/11/1340	d, 1360
(?) Narducciu di Fredo	S. Lonardo	29/6/1348	exp., s.d.
Narducciu di Ser Sensu	Valle Piattu	3/8/1348	exp, 20/9/1349
Neri di Ceccho	S. Lorenzo	13/7/1348	exp, 7/6/1352
Neri di misser Gualtieri	S. Jovenale	20/10/1348	exp, 19/6/1362
Nericola di Ser Giucciu	Sarancia	11/7/1348	exp, 17/9/1350
(?) Nolfo di Duḡḡu	Valle Piatta	28/12/1348	
(?) Nucciu di Janu da Sucano	S. Jovenale	29/6/1348	d., s.d.
(?)Nucciu di Lenco	S. Cristofano	9/4/1349	d., s.d.
Nussu di Sassu (Salucchino)	S. Jovenale	6/7/1348	d, 1351
Nuḡḡu di Vanni	Santa Pace	13/9/1349	exp, 4/10/1358
Nutu di Paulu, sartore	Ripa dell Olmo	20/3/1343	exp, 8/7/1352



<u>Name</u>	<u>Region</u>	<u>Entry</u>	<u>Outcome</u>
Nutucciu di Luca	S. Costanzo	5/9/1350	exp., s.d.
Pauluço di Gulglielmo	Santa Pace	9/7/1348	exp. 15/5/1351
Picciovi di Maestru Domenico		14/9/1343	d. 1360
Picciolu di Neri	S. Fustino	28/8/1350	exp. 20/2/1362
Piccioiu di suora Verde	Sarancia	21/3/1350	d. 1351
prete Pietru da maiestru Cangniu	S. Costanzo	12/7/1349	d. 1/5/1368
Ser Pietru di francescu	S. Matheio	18/9/1350	d., s.d.
prete Pietru di Jacovelle	S. Lorenço	14/5/1343	d. 11/2/1366
Pietru di Maletoppo	S. Cristofanu	13/9/1348	exp. 8/7/1352
(?) maiestru Pietru di Vanni	S. Jovenale	13/7/1348	d., s.d.
Pietropaulo di misser Pandolfo	S. Jovenale	19/12/1344	rector 1360 d. 22/6/1363
Petruccio di Ceccharone	Sarancia	15/2/1341	rector 15/5/1351 d. 1/1/1382
Petrucciu di Michele, dectu Vocca		30/10/1349	d. 1351
(?) Petrucciu di Neri di Paganettu	Santa Maria	13/7/1348	d., s.d.
Petrucciole di maiestru Angielu	S. Jovenale	2/7/1348	exp. 20/8/1365
Pitrucciole, dectu Polçellecta	Sarancia	21/2/1350	exp., s.d.
Pitriucciole di Teio di Paganetto	S. Jovenale	8/6/1337	d. August 1374
Petrucciole di Tuccio	S. Costanço	21/2/1350	d. 15/8/1363
(?) Salamare di Teio		rector 1346	d. 16/8/1348 OR 5/2/1383
Saluccio d'Angnielu	Santa Maria	20/8/1340	d. 1360
Sanu di Ghinucciu	S. Jovenale	2/4/1347	d. July 1360
Severuccio di Vanni	S. Lonardu	15/2/1349	exp. 3/7/1352
Silvi d'Angnieluççu	S. Apostolu	10/9/1349	d. 13/8/1363
(?) Stefanu di Maiestru Domenicu di Solante	S. Juvanni	4/1/1349	d., s.d.
Symonettu di Monalduççu di Conte	Santa Pace	2/11/1348	exp. 1/9/1353
Teio di Cocçetta	S. Angelo	25/3/1350	d. 2/4/1385
Teio di maiestru Pietro	S. Jovenale	14/7/1348	exp. 5/10/1350 d. July 1370
Teio di Vannuccio di Matheio	S. Angelo	2/11/1338	s/rector 15/5/51 d. 12/8/1374
Tofo di Ceccho di Cornalda	S. Angelu	29/6/1348	exp. 10/1/1350
Tomasso di Conte	Santa Pace	8/8/1348	exp., s.d. d. 20/3/1384
Tucciole di Ceccho	S. Jovenale	16/7/1348	d. 1364
Vannuço di maiestru Andrea	Santa Maria	9/9/1347	d. 17/7/1363
Vannuço d'Angnieluççu		27/12/1350	d. 13/4/??
Vannuççu di Bucciu (OR Nocciu), dectu Cossa	S. Costanzo	27/12/1350	d. 13/4/??
		OR 8/6/1348	OR 3/1/1381
(?) Vannuço di maiestro Francesco	S. Matheio	20/2/1343	d., s.d.
Vannuço di Monaldo	S. Costanzo	8/9/1348	d. 1373
Vannuço di Pepo		rector, 25/3/1347	d. 1383
Vannuççu di Vanni di Sanpornello	S. Lonardu	16/7/1348	d. 1355 OR 1378
Venciolu di Giovanninu	S. Salvatore	28/3/1348	d. 17/11/1377
Vicu di Celle		28/3/1348	d. 3/3/1378

# 16. 1350: SUMMARY TABLES

(from Codex V.E. 528)

## a) Membership by Region

<u>POSTIERLA QUARTER</u>		<u>SERANCIA QUARTER</u>	
Santa Maria	13	Serancia	11
S. Costanzo	12	S. Angelo sub ripa	1
S. Leonardo	4	S. Lorenzo	8
S. Angelo	5	SS. Apostoli	9
S. Martino	3		
S. Salvatore	1		
<u>QUARTER OF SANTA PACE</u>		<u>QUARTER OF SS. GIOVANNI &amp; GIOVENALE</u>	
Santa Pace	12	S. Giovanni	3
S. Cristofano	3	S. Giovenale	15
Valle Piatta	4	S. Matteo	2
Ripa dell Olmo	9	S. Faustino	1

<u>TOTALS</u>	
Postierla	38
Serancia	29
Santa Pace	28
SS. Giovanni & Giovenale	21
Not known	18
TOTAL	<u>134</u>

.....

## b) Special categories of member in 1350

"Ser"	4	"di Ser"	8
"Maestro"	5	"di Misser"	4
"Frate"	2	"di Maestro"	12
"Prete"	4	"di Frate"	2
"vascellario"	1	"di Suora"	1
"sartore"	1		

.....

## c) Date of entry of 1350 members

Up to 1347	21
1348 (unspecified)	1
1 January - 8 June 1348	6
9 June - 8 August 1348	35
During 1349	33
During 1350	22
Not known	6
TOTAL	<u>134</u>

.....

## d) Later history of 1350 members

Died at an unspecified date	14
Died during 1350	6
Died after 1350	56
Expelled at an unspecified date	6
Expelled during 1350	4
Expelled after 1350	31
Expulsion and death both recorded	13
Outcome uncertain	4
TOTAL	<u>134</u>

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17. CONFRATELLI EMPLOYED BY THE OPERA DEL DUOMO

CONFRATERNITY MEMBERS

(from Codex V.E. 528.)

Angnieluçço di Cecco Fiorença  
(ent, 1348; d, 1397)  
Angeluçço di Pietro Capitano  
(d, 1340)  
m, Ceccho di Peruçço  
(ent, 1348; exp, 1358)  
Ceccho di frate Vanni  
(ent, 1350)  
Colo di Pitrucciolo  
(ent, ?1348; exp, s.d.)  
Giuvanni di Bucciu di Lonardelle/  
Frate Giovanni di Buccio  
(ent, 1349; d, 1371)  
Giuvanni di Petrucciolo  
(ent, 1349; exp, 1361; d, 1363)  
Gianninu di Stephanu  
(1313)  
Giuvanni da Surella  
(ent, 1348; exp, 1352)  
Lippo di Barto  
(ent, 1349; d, 1357)  
Marcu di Cianu di Premie  
(ent, 1345; d, 1373)  
Meçu di Pietro Prosperosu  
(exp, 1341)  
Megloretu di Moricho  
(1313)  
Meio di m, ?  
(ent, 1348; d, 1348)  
Meio di Nuto  
(d, 1340)  
Meio di Vanni di Pietro  
(ent, 1348; d, 1376)  
Menicucciu di Vanni  
(ent, 1349; d, 1348 or 1366)  
Pietru di Nutu  
(1313)  
m, Pietru di Vanni  
(ent, 1348)  
Petrucciolo di m, Angielu  
(ent, 1348; exp, 1365)  
Pietropaulu di m, Pandolfo  
(d, 1363)  
Severucciu di Vanni  
(ent, 1349; exp, 1352)  
Vannucciu di Meio  
(d, 1348)  
Vannuçço di Pepo  
(rector 1347; d, 1383)

CATHEDRAL EMPLOYEES

(from L Fumi, Il Duomo di Orvieto...)

Angeluccio di Cecco  
(1390)  
Angeluccio di Pietro  
(1338-9)  
Cecco di Peruccio  
(1337-47)  
Cecco di frate Vanne da Orbetello  
(1347-75)  
Cola di Pietrucciolo  
(1377-80)  
Fra Giovanni di Buccio Leonardelli  
(1347-70)  
Giovanni di Pietrucciolo  
(1365 & 1385-90)  
Giovanni di Stefano  
(1372-88)  
Giovanni Turella di Follone da Orte  
(1356-62)  
m, Lippo di m, Barto/Bartolomeo  
(c, 1330-38)  
Marco di Ciano  
(1356)  
Meco di Pietro  
(1369)  
m, Meglioretto/Migliorotto di Morico  
(1293-1337)  
Meo di m, Andrea  
(1345-7)  
Meo di Nuto  
(1337)  
Meo di Vanne di Pietro  
(1352-64)  
Meuccio di Vanne  
(1337-47)  
Pietro di Nuto Somay  
(1325)  
Petruccio di Vanne  
(1361-81)  
Petrucciolo di Angeluccio  
(1347-63)  
Pietro Paulu di m, Pandolfu  
(1352)  
Severo di Vanne di Coltella  
(1321)  
Vannuccio di Meo  
(1330)  
Vannuccio di Pepo  
(1362)

# LAY PIETY: DOCUMENTS

- |     |   | <u>Page</u><br>428 |
|-----|---|--------------------|
| 1.  | <u>13 November 1197</u><br>Priest of SS. Apostoli gives all his property to bishop and clerical fraternity for a hospital to be founded.<br>[Arch. Vesc., Cod. B, fol. 109. C.D., doc. LXII, pp. 46-7.] | 428                |
| 2.  | <u>May 1240</u><br>From Canonisation Process for B. Ambrogio da Massa:<br>SMIRACULUM: <i>domina</i> Bonadimane, uxor quondam Accentantis.<br>[from <u>Acta Sanctorum</u> , Nov., vol. 1V., p. 600.]     | 429                |
| 3.  | <u>8 January 1256</u><br>Bishop's vicar acknowledges repayment of loan by the clerical confraternity, & returns a silver thurible.<br>[Arch. Cap., <u>Cod. di S. Cost.</u> , f. 119r.]                  | 430                |
| 4.  | <u>17 June 1258</u><br>Indulgence to fraternity of " <i>B. Pietro Martiris</i> ".<br>[A. di S., <u>Fondo Diplomatico</u> . C.D., doc. CCCLIV, p. 222.]  | 431                |
| 5.  | <u>3 February 1273</u><br>Frater Albiqus, of the Order of Penance, is granted permission to found an oratory.<br>[Arch. Vesc., <u>Cod. A</u> , f. 154r.]  | 432                |
| 6.  | <u>7 November 1281</u><br>Establishment of a new hospital in Acquapendente, under the auspices of the " <i>fraternitas continentium</i> "<br>[Arch. Vesc., <u>Cod. A</u> , f. 244r.]                    | 433                |
| 7.  | <u>24 October 1282</u><br>Frater Nerius, " <i>prime ordinis continentium</i> ", is granted permission to found an oratory.<br>[Arch. Vesc., <u>Cod. A</u> , f. 170v.]                                   | 434                |
| 8.  | <u>20 November 1284</u><br>Foundation of hospital of the fraternity of Santa Maria and Santa Christina of Bolsena.<br>[Arch. Vesc., <u>Cod. A</u> , f. 251v.]   | 435                |
| 9.  | <u>1/2 April 1285</u><br>Rector appointed to the hospital of S. Iacobo " <i>extra portam maiorem</i> ".<br>[Arch. Vesc., <u>Cod. A</u> , f. 238.]   | 436                |
| 10. | <u>26 March 1286</u><br>Election of rector to the hospital of S. Angelo di Postierla.<br>[Arch. Vesc., <u>Cod. C</u> , f. 57v.]   | 437                |
| 11. | <u>7 December 1286</u><br>Letter of authorisation to the Dominican confraternity from Fra Munio di Zama, Master General.<br>[from G.G. Meersseman, <u>Ordo Fraternitatis</u> ..., vol. II, pp. 1041-2]  | 438                |



	<u>Page</u>
12. <u>8 March 1313</u>	439
Preamble to the matriculation list of the Franciscan confraternity of Santa Maria. [Cod. V.E. 528, f. 4r.]	
13. <u>s.d. (c. 1313-1323)</u>	440
Inventory of the Franciscan confraternity of Santa Maria. [Cod. V.E. 528, f. 1r.]	
14. <u>24 May 1337</u>	441
Arrangements for public celebration of the feast of <i>Corpus Domini</i> . [A. di S., <u>Riformanze</u> , vol. 112, ff. 47v.-48r.]	
15. <u>c. 1339-1343</u>	443
Dominican friar who belonged to a fraternity of <i>disciplinati</i> . [from <u>Cronica fratris Johannis dicto Caccia</u> ]	
16. <u>28 November 1348</u>	444
Approval of petition from the chamberlain of the Opera del Duomo. [A. di S., <u>Riformanze</u> , vol. 67, ff. 67r.-68r.]	
17. <u>18 August 1349</u>	446
Execution of Will of <i>domina</i> Agnes, widow of Poncello Conticini: gift of houses to hospital of S. Giovanni di Platea. [A. di S., <u>Arch. Not.</u> , vol. 5, ff. 29r.-v.]	
18. <u>2 August 1357</u>	447
Use of the Cathedral crypt by a group of <i>disciplinati</i> . [Arch. Duomo, <u>Memorie</u> , c. 20]	
19. <u>3 February 1377</u>	448
Appointment of rector to the hospital of the <i>disciplinati</i> of S. Agostino. [Arch. Vesc., <u>Cod. B</u> , f. 53v.]	
20. <u>February 1398</u>	449
Preamble to the necrology of the fraternity of <i>disciplinati</i> of S. Francesco. [Cod. V.E. 528, f. 52r.]	
21. <u>April 1405</u>	450
Preamble to the collection of dramatic texts compiled by the Franciscan confraternity of <i>disciplinati</i> . [Cod. V.E. 528]	

13 November 1197

Giovanni, priest of SS. Apostoli, gives all his property to Bishop Riccardo, on behalf of the clerical fraternity, for a hospital to be founded.

Johannes presbiter Sanctorum Apostolorum pro meorum remissione peccatorum tibi domino Riccardo Urbevetano Episcopo nomine fraternitatis clericorum Urbevetane civitatis dono et trado omnia mea bona, mobilia et immobilia, videlicet casas, casalina, terras, vineas, arbores fructiferas et infructiferas, molendina, fullonicas cum aqueducto et suis accessionibus. Ideo predicto facio donationem rerum meum ut in loco congruo et competenti ad honorem Dei et genetricis virginis Marie et ad honorem fraternitatis clericorum Civitatis construeret hospitale in quo pauperes et infirmi et destitui propriis solatiis possint recipi et sustinari. Quod hospitale volo ut regatur et disponatur per fraternitatem clericorum et eos qui preerint fraternitati. Et singulis annis in anniversario meo post meum obitum detur conestio XII pauperibus et clero Civitatis impendatis secundum facultatem et possibilitatem hospitalis pro meorum remissione peccatorum et parentum meorum...

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from *Processus Canonizationis B. Ambrosii Massani*.

(in *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov. IV, p. 600.)

May 1240

Domina Bonadimane (later tried for heresy) brings her grandson for healing at the tomb of B. Ambrogio di Massa.

S MIRACULUM. Domina Bonadimane, uxor quondam domini Accentantis, testis iurata dixit quod cum haberet quemdam suum nepotem, filium Petri Leonardi, adeo infirmitate gravatum, ita quod omnes medici de vita sua omnimode desperabant, et fecit fieri candelas pro eius obitu quem sperabant futurum. Unde hec domina vovit eum beato Ambrosio, quod eum liberaret. Et voto facto, meritis beati viri in continenti rediit sibi loquela, et ab infirmitate predicta statim extitit liberatus. Interrogata de tempore quando fuit, respondit: *de mense maii, presentibus domina Altagratia uxore Florentini et aliis pluribus.*

Domina Veneria, uxor Dominici, de regione Sancti Iovenalis, testis iurata dixit quod cum nepos dicte domine Bonadimane esset infirmitate maxima pregravatus, quod loquelam amiserat quam habebat, ita quod medici de ipsius vita omnimode desperabant et in extremis videbatur penitus laborare et candeles erant facte pro eius obitu quem sperabant parentes; unde domina Bonadimane predicta vovit eum beato Ambrosio, dicens quod si Deus meritis beati viri suum nepotem redderet sibi sanum, quem pro mortuo retinebat, quod deportaret imaginem cere ad eius sepulchrum. Quod voto facto, puer in continenti fuit locutus et a predicta infirmitate statim extitit liberatus. Interrogata de tempore, respondit: *de mense maii.* Interrogata si interfuit voto, respondit quod interfuit et audivit et vidivit predicta.

Domina Altagratia, uxor Florentini, eiusdem regionis, testis iurata dixit idem quod domina Veneria predicta, et interfuit predictis.

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8 January 1256

Fra Mangnano, O.P., vicar of Bishop Constantino, acknowledges repayment of loan by clerical confraternity, and returns silver thurible taken as security.

Frater Mangnanus Conversus ordinis predicatorum vicarius venerabilis patris domini fratris .C. urbevetani Episcopi in temporalibus confessus est se recepisse et sibi nomine dicti Episcopi solutas esse Xl libras et iiii sold. et iiii den. luc. et pisan. monete a domino Oddorisio canonico et camerario sancti Constantii. Quos denarios idem Episcopus a Clericis Civitatis Urbevetane recipere et habere debebat. Pro quibus habebat pignori obligatum Thuribulum argentum fraternitatis clericorum predictorum. Renuntians exceptioni nec habitorum et non receptorum den. et omni legitimo auxilio (iudicali), dictus frater Mangnanus Vicarius dicti Episcopi Ipsum Thuribulum eidem domino Oddorisio Canonico et Camerario Ecclesie Sancti Constantii nomine dicte Ecclesie recipienti pro dicta pecunia tradidit et pignori obligavit ut ipsum dicta ecclesia sancti Constantii et canonici ad opus eiusdem Ecclesie teneant donec Archipresbitero et canonicis et ipsi ecclesie sancti Constantii fuerit de eadem pecunia integre satisfactum a fraternitate predicta vel ab alio pro ea.

Actum in domo episcopatus urbevetanis iuxta domum vinariam presentibus testibus rogatis presbitero Raynaldo Capellano sanctorum apostolorum et dompno henrico priore olim maçapale fratre Iohanne converso ordinis predicatorum et fordevolia familiari domini episcopi urbevetani et aliis pluribus.

Notary: Fratellus

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17 June 1258

Indulgence to the fraternity of "B. Pietro Martiris".

Jacobus, divina permissione Urbevitanus episcopus, universis Christi fidelibus tam clericis quam laicis, presentibus et futuris, de fraternitate beati Petri martiris in Ecclesia Sancte Marie Urbevitanæ statuta, in domino Ihesu Christo Salutem.

Christiana quam profiteamur religio et debitum pontificalis officii quolibet indigne fungimur nos astringant ut pietatis intenti operibus et nos exerceamus in eis et alios exhortationis (.....) ad eadem propensius invitemus. Sane cum vestra fraternitas ob dei et beati Petri martiris reverentiam et honorem ac animarum vestrarum salutem, et aliorum edificationem atque profectum sit deliberatione provida ordinata, cogimur vobis tamquam pater in caritativo dilectionis affectu aperire viscera caritatis et salubriter providere. Devotionem igitur vestram monemus in domino et hortamur in remissione vobis peccaminum, iniungentes, quatinus fraternitatem ipsam pia intentione studeatis diligentius in domino conservare, semper de bono in melius augmentante eandem; ac eius Instituta et Capitula que rationi consonant et opus continent pietatis inviolabiliter observetis, ut per hec et alia bona que domino inspirante feceritis ad eterne possitis felicitatis gaudia pervenire.

Nos enim de omnipotentis dei misericordia et beate marie virginis ac beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius meritis precibusque confesi, omnibus de dicta fraternitate ac illis qui in ipsam in futurum convenerint et statuerint se collegas, in qualibet congregatione seu statione fraternitatis ipsius, vere penitentibus et confessis, quinquaginta dies de iniuncta sibi penitentia misericorditer in domino relaxamus.

Datum in Urbeveteri, anno domini millesimo ducentesimo quinquaginto octavo pontificatus domini Alexandri pape quarti anno quarto, die xvij mensis Iunii, prime indictionis.

3 February 1273

Frater Albicus of the Order of Penance is granted permission to found an oratory

In nomine Domini amen... Noverint universi presens instrumentum publicum inspecturi, quod cum frater Albicus Petri Berardi ordinis fratrum de penitentia motus ad opera pietatis, ob Dei et beati Nicolai reverentiam et honorem quoddam Horatorium, in loco qui dicitur Campus Leporis Veccli Urbevetani diocesi, sicut asseritur duxerit construendum, venerabilis pater dominus frater Aldebrandinus, Dei gratia Urbevetanus Episcopus, constructionem huiusmodi horatorii habens ratam et gratam, liberaliter concessit fratri Albicco supradicto propter hec in eius presentia constituto, ut in predicto horatorio, per aliquem sacerdotem religiosum vel secularem transeuntem, possit facere divina et successoribus suis nomine dicti horatorii et pro ipso liberaliter promisit ipsi domino Episcopo et convenit dare et solvere ipsi domino Episcopo et successoribus suis annuatim in festo sancte marie mensis augusti unam libram cere nomine census horatorii supradicti.

Acta... in Urbeveteri in domo sancti Nicolai, presentibus fratre Guidone Gualfredi, fratre Petro Dominici et fratre Bene Medico ordinis fratrum de penitentia...

Notary: Gerardus Andree

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7 November 1281

Establishment of a new hospital in Acquapendente under the auspices of the "fraternitas continentium".

Franciscus... Urbevetanus Episcopus... universis tam presentibus quam futuris... universitati nostre tenore presentium patefiat quod constituti in presentia nostra Religiosi viri frater Tancredus et frater Rufanus Rectores et procuratores fraternitatis continentium de Aquapendente ac frater Iohannes dictus Capellanus eorundem loci et ordinis nobis exponere curaverunt quod idem frater Iohannes et Ascebilis uxor eius de propria salute solícite cogitantes ac considerantes quod est salubre commercium transitoria pro eterna et terrena pro celestibus conmutare quandam eorum domum positam in Aquapendenti in parrochia sancte Marie iuxta domum Nicholutii Henrici Sangonis et iuxta rem Petrucii Lupicine et iuxta stratam publicam et aperta est domus ipsius iuxta aquam, ad honorem dei et beate Marie semper virginis cum in dicta parrochia non haberetur aliquod hospitale, propter quod non numquam pauperes illuc confluentes defeccum patiebantur non modicum ad illos dirigentes et passionis affectum domum ipsam ut esset hospitale ad opus ipsorum pauperum et etiam infirmorum fraternitati donarunt eidem. Quare ex parte dictorum fratrum fuit nobis humiliter supplicatum ut quod per predictos fratrem Iohannem et A. uxorem suam factum est in hac parte ratum et gratum habentes illud deberemus paterna sollicitudine confirmare. Nos enim eorum propositum favore benivolo in domino prosequentes domum ipsam ut decetero sit hospitale ut servetur in eo hospitalitas perpetuo et in ipso caritative recipiantur pauperes et infirmi et eisquam pro modulo hospitalis eiusdem necessaria ministrentur hoc tamen servato quod prefati frater Iohannes et A. uxor eius toto tempore vite sue sint rectores et gubernatores hospitalis predictae et nobis et successoribus nostris perpetuo una libra cere nomine census in festo assumptionis beate Marie annis singulis per eosdem rectores et successores suos nichilominus persolvatur.

Actum in domibus ecclesie sancti Nicolai de Urbeveteri...

Notary: Nicholaus de Guarcino

24 October 1282

Frater Nerius "prime ordinis continentium" is granted permission to found an oratory.

... Noverint universi... quod Nobilis vir frater Nerius condam filius Borgarutii olim domini Ranerii Borgarelli comitis de Marsiano, frater de primo ordine continentium, in presentia... domini Francisci... episcopi..., eidem domino Episcopo humiliter supplicavit ut in contrata Montisjovis in loco que dicitur Collis Pornellesis, Urbevetane diocesis, faciendi ad laudem et reverentiam Dei omnipotentis unum oratorium licentiam concedere dignaretur. Qui dominus episcopus eiusdem fratris Nerii precibus inclinatur eidem concessit licentiam predictam oratorium faciendi et in eo ad laudem et reverentiam Dei celebrari missam et alia divina officia faciendi sine iuris preiudicio alieni.

Actum... in Urbeveteri in hospitio que olim fuit filiorum Petri Grani ubi supradictus dominus Episcopus morabatur, in camera videlicet ipsius domini episcopi, presentibus domino fratre Hermanno, domini Cittadini, fratre Blasio Petri, fratribus de prima ordinis continentium, domino Iohanne Monaldi de Perusio, Iohanne de Placentia, domino Nicolao canonico urbevetano... et aliis pluribus.

Notary: Appollenaris Benentendi

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20 November 1284

Foundation of hospital of the fraternity of Santa Maria and Santa Christina of Bolsena.

... Franciscus... Urbevetanus episcopus... sciat quod constitutus in presentia nostra discretus vir Benencasa Rector fraternitatis sancte Marie et sancte Christine de Bulseno Urbevetane diocese exposuit coram nobis quod quondam Audigerius Rubei eiusdem loci dum in lecto egritudinis accubaret de salute anime sue cogitans, quendam suam domum positam in Bulseno in Regione Perleonis iuxta rem heredum Raynerii Rubei et iuxta rem heredum Angeli de Cline et iuxta viam publicam et iuxta rupem eidem fraternitati ea conditione donavit, et in suo testamento reliquit ut in ea ad honorem et reverentiam sancte marie virginis ad usus pauperum et infirmarum fieret hospitale. Quare dictus Rector ex parte universitatis dicte fraternitatis secundum specialem nostram licentiam votum Audigerii predicti nequiret implere, dictam domum deberemus decernere hospitale. Nos enim ipsius Rectoris supplicationibus grato concorrentes assensu domum ipsam ut decetero sit hospitale ut servetur in eo hospitalitas et in ipso caritative recipiantur pauperes et infirmi eisquam secundum iures facultatum dicti hospitalis ministrentur Constituentes ut per Rectorem qui pro tempore in dicto hospitali fuerit nobis et successoribus nostris perpetuo una libra cere nomine census in festo assumptionis beate Marie virginis annis singulis nichilomini persolvatur.

Enacted in Orvieto in the Episcopal palace.

Notary: Nicolaus de Guarcino

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1/2 April 1285

Rector appointed to the hospital of S. Iacobo 'extra portam maiorem'

... Ciolus nuntius venerabilis patris domini Francisci, dei gratia Urbeveterani Episcopi retulit se personaliter citasse Aldrovandutium Cristofani et Calganum Ranutii Manganelli et ad domum Franciscum Calçolarium quod dicuntur esse de f(rat)ernitate sancti Iacobi ut [...], ante tertia perempter compareant coram dicto domino Episcopo ad ordinandum Rectorem hospitalis Sancti Iacobi extra portam maiorem, cuius patroni esse dicuntur illi qui sunt de fraternitate predicta.

Die lune secundo aprilis post tertiam, Constituti coram venerabile patre domino Francisco dei gratia urbeveteris Episcopo Berardinus Ranutii, Magister Iohannes pisanus et Iacobum Mulgani fraternitarii fraternitatis sancti Iacobi extra portam maiorem, asserentes fraternitatem predictam habere Ius patronatus in hospitali sancti Iacobi extra portam maiorem, et etiam magister Borgia oblatas hospitali predicti representaverunt coram dicto domino Episcopo Ranutium Clare supplicantes humiliter quod instituat ipsum in Rectorem dicti hospitali cum ipse desideret in dicto hospitali, deo et pauperibus deservire, et dare dicto hospitali de suo ad valorem, usque in quantitatem Quadringentarum librarum denarios cortonenses,

Qui [...], dominus Episcopus interrogavit dictum Ranutium si volebat votum emittere in manibus suis ad honorem dei et beati Iacobi, quod in vita sua residebit in dicto hospitali, et ibi serviet pauperibus ad ipse hospitale confluentibus, Qui siquidem Ranutius respondens se diu desiderasse predicta facere, incontinenti sua spontanea voluntate, vovit in manibus dicti domini Episcopi servire quamdiu vixerit pauperibus dicti hospitali, et ibi residere ad predictum servitium faciendum, offerens pro salute anime sue de bonis suis valorem usque in quantitatem Quadringentarum librarum convertendam in utilitatem hospitali predicti.

Quare predictus dominus Episcopus acceptans representationem, votum, et promissionem predictas, predictum Ranutium instituit in Rectorem, et gubernatorem dicti hospitali, et eidem plenariam administrationem bonorum dicti hospitali commisit, tam eorum que habet nunc quam eorum que deo propitio in futurum acquireret,

Quibus proactis, dictus Ranutius, tamquam rector dicti hospitali promisit eidem domino Episcopo obedientiam et reverentiam et non alienare bona immobilia dicti hospitali nec aliquid de ipsis bonis immobilibus absque requisitione et consensu dicti domini Episcopi, sed ipsa bona pro utilitate pauperum [qu.,cum] deus sibi ministrabit, fideliter gubernare.

Acta, in civitate urbeveterana in palatio episcopatus, in

Notary: Appollenaris Benentendus



26 March 1286

Election of rector to the hospital of S. Angelo di Postierla

... Presbiter Ranaldus ecclesie Sancti Angeli di Pusterula procurator clericorum eiusdem ecclesie... nomine suo et dictorum clericorum et magister Petrus Nicolai syndicus et procurator fraternitatis et hominum regionis dicte ecclesie ut dixit apparere manu Fassie notario nomine suo et dictorum fraternitatis et hominum representaverunt venerabili patri domino .F. Dei gratia episcopo urbevetano fratrem Bonfilium olim de Aretio ibidem presentem electum in Rectorem hospitalis Sancti Angeli nunc rectoris gubernaculo destituti petentis eundem in rectoria confirmari predictam...

(Having considered the petition, and hoping that the hospital will prosper under its new rector, the Bishop confirms the election as requested. The new rector then promises...)

... utilia facere... res dicti hospitalis... custodire bona fide eo salvo quod uti valeat veritate et infirmis et pauperibus deservire promittens insuper reddere rationem dictis clericis et fraternitati secundum constitutiones dicti hospitali. Quibus sic peractis. Idem rector fecit et promisit stipulanti et recipienti pro se et suis successoribus et episcopatu urbevetano obedientiam et reverentiam manualementem.

Enacted in the Episcopal place.

Notary: Appollenaris Benentendi.

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7 December 1286

Letter of authorisation to the Dominican confraternity in Orvieto from  
Fra Munio di Zamora, Master General of the Order.

In Ihesu Christo devotis, providis et honestis confratribus et confratressis in honorem beate Virginis et beati Dominici in Urbeveteri congregatis, frater Munio, fratrum ordinis predicatorum servus inutilis, salutem cum augmento continuo celestium gratiarum.

A celi civibus celestia obtinere suffragia contra mundi huius<sup>7</sup> damnosa discrimina cupientes, beatam Virginem et beatum Dominicum confessorem in patronos et advocatos propitios vobis eligere provide procurastis et curabitis, in ipsorum honorem societatem Deo gratam cum vestrorum meritorum cumulo statuendo. Et quia fratrum nostrorum desideratis subsidiis adjuvari, a me humiliter postulastis, ut bonorum fratrum nostri ordinis vos facerem participatione gaudere. Ego igitur vestre devotionis meritis debita recognitione pensatis vobis et ceteris, qui se vestro pio consortio duxerint in posterum aggregandos, omnium missarum, orationum, praedicationum, ieiunorum, abstinentiarum, vigiliarum, laborum, quae per fratres ordinis nostri Dominus per mundum fieri dederit universum, participationem cancello tenore praesentium specialem.

Volo insuper, ut post decessum vestrum animae vestrae fratrum totius ordinis orationibus recommendentur in nostro capitulo generali, si vestri obitus ibidem nuntiati, et iniungantur pro ipsis misse et orationes, sicut pro fratribus nostris defunctis fieri consuevit.

In cuius concessionis testimonium sigillum proprium duxi praesentibus apponendum.

Datum Urbeveteri in festo beati Ambrosii anno domini millesimo ducentesimo octuagesimo sexto.

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8 March 1313

Preamble to the matriculation list of the Franciscan confraternity of  
Santa Maria.

In nomine patris et filii et spiritui amen. Ad honorem et laudem  
gloriose virginis marie. Ac ad honorem sanctorum confessorum Beatorum  
Francisci et Ambrosii. Adque salutem animarum hominum et mulierum  
vivorum et Mortuorum Fraternitatis eiusdem virginis gloriose. Anno  
domini millesimo CCC<sup>o</sup>. xiiij. a die. viiij. mensis martij incipiendo.  
Indictione. xj. tempore domini Clementis pape .quinti. Infrascripti sunt  
homines et mulieres de fraternitate sacte marie virgini que est in  
ecclesia fratrum minorum de ordine sancti francisci de civitate  
urbeivetana qui et que reperti in dicta fraternitate Tempore rectorie  
Fratris Iacobi albi de urbeveteri. Angelutius lemni pro quarterio  
Posterule. Dominicutius iohannis rogerii pro quarterio sarancis.  
Bonacursus guidonis rocchi pro quarteri sancti iohannis et Iovenalis.  
Angelutius pauli pro quarterio sancte pacis. et Bonutius Fredi Camerarii  
dicte fraternitatis.

In primis incipiendo. Quartieri di Pustierla. Rione di sancto Costanço.  
li homini.

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s.d. (c. 1313-1323)

Inventory of the Franciscan confraternity of Santa Maria.

In nomine domini amen. in presente anno di sopra scripto in nella prima folgia. Queste sonno le cose della fraternita di sancta Maria la quale stane in nela ecclesia di santo Francescu de l'ordine de'frati Minorum in nella città d'Orvietu. Ritrovate in nel tempu de la rectoria de (infra)scripte persone. Cioè di Neri di Manetto ed Angelu di Iuvanni, di Rugieri mungnau, e d'Angelu di magistru Domenicu di Berardinu, e di Lorençu di Bartholomeo, e di Vanni di Pietru di Gulinu di Volgla, Camorlengo de la dicta fraternita.

Imprimamente. Una arcapredula co' due serrature e co' due clave.

Item duo arche in ne le quale ciascuna ane sua clave.

Item duo cassette picciole.

Item unu paliu indoratu.

Item unu conphalone color di çonnadu bermeglu con uno palio in meço foderata di panno endico.

Item unu confalone di çonnadu bermelglu in nel quale éne la imagine di sancta Maria con altre figure.

Item unu confalone di çonnadu blancu in nel quale éne la imagine de la çroce.

Item duuo Capangna per portare le candeale.

Item due orchi da tenere oliu.

Item unu ramaiolu di rame per trare l'oliu.

Item una sacchetta da tenere l'oliu e le mandolo.

Item unu privilegiu di papa Alisandro<sup>1</sup>.

Item unu privilegiu di missere lo vescuo Lonardo<sup>2</sup>.

Item unu privilegiu di missere lo vescuo Guittone<sup>3</sup>.

Item duo libricioli duo volume in ne'quali sonno scripte le laude.

Item .iiij. libri d'uno volume in ne' quali sonno scripti li homini e le femine e l'ordinamenti de la decta fraternità.

Item unu libru maiure di tutti questi in nel quale sonno scripti li homini e le femine e l'inventariu de la decta fraternità.

Item unu quaternu di bambascia in nel quale si sonno scripti i morti e chiloro che lassono a la fraternita.

Item .iiij. Cierii grossi per portare a' morti.

Item duo tephanie.

Item unu paiu di saiole da pesare la moneta.

Item unu calamaiu di creta.

Item unu temperatoiu.

Item una bossula co' XXXVlllj quartaroli.

Item unu descu per tener e acogliere la moneta.

Item una sporta.

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1, Alexander IV, 1254-61,

2, Leonardo Mancini, bishop of Orvieto 1295-1302,

3, Guittone Farnese, bishop of Orvieto 1302-1328,



24 May 1337

Arrangements for public celebration of the feast of Corpus Domini.

... Item providerunt, ordinaverunt et decreverunt, facto prius et misso inter ipsos consiliarios sollempni partito de bussolis ad palluctas, et obtento per omnes eorum palluctas repertas in bussola rubea de sic, nulla pallucta reperta in bussola nigra de non in contrarium, ad honorem et reverentiam corporis domini nostris Ihesu Christi, quod imperpetuum in festo ipsius, omnes et singule represalie quibuscumque Urbevetanis civibus et comitatensibus, quomodocumque concesse sint et intelligentur suspense quinque diebus, scilicet duobus diebus ante dictum festum, et die festi, et duobus diebus post dictum festum, ita quod nemo ipsis represaliis uti possit, ita quod omnibus ad dictum festum venientibus adventus et mora et reditus dictis quinque diebus sint segura.

Item, quod mandetur nobilibus civitatis predicte quod parati equis et ornamentis ludant die vigilie et festi.

Item, quod nullus artifex aliquid faciat de artificio suo die vigilie vel festi.

Item, quod ad honorem et reverentiam dicte sollempnitatis et festi quolibet anno imperpetuum detur et offeratur, ed dari et offerri possit et debeat die festi predicti per camerarium comunis Urbevetani Ecclesie Beate Marie virginis, unus cereus ponderis quinquaginta librarum cere portandus post processionem et durante processione fienda die dicti festi, quem cereum predictus camerarius de pecunia et avere dicti comunis emere et offerre dicte Ecclesie possit, teneatur et debeat, qui converti debeat in fabricam pro opere dicte Ecclesie.

Item, quod quelibet ars et universitas cuiuslibet artis dicte civitatis faciat, et facere et fieri facere teneatur et debeat, unum tortitium cere ponderis saltim duodecim librarum cere ad sotiandum tabernaculum in quod erit corpus Christi et sanctissimum corporale, quamdiu processionaliter portabitur per civitatem; sit tamen eis licitum vel offerre Ecclesie vel reportare ad domum illa vero tortitia que ibidem offerta sint operis et fabrice Ecclesie memorate.

Item/

Item, quod tota civitas mundetur et precipue strate per quas transibitur processio et quilibet coperiat ante domum suam melioribus pannis qui haberi poterunt, Sint dicte strate plene erbis et juncis, Strate per quas transibit processio sint iste; de Ecclesia beate Marie ad Sanctum Franciscum; de inde ad Sanctum Laurentium; de inde ad domum Manni domini Corradi; de inde recta linea ad Ecclesiam Carmelitarum; de inde ad plateam Erbe; de inde per Camolliam ad Sanctum Andrean; de inde ad Sanctum Dominicum; de inde ad Sanctum Stefanum; de inde ad Sanctum Leonardum; de inde apud Sanctum Salvatorem; de inde ad Ecclesiam Beate Virginis.

Item, quod rogentur omnes religiosi civitatis quod sint ad sotiaandum dominum Episcopum in dicta processione fienda quousque fuerit expleta.

Item, quod duodecim boni homines armati eligendi per dominos Septem sint armati ad sotiaandum tabernaculum supradictum cum portabitur per civitatem.

Item, quod duobus diebus ante dictum festum et die dicti festi et duobus diebus post ipsum festum sint imperpetuum et esse debeant ferie et tempus feriatum in civitate predicta in omnibus curiis dicte civitatis et in omnibus causis civilibus et causis appellationis, ita quod dicti quinque dies non computentur in aliquo termino dato vel dando in aliqua civili causa principali vel appellationis et sint et esse debeant dicte ferie per illum modum pro ut sunt indicte in dicta civitate tempore estatis et vendemie, et siquid fieret in dictis causis vel altera ipsarum dictis quinque diebus ipso iure sit nullum.

Item, quod offitiales et rectores dicte civitatis et stipendiarii stent armati die dicti festi ad custodiam civitatis predictae.

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c. 1339-1343

Dominican friar who had belonged to a fraternity of *disciplinati*.

Frater Iacobus Karomi, ex utroque parente nobilem originem traxsit, et nepos carnalis bone memorie fratris Andree domini Iacobi militis de Karomis prenominati; qui factus fuit chanonicus per dominum papam Nicholaum quartum in maiori ecclesia nostre civitatis, serviens ipsi ecclesie ut vere chanonicus per annos XL, cum debita devotione, optime dicens offitium ecclesiasticum et suas horas chanonicas, ut plurimum; et quia florebat in fama et oppinione preclara, bone memorie dominus episcopus Leonardus fecit eum suum vicarium generalem; qui sic existens in sua ecclesia, de suis proventibus fecit in ecclesia antedicta, ad perpetuam rei memoriam, chappellam ob reverentiam sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et pro anima sua, ipsam dotando frumento, vino et aliis necessariis, prout expediens erat ad victum sacerdoti sue sacre chappelle ministro; et idem fecit in ecclesia sancti Andree apostoli, ubi extiterat chanonicus annis pluribus, faciens ibidem chappellam ad venerationem sanctorum angelorum, istituens ibidem sacerdotem pro sua salute, et ei relinquendo ad vitam necessaria; et nichilominus plures quadragesimas duxit in pane et aqua, et omnes vigiliis beate Virginis et omnium apostolorum, quam etiam omnes VI ferias, ob devotionem et reverentiam passionis Domini Ihesu Christi, et corpus suum disciplinis domando, quia de fraternitate erat Disciplinatorum. Et plures puellas pauperimas, Christi amore et intuitu pietatis, nuptui tradidit; cuius devotio habituata in seculo ordinem ingressus non est diminuta, sed potius augmentata, ieiunium sancte Crucis servando per totum, et carnes etiam comedere nolens, nisi quando infirmitas eum choegisset, ex mandato medici; ad offitium vero divinum fuit tam devotus, quod completorium et mactutinas bis dicebat et primam missam in aurora audire solitus erat, et sepe nudis carnibus cum disciplina, scilicet cordo nodosa, corpus suum domavit...

28 November 1348

Approval of petition from the chamberlain of the Opera del Duomo.

In nomine domini amen, Anno domini millesimo trecentesimo quatragesimo octavo, indictione prima, tempore domini Clementis papæ sexti, die .xxviii. mensis Novembris, Consilio prudentum virorum xxiiii<sup>r</sup> et ducentorum et populi civitatis urbisveteris, in palatio populi dicte civitatis, ad sonum campane vocemque præconum dicti comunis, de licentia et mandato nobilis et potentis viri Cecchini domini Vencioli de Perusio, honorarie Capitanei, populi Conservatoris et Guardiani civitatis et conmitatis urbisveteris, more solito congregato et adunato, In quo quidem consilio idem dominus Capitaneus, in presentia, de consensu et voluntate dominorum priorum populi predicti, nunc ipsi populo presidentium, absque Ser Theo Nutii uno ex ipsis dominis, cuius vocem Gotius Nicole, alter ex ipsis dominis, habet, facto prius misso et obtento partito inter eos dominos ad fabas albas et nigras, secundum formam ordinamenti, quod in presens Consilio infrascripte propositæ proposuit et proponi fecit, propositas infrascriptas...

.....

... Item quod videtur et placet dicto consilio et consiliariis eius providere et ordinare super infrascripta petitione, porrecta pro parte Cammerarii operis Sancte Marie, cuius quidem petitionis tenor talis est, Videlicet:

*In nomine domini amen, Quia mater domini, intemerata virgo Maria, sub cuius vocabulo maior Urbevetana ecclesia est constructa, retro hactis temporibus quorum non extitit memoria, per urbevetanum populum et apud unigenitum suum precipua extitit advocata, ut puto, que ipsum a multis tribulationibus et angustiis defensavit, ad quam tota civitas singularem devotionem gessit et gerit, et pro ipsius reverentia et memoria singulari ipsam civitas in vigilia assumptionis ipsius fecit annuatim gloriosissimum festum, cereos artium ad ipsius ecclesiam deferendo et manuales accensos cereos obferendo ibidem dicte sollempnitatis festivitate; hoc anno, propter pestem mortiferam que in ipsa civitate et in toto orbe extitit peccatis mortalium exigentibus, non potuerit in ipsius vigilia ut solitum fuerat celebrari pro parte operis et frabice ipsius ecclesie, vobis dominis prioribus urbevetano populo presidentibus supplicatur, quod ne ipsa dei genitrix erga ipsum populum/*



*populum sue claudat oculos pietatis, et ut ipsa devotio quam erga eam  
habet precipue augeatur, statusque presens populi prelibati de bono in  
melius mediantibus suis rogationibus semper crescat, placeat in oportuno  
consilio ordinare, statuere et reformare quod elemosina licet, sicut  
debet et solita fuerit ab antiquo, fieri nequeat in subsidium ipsius  
fabrice per homines artium singularum civitatis prefate in presenti anno  
fiat, et in ipsius opere obferatur per consules ipsarum artium iuxta  
facultates ipsarum.*

*Et quia dicta ecclesia intus et extra debet esse omnibus  
immunditiis purgata, statuere et ordinare quod nulla persona  
circumcircha dictam ecclesiam, et per plateam ipsius et prope, usque ad  
hospitale sancte Marie, aliquid ponat, videlicet pelles et coria vel  
aliquid turpe, aliud ad penam arbitrio Capitanei ipsius populi  
auferendum. Et quod licitum sit contra facientes, secrete vel publice  
cuilibet accusare, et camerario et magistris vel positis pro dicto opere  
et camerario expellere et prohibere ipsas pelles et Coria, vel quecumque  
alia fetorem habentia, sine pena,*

Super quibus, omnibus et singulis et quolibet eorum, idem dominus Capitaneus petit  
sibi pro dicto comuni a dictis consilio et consiliariis sanum et utile consilium  
exhiberi,

.....

Cecchus Mey Capponis, unus ex consiliariis dicti consilii, surgens in ipso  
consilio aregando, dixit et consuluit super ultima proposita de petitione operis  
Sancte Marie, Quod ipsa petitio in qualibet parte sui ex nunc sit firma, rata, valida  
et approbata, fiat et procedat, et executioni mandetur valeat et teneat, pleno iure,  
auctoritate et baylia presentis consilii...

.....

In reformatione cuius, consilio facto et misso partito per dictum dominum  
Capitaneum super dicto, et consilio dicti Cecchi consulentis super dicta petitione  
operis sancte Marie, de fabis albis ad nigras, placuit Centum triginta quinque ex  
consiliariis dicti consilii, dictum et consilium prefati Cecchi consulentis ut sibi  
super petitione predicta, quorum fabe albe de sic reperte fuerunt in bussola, et sic  
reformatum extitit et obtentum, Non obstantibus undecim fabas nigris de non eorundem  
consiliariorum in contrarium,

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18 August 1349

Execution of the Will of domina Agnes, widow of Poncello Conticini:  
includes gift of houses to the hospital of S. Giovanni di Platea.

Cecchinus filius olim domini Francisschi domini Andree executor (et ut executor) testamenti domine Agnetis uxoris olim Poncelli Conticini domini Nerii de Greca et olim filie dicti domini Francisschi et sororis carnalis dicti Cecchini ut patet de dicto testamento publicum instrumentum scriptum manu mei Berardini notarii... sciens se teneri ad executionem dicti testamenti et volens ipsum testamentum exequi iuxta voluntatem dicte domine executorio nomine ipsius testamenti et ex licentia sibi ab ipsa testatrice in ipso testamento concessa et omni modo et iuramento (ca...) et nomine ac interesse quibus melius potuit pro anima et salute anime dicte domine et parentum et filiorum suorum et in remissionem peccatorum ipsorum dedit tradidit cessit et concessit Marchecte olim Mancini Syndo et procuratori universitatis et hominum fraternitatis dissciplinatorum Ecclesie Sancti Iohannis de platea de Urbeveteri et hospitalis ipsius fraternitatis per se et legitimos recipientes et recipienda pro dictis fraternitatis et hospitali ipsius fraternitatis et in perpetuum subsidium dicti hospitali peregrinorum et pauperum in eo degerentes et ad perpetuam hospitalitatem et alimoniam pauperum et peregrinorum quasdam domos olim dicte domine Agnetis cum quibusdam casalinam... in regione sancte Pacis iuxta macellum comunis, iuxta plateam populi, iuxta rem Francissci Mey Nicole et iuxta viam publicam.

... Item alias domos dicte olim domine Agnetis positas in dicta regione iuxta rem Francissci Mey Nicole iuxta rem heredum Cheptii Petri Gheptii... ad habendum, tenendum... dicto Syndico nomine quo sibi et dicte Universitatis dissciplinatorum dicte Ecclesie placuerit deinceps perpetuo faciendo...

Notary: Berardinus condam Luti... iudex ordinarius et notarius...

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2 August 1357

Use of the Cathedral crypt by a group of disciplinati.

Anque per lu spiazza de l'Eclesia non si guasti, che il più de la gente si vogliono seppellire, e la le fiata tollono i pili altrui, che la casa sotto l'altare magiore, ove stanno i disciplinati, si acconci, e lo spazzio sia di tavole e pieno di pili per seppellire coloro che ine seppellire si volessero; e quanto costa il pilo a l'uopera, tanto debi pagare a l'uopera ch'il vorrà. E in essa casa si faciano penture belle e divote di storia di morti, e onne settimana, una fiata almeno, la giù si canti messa e officio di morti sollempnemente, e i disciplinati stiano in ne la casa di sotto a la volta de la cappella del Corpo di Christo mò facta.

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3 February 1377

Appointment of rector to the hospital of the *disciplinati* of S. Agostino.

Petrus Butii de Urbeveteri (I.....s) peritii reverendi in Christo patris et domini domini Petri, dei gratia Urbevetani Episcopi, vicegeneralis, Provido viro Petro Stephani Vannis Rectori hospitalis disciplinatorum sancti Agustini de Urbeveteri salutem in domino. Vite et motum honestas, aliaque laudabilia tue probitatis merita, quibus te divina gratia predotavit, rationabiliter, nos premonent et inducunt, ut tibi reddamur ad gratiam liberales. Sane cum ad Rectoriam hospitalis predicti vacantem ad presens per obitum Stephani tui patris ultimi ipsius hospitalis Rectoris, per., procuratorem fraternitatis disciplinatorum sancti Agustini. de Urbeveteri, quibus preutato Rectoris hospitalis predicti asseritur pertinere nobis preutatus fuisses dictaque tuam preutationem petiisses a nobis cum instantia confirmari. Nos iuxta doctrinam apostolicam, nolentes alicui cito manum imponere personam tuam examinare curavimus diligenter. Et de indevalius eiusdem hospitalis, edictum et monitorem per nostrum et nostre Curie nuntium iuratum affigi mandavimus. Ut siquis contra te, vel formam preutationis de te facte aliqua vellet abicere opponere seu etiam allegare, coram nobis standeret infra certum terminum iam decursum legitime et (?perlxptem) comparere. Quia igitur te habilem et ydoneum esse reperimus ad rectoriam huiusmodi obtinendam pro eo quia contra te nec contra formam preutationis de te facte coram nobis aliquis comparuit contradictor prefatam preutationem de te factam velut canonicam et iuxta morem solitum celebratam adnuntiamus et quantum de iure possumus approbamus. Investientes te per nostrum birretium preutialiter de eodem. Curam regnum et administrationem dicti hospitalis tibi tenore presentium conmicntentes, Receptoprius a te fideliter debito iuramento, bona dicti hospitalis bene fidlitter administrandi gubernandi conservandi et agumentandi et in eodem hospitali secundum eundem possibilitatem hospitalitatem tenendi. Conmicntentes et hactenus serie districtus mandantes presbitero Antonio Petruccioli Cappellano Urbevetane Ecclesie licet absentia quatenus cum parte vel procuratem tunc ad hoc legitime constitutum fuerit requisitus te vel dictum procuratorem tua nomine intenuatam et corporalem possessionem dicti hospitalis bonorum et iuramentum ipsius inducat et defendat inductum faciendo tibi de fructibus redditibus provenctibus iuribus et obventionibus universis eodem hospitali integre responderi. Contradictore, quoslibet et rebelles per censuram ecclesiasticam conpescendo in cuius rei testimonium presentes letteras...

Datum et actum in choro maiore urbevetane ecclesie... 3 February 1377.

Notary: Thomas condam Nalli de Urbeveteri

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February 1398

Preamble to the necrology of the fraternity of disciplinati of  
S. Francesco.

Benedetto e lodato sia el nome del nostro Singnore giaso christu crucifissu e de la sua benedetta matre Vergine Maria e del biato miser Sancto Francesco e sancto lodovico con tucta la corte del Sancto paradiso. Questi sonno luomini de la fraternita e disciplina del biato sancto francesco li quali sonno passati di questa presente vita. Per li quali pregaremo cristo per li meriti de la sua sanctissima passione che se fussero nalcuna pena di purgatorio ne li tragha e menili à la gloria di vita eterna. La quale fraternita fu començata per frate Ianni di pustierla patre spirituale nel M<sup>o</sup> CCC<sup>o</sup> XXiiij di primo doctobre. Li quali nomi furono Rinovellati e scripti per me Anghilo di paulino del prançatore nel presente libro.

Al tempo di Chele di tuccio di Iannuccio di simo Rectore e di luca del Rossarello surretore de la detta fraternita nel M CCC LXXXX viiiij del mese de frebaio.

In prima .M<sup>o</sup>.CCC<sup>o</sup>.XXiiij. Morio Frate Ianni di pustierla di XXVij di dicembre...

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April 1405

Preamble to the collection of dramatic texts compiled by the Franciscan confraternity of *disciplinati*.

Benedecto e lodato sia el nome del nostro signore Gieso Christo crucifissu e dela sua benedecta madre Vergene Maria e del biato misser sancto Francesco e sancto Lodivico, con tucta la corte del sancto paradiso.

Queste sonno le ripresentatione le quale si degono fare l'anno per le fraternite d'Orvieto, e scripture nel presente libro per me Tramo di Lonardo, disciplinato dela fraternita di santo Francesco benedecto, de voluntà, e di Colo di Berardino, sorrectore dela decta fraternita, nele Mille CCCC.V. e del me' d'aprile.

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CONCLUSION:  
PIETY AND HERESY

## CONCLUSION: PIETY AND HERESY

The Franciscan Inquisitors had little sympathy to spare for any of the eighty-eight Orvietans who had both fallen into error and persisted in it, in wilful defiance of the Holy Mother Church, and to the eternal peril of their souls. They were more than usually outraged, however, to discover that a Franciscan tertiary, Domenico di Pietro Rossi, had lapsed in this way, bringing disgrace to the Order as well as damnation to himself.

With benefit of hindsight, and bearing in mind the points of contact which have emerged in the course of the preceding discussion between those forms of religious expression which were condemned by the Church, and those which received its official sanction, it should come as much less of a surprise to discover that one man should have crossed the narrow dividing-line between piety and heresy. The surprise may be rather that there were not more men and women in a similar situation.

The best way to bring the discussion to a close will be simply to draw attention to some of these points of contact: themes which bridge the two areas of heresy and lay piety, and in so doing not only highlight the similarities between them, but also support the thesis that both were aspects of the single phenomenon of lay spirituality in the medieval urban milieu.

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### a) Piety and heresy in the medieval milieu

The urban setting has long been recognised as an important factor in the success, for a limited period, of the Cathar heresy, and, in a more lasting way, of the Mendicant Orders, which soon came to dominate the confraternal movement. It is arguably the most significant point of contact between them that both were operating in the same social setting, and with the same potential clientele. The major social issues of the day, such as law and order, or the question of usury, were reflected in the religious life of orthodox and heretical lay people. Thus it was possible to find deep-dyed heretics, such as Provençano Lupicini, occupying responsible positions in society, and pious laymen, such as his kinsman, Ugolino Lupicini, on the wrong side of the law'. And although an unusually high proportion of Cathars were usurers (or vice-versa), there was at least one confraternity member who was



expelled from his society for lending money at interest<sup>2</sup>.

Insofar as it is possible to tell, Cathars and lay confraternities seem to have attracted support from a broadly similar cross-section of the population: men and women; rich and poor; noble and popular; manual and professional workers. Indeed, Bernard Hamilton points to the very "ordinariness" of Cathar believers in southern Europe as one of the reasons for the prolonged success of the movement, and the Orvietan evidence supports his point of view. People were unwilling to betray the Cathars, for the simple reason that they were so similar to themselves: were, indeed, their own friends, neighbours and relatives. As one French knight explained:

We cannot do it (i.e. prosecute heretics). We have grown up with them, we are closely related to some of them, and we can see what respectable lives they lead. (3)

Lay people joined heretical cells and religious confraternities for reasons as varied as the men and women themselves. In general terms, however, the two movements do seem to have held a similar sort of appeal to a similar range of people.

Most importantly, both gave opportunities for participation in exciting new forms of religious worship, and ways of expressing that general enthusiasm for all types of religious activity which characterised medieval society from the late twelfth century onwards. Traditional outlets for religious devotion had simply failed to keep pace with the rapid social changes which were taking place in flourishing independent communes such as Orvieto. In particular, it must have been very galling for articulate laymen, accustomed, in business and political life, to making decisions and taking responsibility, that there was no equivalent place for them in religious affairs. It is no accident that many of the people tried for heresy in 1268/9, including the one who was also a Franciscan tertiary, were Orvietan citizens.

The time was ripe, in other words, for something new to fill a gap in the religious market, and both the Cathars and the Mendicant Orders stepped in to meet this need. What these townspeople required was something between the passive rôle of worshipper at the priestly celebration of Mass, and the total commitment of monastic life, and this was provided, in different ways by both Cathars and lay confraternities. In both situations, lay men (and, significantly, lay women) were being invited to discuss theological issues, were being assigned an active rôle

in worship, and were being presented with a spiritual challenge, response to which did not necessarily mean total withdrawal from 'the world'.

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b) Cathar cells and lay confraternities

Another attractive feature of both organisations was the fact that the lay person could choose the extent to which he or she wished to become involved. The most deeply committed Cathars could be 'hereticated' and devote themselves thereafter to a life of abstinence and itinerant preaching. Those most deeply committed on the orthodox side could either take on positions of leadership within a confraternity, or, like those tertiaries who gave up their homes and possessions in order to establish a hospital for the poor, could adopt a lifestyle very similar to that of full-time religious, without the loss of their lay status.

Most Orvietan Cathars chose to remain at the level of 'believers', at least until death seemed imminent. To be a 'believer' involved attending meetings of the sect, taking part in its rituals, and giving practical and financial support to its leaders; almost the same, in other words, as it meant to be an ordinary member of a religious confraternity - the option chosen by most supporters of the confraternal movement. It is for this reason that d'Alatri describes the penitents, on the one hand, as "*eretici potenziali*", and the body of Cathar believers, on the other hand, as "*una specie di Terz'Ordine eretico*" \*.

Finally, for those who were sympathetic, but who did not wish to become personally involved, it was possible in both cases to give indirect support. Rural *signori* and urban neighbours gave tacit support to the Cathars by choosing not to report them to the authorities, while all but the poorest lay people could participate indirectly in the benefits of confraternity membership by leaving money in their Wills, or requesting burial in the habit of tertiary or *disciplinato*.

The most obvious difference between the Cathar cells and the religious confraternities is the fact that the former were obliged to operate in a clandestine way, while many of the key activities of the latter, such as public procession and sacred drama, were specifically designed for others to observe. Even this distinction is not absolute, however, since one of the attractions of confraternity membership was the fact of belonging to an exclusive, if not a secret society. The



*disciplinati* had their distinctive form of dress; the Cathars, unable to make such a public declaration of their status, settled for a special form of greeting - the '*reverentia*', or ritual 'adoration' from believers to *perfecti*. Both held private services of worship, for members only, in addition to their larger, public assemblies. The Cathars met in the homes of believers, while those confraternities which did not have their own building met in a special chapel in the church to which they were affiliated.

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### c) Sacraments

An important aspect of both types of group meeting was the celebration of sacraments or pseudo-sacraments, and this is a significant area of overlap in its own right between heresy and lay piety. A key tenet of the Cathar creed was to deny the validity of the Catholic eucharist. This was not among the items of faith recited by Stradigotto of Siena, but it was the first item in the creed quoted some years earlier by Canon Giovanni in his *Life of Pietro Parenzo*:

... *asserens nihil esse Christi corporis et sanguinis*  
*sacramentum...* (5)

It is for this reason that any evidence relating to the cult of the eucharist in orthodox piety is of direct relevance to the study of heresy. Whatever reservations the religious authorities may have had about some manifestations of popular devotion to the Sacrament, they knew that a guarded encouragement of the eucharistic cult was one positive way of combatting heresy. It was also necessary to combat that popular scepticism about the Mass, and in particular the doctrine of transubstantiation, which the Cathars were able to exploit, and which was one reason for the easy acceptance of some of their doctrines<sup>6</sup>.

Not only was celebration of the Mass one of the things that happened regularly at confraternity meetings in Orvieto, but the cult of the eucharist blossomed there as the Cathedral project progressed, the story of the Miracle of Bolsena became an established part of local folklore, and the feast of Corpus Domini took its present place as the high point of the religious year. By the middle of the fourteenth century, work was underway to cover the walls of the Chapel of the Corporale, where the blood-stained altarcloth was to be kept in its magnificent reliquary, with frescoes recounting not only the story of Bolsena, but other eucharistic miracles as well.

Local saints' lives also stressed the devotion of the saintly person to the Sacrament. B. Vanna, for example, was bitterly disappointed on more than one occasion when she was prevented by ill-health from going to church to receive the Sacrament, but each time, special miraculous provision was made for her to communicate<sup>7</sup>. B. Ambrogio "devoutly celebrated solemn masses and offices" <sup>8</sup>, and the utter depravity of the "heretics" who attacked Pietro Parenzo was emphasised by the fact that they forced dirt into his mouth "*pro communionis acciperet sacramento*"<sup>9</sup>.

The heretics were thus firmly opposed to all the Catholic sacraments, and this was recognised by both sides as one of the chief differences between them. Nevertheless, the Cathar faith had its own ritual structure, which resembled the Catholic pattern in a number of ways (see Appendix). There was no heretical equivalent of baptism for infants - perhaps because procreation was frowned upon - but the blessing of bread can be compared to the Catholic mass, while the "*consolamentum*" offered the same sort of comfort to dying Cathars as was offered by the sacrament of extreme unction to the orthodox. There were, of course, important theoretical differences between the two sets of ritual. The Cathars, for example, could not have the same reverence as Catholics for the material elements of bread and wine, since all material things were believed to be diabolical in origin. Nonetheless, their denial of the Catholic sacraments represented a rejection of the authority of the priests who celebrated them, rather than an objection to the idea of sacrament as such. More importantly for ordinary 'believers', the fact that the Cathars had 'sacraments' of a sort meant that they could join the sect without losing what must have been an important part of their devotional life hitherto.

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#### d) Sacred Drama

Just as the cult of the eucharist was promoted, in the confraternities and elsewhere, as part of the campaign against heresy, so there is some evidence that the sacred drama performed by the theatrical *disciplinati* was designed, in part at least, as anti-heretical propaganda. In her discussion of the Creation play, for example, Kathleen Falvey has suggested that there is an emphasis throughout the collection on orthodox teaching about the origins of the world, in contrast to the Cathar belief that the world was created by the Devil<sup>10</sup>. More directly,



the play about the life of S. Domenico focusses specifically on his disputation with the 'Patarines', while the play which tells the story of the Miracle of Bolsena has an obvious emphasis on the eucharist, whose efficacy was denied by the Cathars. The only objection to this theory is the matter of dating. The earliest suggested date of composition of the first plays in the cycle is c.1320, by which time the Cathars had been gone from the town for over fifty years. Certainly, they had made a big impact on Church and society, and orthodox Catholics must have been determined that nothing of the sort should ever take hold again, but if the plays were deliberately composed with heresy in mind, it was as part of a lingering folk-tradition rather than as a present danger for the theatrical confraternities and their audiences.

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#### e) Holy Men and Women

Another important "bridge" between heresy and lay piety was the respect in which holy men and women were held in both traditions. It has already been seen that a major part of the attraction of Catharism to local people was the teaching and lifestyle of the 'perfect', and there are at least two parallels in the area of orthodox piety: popular enthusiasm for the cult of local saints, and the lifestyle of the Mendicant friars, who, significantly, were the very people chosen as Inquisitors to investigate heresy and punish offenders.

Similarities between the lifestyle of the friars and of the 'perfect' are easily identified. Both operated for the most part in the towns, and specialised in preaching and teaching in the vernacular, dealing with local people directly, and not through the usual ecclesiastical channels. Both had willingly embraced poverty, and lived a simple life, depending on the charity of local people for their basic needs. The "Apostolic Life" ("*Vita Apostolica*") was the phrase used by contemporaries of the friars' lifestyle, but it could, in fact, have been applied just as appropriately to the Cathar *perfecti* and *perfectæ*. And although the Cathars, in theory, reviled the material world, while the friars, and particularly the Franciscans, rejoiced in God's good creation, this distinction, too, was less clear-cut in practice. Most Cathar sympathisers did not have to put their "world-renouncing" theory into practice until the final moments of their life, while many "world-affirming" Franciscans denied themselves many worldly sources of

pleasure, as well as engaging in less than joyous practices such as flagellation.

As far as saints are concerned, the three most popular local cults in the relevant period were those of Pietro Parenzo (d. 1199), B. Ambrogio di Massa (d. 1240) and, to a lesser extent, B. Vanna (d. 1306) - all of them, like the 'perfect', people from outside Orvieto who came to be revered within the town. In the case of the first two, there are direct, tangible links between the promotion of their cult and the fight against heresy. Parenzo was, of course, murdered by 'heretics', and the immediate popularity of his cult reflected public outrage at the crime, and a temporary swing in favour of the pro-papal party. It was in 1258, when heresy was at its height in Orvieto and serious measures were beginning to be taken against it, that an Indulgence was issued by Bishop Giacomo to the fraternity of "B. Pietro Martir" <sup>11</sup>. If, as seems likely on balance, this confraternity was under the patronage of Pietro Parenzo, and not St Peter Martyr, then the Indulgence proves that Parenzo's cult was deliberately being promoted in Orvieto as part of the campaign to crush the Cathar movement.

There is no doubt that the canonisation process for B. Ambrogio was initiated, in part at least, in order to combat heresy. The parchment containing the testimony of local people to the virtues of the holy man and miracles attributed to him was compiled by the bishops of Orvieto and Soana and the prior of S. Giovanni di Platea, in response to a letter from Pope Gregory IX which refers specifically to heresy as one of the reasons for encouraging veneration for a holy man such as Ambrogio:

*Dei sapientia qui Ecclesiam suam ineffabilibus renovat sacramentis ut virtutis sue potentiam mirabiliter manifestet et salutis nostre causam misericorditer operetur, fideles suos quos coronat in celis frequenter etiam honorat in terris, ad eorum memoriam signa faciens et prodigia per que pravitas confundatur heretica, et fides catholica confirmetur.* (12)

In contrast, there is no direct link between B. Vanna and the Cathars, despite the fantasies of one French historian:

*... on reste convaincu que, plus d'une fois, elle entra en lutte avec les Patarins pour leur disputer des âmes.* (13)

Since Vanna was only four years old in 1268, de Ganay's conviction is ill-founded, to say the least, but the real significance of Vanna's life to the study of heresy lies elsewhere. Parenzo is in a rather different category, since he was not so much a saintly figure as a political



leader whose opponents just happened also to be heretics. Vanna and Ambrogio, however, were typical of the 'holy men and women' revered in medieval society, and it is the many parallels between their lives and the the lives of the Cathar 'perfect' which suggest that they were all fulfilling a similar function in the religious life of lay people.

The one significant difference between them was that devotion to a Catholic saint tended to flourish only after the person's death, whereas the 'perfect' were revered during their lifetime and not, so far as it is possible to tell, after the release of their souls from the earthly prison of the flesh<sup>4</sup>. In all other respects, the two were very similar. Both were revered by local people for their personal qualities of virtue and holiness. Several of the people tried for heresy confessed that they had believed the 'perfect' to be "good and holy", and the officials investigating B. Ambrogio's life found no shortage of witnesses, such as one of his Franciscan colleagues, Fra Appolinaris, to testify to his saintly attributes:

*... dixit quod... vidit eum virum bonum et honestum, obedientem  
et castum, misericordem et despectum in vestimentis et gestis,  
patientem et humilem et caritativum, (15)*

In other words, the difference between heretics and orthodox lay not in the respect which they shared for the ideals of purity and perfection, but in the people whom they identified as personifying these ideals.

It is likely that the holy men and women revered by the heretics and the orthodox resembled each other even in physical appearance, as a result of their regular fasting and self-imposed dietary restrictions. The *perfecti* were semi-vegans, refusing to eat meat, or any animal products, such as milk, eggs, and cheese. B. Vanna was also renowned for her strict ascetic régime, which undoubtedly contributed towards her stomach problems:

*... abominatione stonachi laborans, ex vehementi vomitu non  
modicum debilitata fuisset... (16)*

Ambrogio may not have gone to such extremes, but he, too, was accustomed to fasting on all the appointed days:

*... Ieiunia regule libentissime faciebat; vigiliis apostolorum et  
sextam feriam in pane et aqua frequentissima ieiunabat... (17)*

Pallor and emaciation must therefore have been two of the distinguishing features of sanctity, exhibited by orthodox and heretical 'saints' alike.

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f) Domina Bonadimane

In view of all this, it is hardly surprising that lay people should sometimes have been caught midway between heresy and piety, hardly knowing which 'holy people' were to be revered, and which to be shunned. This is almost certainly what lies behind the case of Bonadimane, wife of Accitante and mother-in-law of Pietro Ferraloca, who was among the devotees of B. Ambrogio in 1240, and yet twenty-eight years later was posthumously tried and condemned as a heretic. According to the Inquisitor, Bonadimane had been a believer in heretical 'errors', had listened to the heretics' preaching, helped and favoured them, taken part in their rituals, and received one female 'perfect', Ricca, in her home. She had died unrepentant, and so not only was she excommunicated, but her memory was formally damned, her Will revoked and all her property confiscated<sup>19</sup>.

Whatever the true story behind these accusations, it is likely that by 1268 the events were a matter of distant memory. Bonadimane was already a widow, and probably also a grandmother, in 1240, when she appears in an entirely different rôle, as one of the many local people who came to pray at the tomb of B. Ambrogio. Bonadimane was one of eighty-two local people called to give evidence in the canonisation enquiry which was instituted for Ambrogio shortly after his death in April 1240<sup>20</sup>. She testified that in May of the same year, her grandson (or nephew), the son of one Petrus Leonardi, had been miraculously cured, as a result of the saint's intervention. The boy had been unable to speak, and had indeed been so ill that doctors despaired of his life. On their advice, candles had been prepared for his death, which his family believed, and hoped, for his sake, to be imminent. The grandmother then made her vow [*"vovit eum beato Ambrogio"*], in the presence of at least two neighbours, *domina Altagratia* and *domina Veneria*, promising that if God, taking account of the holy man's merits, would heal her grandson, she in turn would bring a wax image to Ambrogio's shrine. The boy instantly recovered the power of speech, and was fully cured.

The name is given so precisely in the two sources that there can be no doubt that both refer to the same person<sup>20</sup>. It is unfortunate that only one set of events - the cult that grew up around the shrine of B. Ambrogio - can be dated with any precision, but Bonadimane's involvement with the Cathars must have been fairly close in time to her



desperate bargaining with the dead saint. Certainly, Catharism was very much alive in the town in 1240, the year when the Dominican convent was attacked, and Bonadimane was already a mature adult then.

This case thus provides further proof that heresy and orthodox piety were not as far apart as contemporary anti-heretical propaganda might lead one to suppose. At least one Orvietan saw no incongruity in praying to a local saint one day, and perhaps inviting heretics into her home the next. And although her case is exceptional, this woman was not the only person whose family was caught on both sides of the narrow divide between heresy and orthodox piety. To give just one other example, Pietro Rainerii Adilascie was posthumously convicted of heresy on 26 July 1268, less than two months after his brother, Giovanni, who was a canon of the Church of S. Andrea, had appeared as a witness at one of the other trials<sup>21</sup>.

Bonadimane was probably, like so many others, a simple, pious woman, unable to understand why she should be commended for her devotion to one holy man, and yet anathematised for showing similar respect to the Cathar *perfecti*, whose message and lifestyle must have seemed to her more or less identical.

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#### g) Health and Illness

Another important area of contact between heresy and lay piety is introduced by Bonadimane's personal story: that is, attitudes and responses to health and illness, and to death. These are themes which have recurred in one form or another throughout this study, probably because they touch on such a profound level of human experience.

The 'holy men and women' in both Cathar and Catholic tradition were accustomed to being consulted by local people for advice on medical matters. This was not just because of the limitations of professional medicine, although the prayer of one Orvietan woman does suggest that doctors were more to be feared than trusted:

*Sancte Ambrosi, libera me nec medici magis me offendant nec  
dolorem faciant michi, quia mater mea multum te dilexit et in  
nullo te offendit.* (22)

It was sometimes the case that a sick person, or members of his or her family, would turn to a saintly person for help only as a last resort, when all else had failed, but not always. Although only one of the healing miracles described in his canonisation process had been

performed before his death, it seems to have been quite routine for Fra Ambrogio to go around the homes of people who were ill, just like a doctor doing his rounds:

*Infirmis secularibus salutis medelam conferre studiosissime procurabat, ita quod de proprio loco ad eorum domos cum medicaminibus alle loro case dal proprio convento, (23)*

Vanna, likewise, had gained a reputation as a healer before her death. Numerous miracles of healing were attributed posthumously to her, but there were at least two people who approached her for medical help during her lifetime<sup>24</sup>. A noblewoman named Tosca sent a messenger to request a prayer for her son, who was ill. As soon as Vanna had finished praying, she in turn sent a message to the boy's mother to tell her that her son was well, and when the woman went to investigate she found that it was true. On another occasion, when barley water was being prepared for a boy suffering from a "tertian fever", Vanna lifted the pot from the fire with the somewhat ambiguous declaration: "Giacomo, you will never drink this water again!"<sup>25</sup> Fortunately for the lad, the reason was his instant recovery from the fever.

There is only one instance in the *Liber Inquisitionis* of one of the Cathar 'perfect' being consulted for medical advice, but there is again nothing to indicate that this was in any way unusual. Domino Rainerio had confessed to Fra Giordano in 1263 that his conversation with heretics in Monte-Marano had included a medical consultation:

*... locutus fuit Stephano Narniensis heretico et socio suo in Monte-Marano, et recepti ab eo consilium pro sua infirmitate, (26)*

These medical 'consultations' arose out of a whole philosophy of life, in which spiritual and physical health were inextricably linked. Thus heresy was regarded as more than just a spiritual malaise: it was described as a "foul disease", and those who refused to recant were said to have entered into a "pact with death", wilfully rejecting their only hope of cure:

*Verum ipse ac si fedus cum inferno et pactum cum morte pepigerit, salutare exorrens remedium letale anime sue vulnus curari penitus recusavit, refugiendo tanquam proprie vite hostes medicum et medelam, (27)*

It is obvious that metaphorical language is being used here. Nonetheless, the fact that heretics' houses were ordered to be destroyed after the 'consolamentum' had been performed in them, as though they had indeed been infected with a deadly disease, suggests that the Inquisitors may not have been entirely sure of the dividing-line between



metaphor and reality.

Just as spiritual error was equated with sickness and death, so sanctity was associated with pleasing odours and the power to heal. According to her confessor and biographer, P. Giacomo Scalza, B. Vanna's body gave off a supremely fragrant odour immediately after her death:

*Cum autem Corpus Sanctæ exanime jaceret in lecto, subito odor mirificus in tantum abundavit, qui omnes adstantes infudit, ut nunquam tantum, ac talem meminerint persensisse. Odor enim ille omnium aromatum fragrantiam superabat.* (28)

Parenzo's body also displayed the "odor of sanctity", which was, of course, a common hagiographical motif. The crowd of people who came to Parenzo's tomb were astonished to discover that his face had a life-like colour, his limbs had not stiffened, and, despite the hot weather, there was no smell of decay from his body:

*... (cadaver),... nullum emittebat fetorem, sed odor ex eo quasi aromaticus emanabat. Unde stupebant omnes et multipliciter mirabantur, quod cum maximus esset calor nullum emittebat fetorem, sed calorem vivaciorem, quam dum viveret, continebat; nec palluit corpus, nec membra obriguerunt, vitali spiritu destituta.* (29)

In direct and deliberate contrast, Canon Giovanni had earlier described how the body of one of Parenzo's murderers contaminated the air to such an extent that the people who lived nearby were afflicted with a deadly disease:

*Cuius corpus, dum traditum esset ecclesiastice sepulture, ita inflando excrevit, ut vix posset in tumulo retineri, arem pre nimio fetore inficiens; unde infirmitatis et mortalitatis pestis invaserat castellanos, irruente in illis partibus grandinis tempestate.* (30)

This account was written a century and a half before Orvieto was struck by a "deadly plague" of far greater proportion, but the reaction of local people to the very physical catastrophe of the Black Death in 1348 suggests that religious attitudes towards illness and death had not changed fundamentally in the intervening period. The men of Orvieto flocked to join the Franciscan confraternity in the summer of 1348. Whether they hoped that this would guarantee them immunity, or just a decent burial, or whether they would have been hard-put to explain their motivation, this shows that at the end of the period under consideration, spirituality and health were just as closely linked as they had been at the beginning. Whatever else was changing in medieval society, one thing that remained constant was the natural tendency of lay people to turn to religion in times of crisis.

This applied no less to the universal human crisis of death and bereavement, and it is therefore entirely consistent to find confraternities performing funeral rites for their own members, as well as for others in the town. The Cathars were perhaps less concerned than their Catholic counterparts about the fate of the soul after death, except to hope that it would not be re-imprisoned in another physical body. Both, however, shared the concept of a "good death". Devout Cathars would ask for "consolation" when seriously ill, and the most dedicated of them would then virtually starve themselves to death by submitting to the "*endura*". Catholics, on the other hand, might ask to be buried in the habit of a friar, or tertiary or *disciplinato*, and revered the memory of those who had demonstrated recognised signs of piety on the point of death. In his chronicle of the Dominican convent, Fra Giovanni Caccia stresses the devout way in which certain of the friars had died. Fra Latino, for example, died "in good old age, and with great devotion". Fra Ambrosio had been troubled by demonic hallucinations during his last illness, but he combatted these by prayer, and with the sign of the cross, until he, too, died "with great devotion", saying "Into your hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit" <sup>31</sup>.

More examples could be given, but the point is simply to emphasise once again that illness and death were recognised by medieval men and women as spiritual, and not merely physical phenomena. Like all human beings, it was at times like these that they were most acutely aware of their own mortality, and their own helplessness. This explains the problems faced by the Orvietan authorities on more than one occasion, with regard to the excessive scale of funerals, and the uncontrolled behaviour of mourners. It also explains why Cathars, saints and lay confraternities all specialised in dealing with people at the crisis points in their lives.

.....

#### h) Conclusion

It should be apparent by now that the similarities between orthodox and heretical forms of religious expression were more than just superficial ones. Both sets of people were part of the one society, and shared its concerns, its presuppositions and its religious aspirations. There is thus a fundamental similarity between the two key areas of heresy and lay piety which includes, but transcends the individual points



of comparison outlined above, and which helps to elucidate certain aspects of the religious life of Orvietan lay people from the twelfth to the fourteenth century.

It explains, on the one hand, why the Cathars should have chosen a religious confraternity as one of their first targets for evangelism, and why, on the other hand, the two female missionaries in question were able to infiltrate the group with no apparent difficulty<sup>32</sup>. It explains why the Dominicans and Franciscans, who were at the forefront of so much that was new and exciting in the religious life of the laity, were chosen as Inquisitors, to eradicate the one new form of religious expression which was not approved by the Church. It also explains very satisfactorily why some lay people, such as Bonadimane and Domenico di Pietro Rosse, were attracted to heresy as well as to approved outlets for devotion, and why they ultimately found themselves trapped between the two.

The underlying similarity between heresy and lay piety may also help to explain a certain ambivalence on the part of the Church authorities even towards those forms of popular devotion which had their official approval. It may go some way towards explaining, for example, why none of the three Orvietan 'saints' from the relevant period was ever officially canonised<sup>33</sup>. Veneration for B. Vanna may not have extended far beyond her own Order, but there was considerable popular pressure for the canonisation of Pietro Parenzo and B. Ambrogio di Massa, backed up in both cases by documentary evidence. In the case of Parenzo, pressure for the official recognition of his cult built up in 1216, when Innocent III was staying in the town. Despite his avowed abhorrence of heresy, and despite all that is said in Parenzo's *Leggenda* about the Pope's support for the young *podestà*, Innocent showed a marked reluctance to become involved in the flourishing local cult. Fifty-four "good men and true" had put their names to a document recording a certain miracle of healing. They had sought, and obtained the approval of the Bishop, but were thwarted in their attempts to bring the matter personally to the Pope's attention:

*Ad fidem huius miraculi faciendam quinquaginta quattuor viri bone opinionis et fame, qui cum sanato precipue puerant conversati, sua nomina fecerunt in scripturam redigi, quam mihi R, cum summo gaudio demonstrarunt et postmodum cum eis nostro episcopo presentavi. Hi volebant coram summo Pontifice, super hoc miraculo astruendo, sua deponere iuramenta, sed cum magna instantia non potuerunt ad eum ingressum aliquem obtinere. (34)*

In the case of B. Ambrogio, it was Pope Gregory himself who had initiated the canonisation enquiry, entrusting the task to the bishops of Orvieto and Soana, and the prior of S. Giovanni di Platea. The long document currently in the *Archivio di Stato* was the result of their investigations. Proceedings came to a halt, however, when Innocent IV examined this document and ordered that a new enquiry be undertaken, since the first investigators had not followed the precise guidelines laid down by Gregory IX. The translation of Ambrogio's body was authorised by Alexander IV in 1257, and his feast-day remained part of the Orvietan religious calendar into the fifteenth century at least, but there is no evidence that the second canonisation enquiry was ever put into effect<sup>35</sup>.

Other areas of popular religion were also subject to official blocking from time to time. Towards the end of the fourteenth century, for example, severe restrictions were placed upon the activities of the flagellants and theatrical *disciplinati*<sup>36</sup>. The fact that it took so long for the festival of Corpus Domini to become properly established in Orvieto, and indeed throughout Christian Europe, may also reflect a certain reluctance on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities to encourage something which might easily get out of hand<sup>37</sup>.

Examples such as these could be listed almost indefinitely, but what is more important is to realise that heresy and lay piety each, in its own way, represented a challenge to the traditional authority of the Church. The point is made by R.I. Moore, who discusses piety, as well as heresy, under the general heading of "dissent":

It was of the essence of lay piety and those who encouraged it... that they wavered on the verges of orthodoxy, implying as they did by their very existence an enterprising dissatisfaction with the provision of the church that seemed especially dangerous to the orthodox mind when it was expressed by those who had not undergone clerical training. (38)

Bonadimane and Domenico di Pietro Rossi were living symbols of the truth of this observation, and it is here that their true significance lies. They not only "wavered on the verges of orthodoxy", but stumbled over the border into heresy, to their eternal disgrace in the eyes of contemporary churchmen. From a modern perspective, however, the distance which they had travelled was not nearly so great as it appeared at the time.

Discussing Domenico's case, P. Mariano d'Alatri remarks that heresy



was the "great question" of the thirteenth century<sup>24</sup>. This is not strictly true. It was rather the case that heresy was one of several attempts to answer some deeper question, less easily formulated, but responsible for the fascination which all new forms of religious experience seem to have exercised for lay people at this time. As a result of its traumatic experience with the Cathars, the Church came to recognise the need for there to be some authorised outlets for lay devotion, but it was never entirely at ease with the popular religious movements which sprang up and flourished as a result. Heretics and pious lay people, in Orvieto as elsewhere, had a great deal more in common than either they, or their religious superiors, would ever have dared to admit.

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## CONCLUSION: PIETY AND HERESY: FOOTNOTES

1. Provençano Lupicini served as *Capitano del Popolo*, Consul and Chamberlain. For details of this, and other examples of heretics in civic posts, see above, §A,2a) Noble and Popular. Ugolino Lupicini left a long Will with many religious provisions (A, di S., Pergamene). His first tangle with the law came in 1277, when he was late in paying a debt of 50 *Lire 5 soldi* owed to Andrea Guidonis, and then ignored a judge's orders to stay within a certain area until the debt was paid (A, di S., Fond, Giud., Busta 1, Fasc. 6, f. 42r., 20 February 1277). In August 1282, he and four others were judged guilty of unseemly brawling around the Monaldeschi palace, where the *podestà*, d. Rainaldus de Riva, was staying at the time (*ibid.*, Fasc. 10, f. 1r., 11 December 1282).
2. For discussion of usury, see above, §A,2b) Trades & professions. For expulsions from the Franciscan confraternity, see §B,4 Leadership & discipline.
3. William of Puylaurens, Chronique 1203-1275. Quoted in Bernard Hamilton, The Medieval Inquisition (Foundations of Medieval History), London, 1981, p. 26.
4. P. Mariano d'Alatri, "'Ordo Penitentium' ed Eresia in Italia", in Collectanea Francescana, vol. XLIII, Roma, 1973, pp. 180-197.
5. ed. V. Natalini, S. Pietro Parenzo: La Leggenda scritta dal M. Giovanni canonico, Roma, 1932, Lectio 2, p. 153.
6. M.D. Lambert ( "The motives of the Cathars: some reflections", in Studies in Church History 15, Oxford, 1978, p. 57.) points this out, and refers to people jeering at the idea of transubstantiation, because, if it were true, Christ's body must have been "as big as a mountain".
7. ed. V. Mareddu, Leggenda Latina della B. Giovanna detta Vanna d'Orvieto, Orvieto, 1853, Chapter VI, pp. 19ff.
8. Acta Sanctorum, Nov., vol. IV; canonisation process for B. Ambrogio di Massa, "... *missarum sollempnia et officium devote celebrantem...*" (58, p. 574. Testimony of Frater Bartholomeus de Castro Plebis).
9. ed. Natalini, S. Pietro Parenzo: La Leggenda..., Lectio 6, p. 164.
10. Kathleen C. Falvey, The Orvietan Creation Play and its Collection: draft of paper to be delivered in Viterbo, July 1983.
11. A, di, S., Fond, Dip., 17 June 1258. Indulgence to the fraternity of B. Pietro 'Martyr'.
12. Letter of Gregory IX, 24 May 1240. Included with canonisation process for B. Ambrogio (AA,SS., Nov., vol. IV.)
13. M-C de Ganay, Les Bienheureuses Dominicaines 1190-1577, Paris, 1913, p. 118.
14. This item of Cathar belief was part of the creed recited by Stradigotto of Siena (Lib, Inq., f. 28): "...*animas humanas esse spiritus qui ceciderunt de celo, qui salvari debent in cordibus patarenorum...*"
15. B. Ambrogio; canonisation process, §11, p. 574. Testimony of Fra Appolinaris.
16. ed. V. Mareddu, Leggenda... della B. Giovanna..., Chap. VI, p. 20.
17. B. Ambrogio; canonisation process, §4. Testimony of Frater Moricus.
18. Lib, Inq., f. 30<sup>2</sup>, 24 October, 1268.
19. B. Ambrogio; canonisation process, §68, p. 600.



20. Bonadimane, "uxor olim Accitante, socrus quondam Petri Ferrallica" (Lib. Inq.) & *domina* Bonadimane, "uxor quondam Accetantis" (canonisation process). It is significant that the title "*domina*" is applied only in the canonisation process, where the woman's behaviour is being commended.
21. Lib. Inq., ff. 19<sup>2</sup>, 26 July 1268 & f. 9, 7 June 1268.
22. B. Ambrogio; canonisation process, 586, p. 605. For the whole of this subject, see A.I. Galletti, "'*Infirmis*' e terapia sacra in una città medievale (Orvieto, 1240)", in *La Ricerca Folklorica*, vol. VIII, Milano, 1983, pp. 17-34.
23. B. Ambrogio; canonisation process, 512 p. 575. Testimony of Fra Bonaionta.
24. ed. V. Mareddu, *Leggenda... della B. Giovanna...*, Chap. VIII, pp. 31ff.
25. "*Jacobus de ista aqua amplius non potabit*" (ibid., p. 31).
26. Lib. Inq., f. 4'. d. Rainerius d. Munaldi.
27. Lib. Inq., f. 3'. Stradigottus Ricci de Tostis.
28. ed. V. Mareddu, *Leggenda... della B. Giovanna...*, Chap X, pp. 57-8.
29. ed. V. Natalini, *S. Pietro Parenzo: la leggenda...*, Lectio 8, p. 169.
30. ibid., Lectio 7, p. 167.
31. ed. A.M. Viel & P.M. Girardin, *Cronica Fratris Johannis dicto Caccia Urbevetani*, Rome & Viterbo, 1907, p. 68, Frater Latinus Urbevetanus & p. 70, Frater Ambrosius, dyaconus.
32. ed. V. Natalini, *S. Pietro Parenzo: la leggenda...*, Lectio 1-2, p. 154.
33. Luca di Domenico Manente is simply wrong when he says that Honorius III (who was not even Pope then) came to Orvieto in 1214 and canonised Pietro Parenzo in the Church of S. Andrea (Eph. Urb., pp. 271-2).
34. ed. V. Natalini, *S. Pietro Parenzo: la leggenda...*, Lectio 43, p. 201. ("*Miracula ab aliis addita*").
35. A summary of these events is given by the Bollandists in their introduction to the canonisation process (in AA,SS., Nov., vol. IV, pp. 566-571, cf. A. Ficarelli, "B. Ambrogio da Massa", in *Sancta Urbevetana Legio*, Orvieto, 1962, pp. 86-88.
36. see above, 5B,2c) *Disciplinati* & sacred drama
37. see above, *Introduction*.
38. R.I. Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent*, Oxford, 1985, p. 196.
39. P. Mariano d'Alatri, "'*Ordo Penitentium*'...", p. 186. "*L'eresia infatti fu la grande questione del secolo e, nella maggior parte dei casi, finiva per ingrossarne le file proprio che anelava ad una più viva esperienza religiosa. Ed è comprensibile che i più esposti a subirne il fascino fossero proprio i Penitenti viventi nel mondo, privi com'erano del sostegno che ai religiosi offrivano la vita comune e una più adeguata conoscenza dei contenuti della fede.*"

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## APPENDIX

### Section A:

#### The Chronology of Heresy and the Appearance of the Mendicant Orders

Although the earliest secure references in the Orvietan sources to lay confraternities associated with the Franciscan, Dominican and Servite Orders date from 1261, 1258 and 1292 respectively, it is important to take account of the presence of the Mendicant Orders in Orvieto from the early years of the thirteenth century, and to consider the extent to which they relied from the outset on the support and involvement of lay people. There may have been a Franciscan house in Orvieto from as early as 1222, and it certainly existed well before the foundation of the church of S. Francesco in 1240. The Dominican complex of church and convent was founded in 1233-4, and the Servites were given permission to build in the parish of S. Martino in 1265, but members of both Orders would have been living and working in the town well before these dates. It may be misleading, therefore, to suggest that there were no orthodox alternatives to heresy for pious lay people in the early thirteenth century.

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Pages 313ff.:

#### Patronymics

Patronymics are not necessarily a reliable guide to family relationships: e.g. "Blasii" means simply "son of Biagio", and there is no compelling reason to assume that two people with this patronymic were members of the same family or clan.

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Pages. 96-102:

#### Definition of Usury and Banking

It is not true to say that all money-lending was regarded by the medieval church as usurious. Bankers were allowed to charge approved rates of interest, and it was only when these were exceeded that the term usury became applicable.

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### Section A: The Political Context of the Heresy Trials, 1268/9

1. If the treatment of Cathar suspects and sympathisers by the Franciscan Inquisitors is regarded as at all lenient (and it may be noted that capital punishment was never used, although economic sanctions could be stringent), then part of the explanation may lie in the/

the fact that the ghibelline forces had recently been defeated in a very decisive way at the battle of Benevento (1266). If orthodox repression of heresy was due, in some measure at least, to a fear of ghibelline resurgence, then by 1268/9 the Inquisitors would have been under far less pressure than before. The ghibelline faction was no longer a serious threat to the church,

2. The quotation on page 58 should read as follows;

*In 1268 there was a campaign against heresy in Orvieto which led to some hundred condemnations and it is clear that political motives were involved as well as religious ones; not only did those convicted include members of leading Ghibelline families, but the charges were often slender ones of having had social contact with heretics.*

[D. Waley, Medieval Orvieto, Cambridge, 1952, pp. 49-50.]

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Pages 313-315:

Sumptuary Laws

Sumptuary legislation, restricting, for example, the amount of money to be spent on funerals, the quantities of wax to be used, and the length of funeral service, was by no means uncommon in this period (1287ff.). Similar laws were promulgated in many other towns. Thus the specific incidents cited in relation to Orvietan mourning behaviour may not have been of major significance.

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Pages 48-49 & page 456:

Cathar Ritual

A historical, rather than a purely behavioural analysis would reveal that Cathar ritual was more than just an imitation of Catholic observances. It had its own history and independent evolution.

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Pages 348 & 406: Identification of Franciscan confratelli

Some members of the Franciscan confraternity can be identified from the Monaldeschi family genealogies in D. Waley, Medieval Orvieto, Cambridge, 1952, (Genealogical Table D). This information clarifies the relationships between the three men concerned and reveals that one of them, Ermanno ("Manno") di Corrado (1297-1337), occupied a very prominent rôle in Orvietan society. He was a soldier, who had led the city's armies in many important campaigns, served on various councils, and eventually, in 1334, assumed complete power as Signore or tyrant, thus ending the history of the independent commune. The fact that a man/



man such as this, and later two of his sons (Berardo or "Torto" and Monaldo) and one grandson (Berardo di Corrado), should have chosen to become Franciscan *disciplinati* is very significant in relation to the social acceptability of confraternity membership in fourteenth century Orvieto, both before and after the plague.

Pages 470ff.:

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This article is of direct relevance to the thesis, relating heresy, as it does, to its civic environment. Dupré Theseider acknowledges from the outset that heresy is primarily a religious phenomenon, and that social and economic motivation must therefore be regarded as secondary. Nevertheless, he makes a distinction between the nucleus of those whom he defines as 'true' heretics, and the much wider category of people described by the church as '*fautores*'. These so-called "para-heretics" were the ones most likely to be drawn to heresy by non-religious factors and influences. The author goes on to identify four relevant factors: the growth of Popular government; a certain wariness on the part of the communal authorities towards the Franciscan and Dominican Orders/

Orders, entrusted with the task of Inquisition; the united stand of Pope and Emperor against heresy; and the corresponding reaction of townspeople against this united force which seemed to threaten their independence.

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- O. Capitani, "Patarì in Umbria: lo 'Status Quæstionis' nella recente storiografia", in' Bollettino dell'Istituto Storico Artistico Orvietano, vol. XXXIX (1983, publ. 1989), pp. 37-54.

In this recently-published paper, Capitani reviews the literature on Orvietan heresy, and provides a re-appraisal of the earliest documentary source, the *Leggenda* or *Passio* of Pietro Parenzo. The article is of interest for its Orvietan focus, and for the fact that it relates religious and socio-economic factors in this very early, and rather shadowy phase of Catharism in the town.

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- Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur, "Comuni e Signorie in Umbria, Marche e Lazio", in G. Galasso (ed.), Comuni e Signorie nell'Italia nordorientale e centrale: Lazio, Umbria e Marche, Lucca, Turin (U.T.E.T.), 1987 [Storia d'Italia, vol. VII, tom. 2].

This essay gives a detailed account of changing patterns in the government of city-states such as Orvieto throughout the period of the thesis. As the title suggests, it traces the rise and decline of the communes, under control of the Popolo, and the eventual establishment of seigneurial rule. It is therefore important for the political background to the religious events which are the chief focus of discussion in the thesis.

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